STATE SCHOOL
ADMINISTRATION
CUBBERLEY

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Science drives us into Democracy.
Scientist doesn't run on party lines -
Scientists Aren't good Politicians

RIVERSIDE TEXTBOOKS
IN EDUCATION

EDITED BY ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLEY

DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

STATE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

A TEXTBOOK OF PRINCIPLES

BY

ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLEY

DEAN OF THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

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TO

FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES

President of the University of the State of New York

Commissioner of Education for New York

Administrator, scholar, teacher, friend

who, in the administration of

the school system of the State of New York

exemplifies in practice

many of the fundamental principles in

State School Administration

set forth in this volume

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In 1902–03 the author first offered a two-unit one-semester seminar at Stanford which marked the beginnings of the present volume. It was entitled American School Systems, and was described as "a comparative study of the chief features of American school systems, with a view to discovering the points of strength and weakness in each." In 1905–06 this was changed to a three-unit year course entitled State School Administration, and this course, in some form, has been continued ever since. In 1906 the author published his *School Funds and their Apportionment*, which formed the basic study for Chapters XVI and XVII of the present volume. The same year he also published his *The Certification of Teachers*, which likewise formed the basic study for Chapter XXIII. Shortly thereafter he laid out a plan, in syllabus form, for substantially the present volume, in scope, and began the accumulation of materials for it. During 1909 and 1910, while writing the articles on the state school systems of the different American States for Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, he made arrangements to collaborate with Professor Edward C. Elliott, then at the University of Wisconsin, in writing a volume of *Sources* in state school administration. After much sorting of materials the volume of *Sources* was completed, and was published by The Macmillan Company, in 1915, under the title of *State and County School Administration, Source Book*, by Cubberley and Elliott. The present author had previously prepared another volume of source material in the form of a School Code for an ideal State, which was published by the same Company, in 1914, under the title of *State and County Educational Reorganization; The Revised Constitution and School Code of the State of Osceola.* These two volumes of source material will be referred to continually throughout the present text under the citations of *Source Book*, and *Osceola Code*.

In writing the present book the author has undertaken to make it a book of principles, as he sees them, and to state lines of action and directions of future progress in terms of an evolutionary series, rather than primarily to describe what States are now doing. In this way it was felt that the book when completed

would be far less ephemeral, and, the author conceived, far more useful as well. This plan has accordingly been followed, and what States are now doing has been described only by way of illustrating stages in progress or desirable lines of state effort or action. This plan of writing leaves the description given just as valid as part of a series described if the State evolves to a higher or changes to a quite different plan, and the only alteration needed then in the text is for the reader to substitute, mentally as he reads, the words "as used to be followed in ——" for the text words "now followed in ——." Under no other plan of writing could such a book as this be made really useful, with the rapid progress in educational legislation being made to-day, as any descriptive plan would certainly be incorrect in some respects before the book could get through the presses and onto the sales counters. Such a text as this, though, does need some pictures of existing conditions and stages of progress, and this has been attempted by the use of maps and graphs showing practices or conditions in the different States. These have been made as accurate as possible at the time of publication, and by revising them from time to time, and by revising statistical statements as new data appear, it is hoped that the volume can be kept reasonably accurate from the descriptive side.

In the statement of principles of action the writer naturally has had to use his best judgment, and he lays no claim to infallibility. The most that he could do was to draw the best conclusions possible from the trends evidenced in legislation, from sound political and economic theory, and from the illuminating experience of our city school systems in dealing with somewhat analogous situations and problems. The writer has no expectations that his judgments will prove always to be right, or that the future evolution will always take the course that seems most sound and logical. Political institutions do not always follow such a course. For example, while he believes that the "set-up" for a State Board of Education and the county unit for local administration which he gives are sound in principle and workable, he is clearly aware that the most natural course for progress to take may be dammed up by ignorance and obstinacy, and that we may be compelled to adopt other plans and procedures. If our appointed state boards of education continue to be political rather than educational instruments, and to seize professional functions and duties instead of remaining legislative bodies handling business

expeditiously and efficiently and properly, as has far too frequently been the case in some of our States, and if our elected county school superintendents continue to block progress toward the county unit of administration and an appointed superintendent, as they have largely done so far, it is easily conceivable that some other means will be found for expressing the as yet vague but evident desire of our people for efficient and non-political school administration. The natural course of progress, though, in both cases, the writer firmly believes to be in the directions indicated in the text, and he further believes that, if our school officers and professional leaders will but make a thorough study of the fundamental principles involved in state and county school organization and administration, we may hope in time to see such progress effected.

One of the main difficulties we have so far faced is that few of our school men and women have made such a study. The materials for making it have not been within easy reach, and the courses offered in school administration in our colleges and universities have dealt almost entirely with the problems of the city. Here we have had an organized body of knowledge and established principles of action which have been taught generally for some time. State school administration involves different and larger interests, is less particular and more general in character, and calls for a more thoroughly sound policy and a firm grasp of fundamental economic and political theory. Traditions as to proper duties and actions and spheres of work, too, have not as yet been built up for either state boards of education or state commissioners on the one hand, or for county-unit educational organization on the other. County-unit organization, too, though it is analogous in most particulars and is based on the same fundamental principles as is correct city school organization and administration, seems strangely hard for our school people to grasp and visualize. On the other hand, the problems of state educational finance are different from those of city finance, state control of subordinate units is different from city control of individual schools, and the problems of the teaching staff are complex and have wide ramifications in ways often not clearly seen.

No more helpful service could be rendered our States, for a decade or two to come, than for those who are and would be the educational leaders to set themselves to a serious study of the problems relating to proper state educational organization, ad-

ministration, finance, and control. If this is done, in a decade or two we may hope to find the results of such a study in better state educational legislation and in better state board of education and state department of education control. The profession has here an opportunity for the expression of professional knowledge and insight and guidance in one of its highest forms, and such study and expression is a solemn duty resting on educational leaders everywhere. So far as our state teachers associations have influenced legislative action up to now, it has been largely in the form of increased revenue bills, salary schedules, and pension and life-tenure laws. While a better financial status for teachers has been and still is an important objective, our state teachers organizations must soon be able to take a more advanced stand than such legislation represents if they are to win the support of thinking citizens and an intelligent press. Our state teachers journals, too, must devote more space and energy to constructive, and at times critical, service in the direction of educational leadership of a new type. Our teachers are to-day demanding active participation in administration, and their leaders should utilize this interest and train them to think constructively and to support constructive educational legislation, other than salary bills and tenure laws.

One of the most hopeful signs manifest to-day, probably soon to become general, is the tendency of our state teachers associations to use their larger funds to create a research department and staff for the careful statistical study of the fundamental educational problems of their States. No force for sound reform and constructive legislation could be more potent than such a department, earnestly seeking facts and using them to educate both the profession and the public. These departments ought in time to change the whole character of our state educational journals, and in turn the thinking of the staff and line of our teaching force alike. Another hopeful sign is the tendency of our universities to offer a course in State School Administration, as they have for some time done in City School Administration. Such courses will do much to build up a critical judgment in the profession that will in turn demand of governors, state board of education members, state department staffs, and legislatures the right procedures to give our States the best educational systems possible with the money the people feel they can afford to spend for public education. The profession, in turn, must educate the press and the

public, through proper publicity of ideas, to demand right procedures and proper support of what is desirable for the schools of our States. If the present text can contribute materially to bringing about such a desirable condition, the author will feel well repaid for the labor its preparation has involved.

The book as organized offers plenty of material for a four- to five-unit course for a semester, or a three-unit course throughout a year. The topics for investigation and the problems given at the end of the chapters afford material for the extension of the study beyond the limits of the chapters, and the exploration of phases not even treated in them. The chapters at best represent a great condensation of material, as each is capable of expansion into a monograph or, in some cases, a substantial volume. The aim throughout has been to present a compact organization of the field, and to lead to the formulation of right principles of action. Where a year is given to the study of school administration, the writer would recommend that a study of the problems of state school administration precede city school administration, as the latter, after all, is but a specialized phase of local school control.

ELLWOOD P. CUBBERLEY

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STATE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

DIVISION I

AMERICAN FEDERAL AND STATE POLICY

STATE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF STATE EDUCATION

Early type attitudes toward education. The school in America, as in European countries generally, arose as a child of the Church. From an instrument of religion the school has gradually changed into an instrument of the State. The first schools in America were clearly the fruits of the Protestant Revolt in Europe, as practically all the early settlers in America came from lands which had embraced some form of the Protestant faith, and many of them came to America to enjoy a religious freedom impossible in the countries from which they came.

The seventeenth century was essentially a period of colonization and of the transplanting of European ideas as to government and religion and education to the new American colonies, and by the eighteenth century we find three clearly marked types of educational practice or conceptions as to educational responsibility established on American soil.

The first was the strong Calvinistic conception of a religious State, supporting a system of common schools, higher Latin schools, and a college, both for religious and civic ends. This type dominated New England, and is best represented by Massachusetts. From New England it spread in time westward and deeply influenced the educational development of all States to which New England people migrated. This was the educational contribution of Calvinism to America. Out of it, by the later separation of Church and State, our modern State school systems have been evolved.

The second was the parochial school conception of the Dutch, Moravians, Mennonites, German Lutherans, Reformed-Church Germans, Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Catholics. This type is best represented by Protestant Pennsylvania and Catholic

Maryland. It stood for church control of all educational effort, resented state interference, was dominated only by church purposes, and in time came to be a serious obstacle in the way of state organization and control.

The third type, into which the second tended to fuse, was the attitude of the Church of England, which conceived of public education, aside from collegiate education, as intended chiefly for orphans and children of the poor, and as a charity which the State was under little or no obligation to assist in providing. All children of the middle and upper classes of society attended private or church schools or were taught by tutors in the home, and for such instruction paid a proper tuition fee. Paupers and orphans, in limited numbers and for a limited time, were provided with some form of useful education at the expense of either the Church or the State.

The three types or attitudes toward public education became fixed American types, and deeply influenced subsequent American educational development. After the coming of nationality, though only then after a prolonged struggle, the second and third types were forced to give way and the first became the dominant American attitude. In New England, however, the school passed through a very interesting development, during colonial times, from a church into a state school. It was there that the foundations of state education in America were laid, since what had been early evolved in New England became in time the prevailing American practice.

Rise of the civil or state school. The early settlement of New England was by congregations, led by their ministers, and the little self-governing republics they established along the New England coast were called towns, or townships. The town became at once the unit of both church and local government, as well as the unit for representation in the colonial assembly. In time the southern portion of New England came to be dotted with numbers of these little self-governing republics, very loosely bound together in the colony federation.

Originally each little New England settlement was a unit, and the irregular area embraced in the town ranged from twenty to forty square miles. The governing authorities for church and civil affairs were usually the same. When acting as church officers they were known as elders and deacons; when acting as civil or town officers they were known as selectmen. The

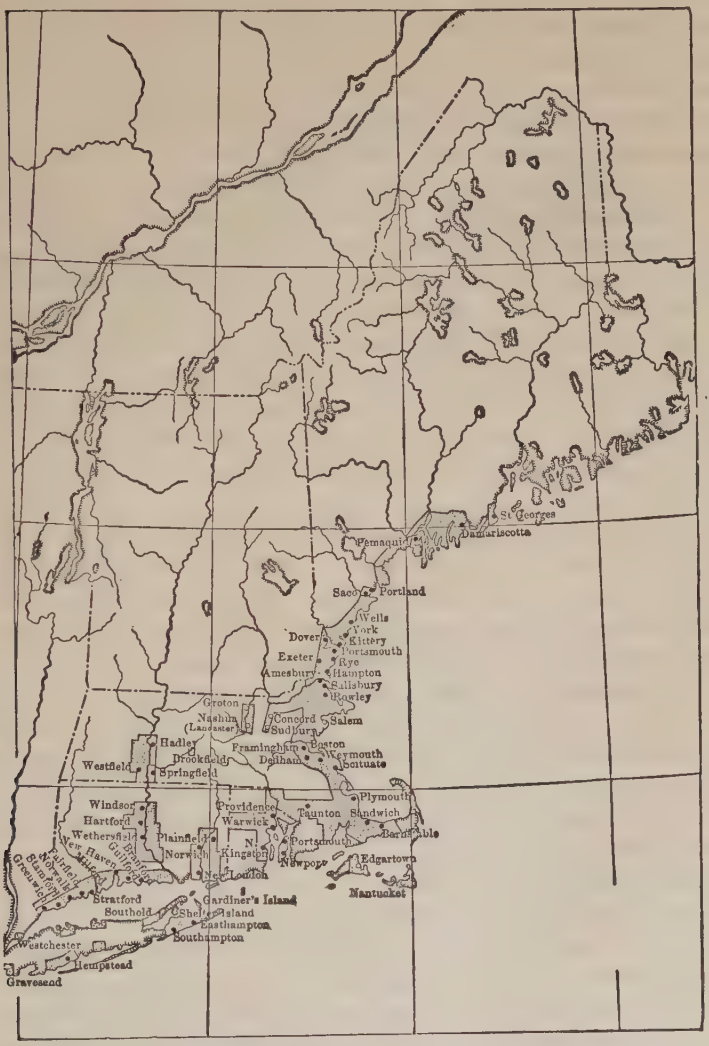

FIG. 1. NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS BY 1660

(From L. K. Mathews's *The Expansion of New England*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909. By permission.)

State, as represented in the colony legislature or the town meeting, was clearly the servant of the Church, and existed in large part for religious ends. It was the State acting as servant of the Church which enacted the Massachusetts laws of 1642 and 1647. These laws required the towns to maintain schools to teach the

young people reading and writing and religion and the capital laws of the colony.

Now so close was the connection between the religious town which controlled church affairs and the civil town which looked after roads, fences, taxes, and defense — the constituency of both being one and the same, and the meetings of both being held at first in the meeting house — that when the schools were established the colonial legislature placed them under the civil town, as involving taxes and being a public service, rather than under the religious town. The interests of one were the interests of both, and, being the same in constituency and territorial boundaries, there seemed no occasion for friction or fear. From this religious beginning the civil school, and the civil-school town and township as distinct from the municipal town or township, with all their elaborate school administrative machinery, were later evolved.[1]

The erection of a town hall, separate from the meeting house, was the first step in the process. School affairs were now discussed in the town hall instead of in the church. Town taxes, instead of church taxes, were voted for buildings and maintenance. The ministers continued to certificate the grammar-school master until the close of the colonial period, but the power to certificate the elementary-school teachers passed to the town authorities early in the eighteenth century. Gradually the town authorities assumed one function after another, so that by the close of this century all that the minister, as the surviving representative of church control, had left to him was the right to accompany the town authorities when they went to visit the schools. Thus gradually but certainly did the earlier religious school in New England pass out from under the control of the Church and become a state school. So important was this New England evolution and contribution, and so fully did it fit in with the changing conditions of the period, that by the time our National Government and the different state governments were established, the States were becoming ready, in principle at least, to accept the theory thus gradually worked out in New England that schools were state institutions, and should be regarded as instruments of the State.

The new theory expressed in the state constitutions. This new

[1] See the author's *Public School Administration*, pp. 66–67, for a chart showing this historical development covering two and a half centuries.

theory of state control of education found expression in constitutional form but slowly, and it was in New England again that its first clear statement appeared. The Declaration of Independence had asserted a new ideal that "all men are created equal," that "they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," and that "to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." These new political beliefs tended to create a new political motive for education which was destined to grow in importance and eventually entirely to supersede the old religious motive, while the nature of school instruction came in time to be colored through and through by the new political conception. For the first quarter century after the close of the War for Independence, however, the States were too poor, there were too many problems of law and order and government calling for solution, and the need for general education was still too small for the States to give any serious attention to the question of public education.

During the period from the adoption of the Declaration of Independence to the close of the eighteenth century (1776–1800) all the States, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which continued their colonial charters as satisfactory, formulated and adopted new state constitutions (*Source Book*, pp. 12–17). Excepting some rather rudimentary agreements made earlier by some of the Swiss Cantons, these were the first written constitutions of modern history. Three new States also were admitted before 1800 — Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Of the sixteen States forming the Union by 1800, seven had included in these new constitutional documents a clause relating to education in the State.

The constitutional mention made by these seven States falls into three classes, corresponding to the three type attitudes that had been transplanted to America in the seventeenth century. The first, represented by Delaware and the first Georgia constitution, merely briefly directed the legislature, "as soon as conveniently may be," to "provide by law for . . . establishing schools, and promoting arts and sciences." The second, represented by North Carolina and the first Pennsylvania constitution, directed the establishment of schools "with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices." The third, represented by Massachusetts,

New Hampshire, and Vermont, contained good sections directing the encouragement of learning and virtue and the protection and encouragement of schools. Massachusetts (1780) and New Hampshire (1784), in almost identical words, gave the most complete directions of any of the States as to the encouragement of learning, the protection of private societies, and the establishment of schools. Massachusetts, in addition, inserted a long article, making detailed provisions for the protection and maintenance of Harvard College (*Source Book*, pp. 14–15). There were other colleges in the colonies at the beginning of the War of Independence, but no other State made any constitutional mention regarding them. The Massachusetts and the New Hampshire provisions for the encouragement of learning are so excellent, and so much in advance of the general conception of the time, that the Massachusetts provision, which was later copied by New Hampshire, is worth quoting in full.

> Chap. V, Sec. 2. Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the university at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar-schools in the towns; to encourage private societies and public institutions, by rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings; sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people.

As in the earlier period of American educational history, it was Calvinistic New England which made the best constitutional provisions for education, and enunciated with the clearest voice the fundamental principle that education is an important interest of the State. On the other hand, it was the old Anglican Church colonies and the new States of Kentucky and Tennessee that were silent on the subject. With the admission of Ohio, in 1802, a new attitude toward education finds expression in its constitution.

The National Constitution does not mention education. When the Constitutional Convention met, in 1787, to formulate a

national pact for the Union, it had many weighty problems of State to find a solution for, serious differences between States to reconcile, sources of revenue to find, and many important compromises to work out and make effective. Its great task was to establish a stable government for the new States, and in doing this all less important problems were left to the future for solution. One of these was education in all its forms.

The new Constitution for the Union, as framed by the Constitutional Convention, nowhere contains any mention of any form of education, and a search of the debates of the Convention reveals that only once was anything relating to education brought before that body. Even then it was but a question, answered by the chairman, and related to the power under the new Constitution to establish a national university at the seat of government. The chair ruled that the new government would have such power.

Status of education at the time. It is not surprising, however, when we consider the time, the men, and the existing conditions, that the founders of our Republic did not deem the subject of public education important enough to warrant consideration in the Convention or inclusion in the document. Education almost everywhere was still a private matter, and quite generally under the control of the Church. The New England colonies formed a notable exception to the common practice, both in this country and abroad. Everywhere in Catholic countries education as an affair of the State had not been thought of. In France, elementary education had been left to the Brothers of the Christian Schools, and secondary education to the Jesuits. In England education had, since the days of the great Elizabeth, been considered as "no business of the State," and the great nineteenth-century agitation for state-supported schools had not as yet been started. Even in Scotland, where schools were opened generally in the church parishes following the Reformation there, and had continued to be well maintained, they were church schools and not state schools. Only in the larger German Protestant States had education as yet been declared a state function and subject to state supervision, but even in these States the schools were still largely under church control, since the pastors of the churches were appointed school inspectors and superintendents for the State.

Even the theory of education, aside from that relating to in-

struction in Latin secondary schools and colleges, had not been thought out and formulated at the time the Federal Constitution was framed. Pestalozzi had not as yet done his great work in Switzerland, or written out his ideas as to the educational process. Herbart was a small child at the time, and Froebel a mere infant in arms. The work which the French Revolutionary theorists and enthusiasts did for education in France was as yet undone. Again, it must be remembered that practically every man in the Constitutional Convention was a product of the old aristocratic and private type of tuition training, and probably few had any sympathy with the attempts at general education made by the charity-school type of instruction then provided by the churches, or with the indifferent type of teachers found in most of the pay schools of the time.

By the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1791, which provided that "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," the control of schools and education passed, as one of the unmentioned powers thus reserved, to the people of the different States to handle, or to neglect, in any manner which they saw fit.

How the Constitution helped solve the religious question. America had been settled originally by a large number of different religious sects, and this number was further increased with time. While the colonies were predominantly Protestant, these Protestant sects differed greatly among themselves, and between them there was often as bitter rivalry as between Protestants and Catholics. This was almost as true of their schools as of their churches. At the beginning of the War of Independence the Anglican (Episcopal) faith had been declared "the established religion" of seven colonies; the Congregational was the established religion in three of the New England colonies, while but three colonies — Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland — had declared for religious freedom and had refused to give a state preference to any religion. Catholics in particular were under the ban, they not being allowed to vote or hold religious services except in Pennsylvania and Maryland.

The religious problem had to be met by the Constitutional Convention, and this body handled it in the only way it could have been handled, intelligently, in a Nation containing so many different religious sects as did ours. The solution worked out was

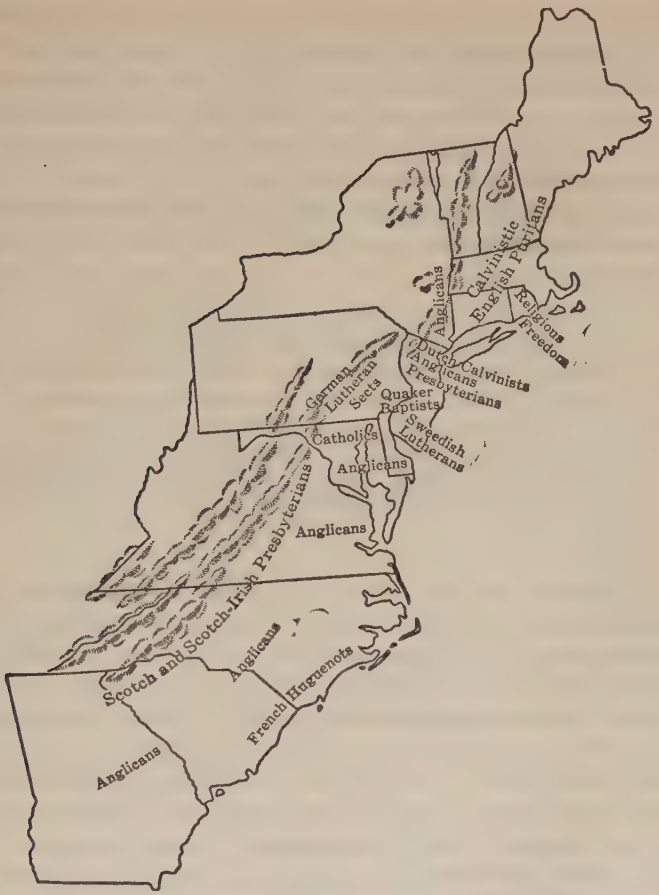

FIG. 2. SHOWING THE RELIGIOUS FAITHS OF THE EARLY COLONISTS IN AMERICA

both revolutionary and wholesome. It simply incorporated into the Constitution provisions which guaranteed the free exercise of their religious faith to all, and forbade the establishment by Congress of any state religion, or the requirement of any religious test or oath as a prerequisite for holding any office under the control of the Federal government. We thus took a stand for religious freedom at a time when the hatreds of the Reformation still burned fiercely, and when tolerance in religious matters was as yet but little known.

Importance of the solution. The far-reaching importance for

our future national life of these same provisions, and especially their importance for the future of public education, can hardly be overestimated. This action led to the early abandonment of state religions, religious tests for voting and holding office, and public taxation for religion in the old States, as well as to the prohibition of these in the new. Ohio, the first of the new States to show the effect of these new attitudes, took a firm stand for religious freedom by incorporating into its first constitution the following provision:

ARTICLE VIII, SECTION 3. That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their conscience; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; that no man shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent; and that no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious society or mode of worship; and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office of trust or profit.

The solution of the religious problem formulated by the Constitutional Convention was important as laying the foundations upon which our system of free, common, public, tax-supported, non-sectarian schools has since been built up. How we could have created a common public school system on a religious basis, with the many religious sects among us, it is impossible to conceive. Instead, we should have had a series of feeble, jealous, antagonistic, and utterly inefficient church school systems, confined chiefly to elementary education, and each largely intent on teaching its own peculiar church doctrines and struggling with the others for an increasing share of public funds.

How much we as a people owe to the Fathers of our Republic for this most intelligent constitutional provision few who have not thought carefully on the matter can appreciate. To it we must trace not only the almost inestimable blessing of religious liberty, which we have for so long enjoyed, but also the final establishment of our common, free, and non-sectarian state school systems. It still required more than a half-century of struggle with the churches to break their strangle hold upon education and to create really public schools, but the beginnings of the emancipation of education from church domination go back to these wise provisions in our National Constitution.

Beginnings of education in the States. Public education was

thus left to the States, by the tenth amendment to the Federal Constitution, as one of the unmentioned powers reserved to the States, and a few of the States early began to make provisions for state systems of public education.

Massachusetts and Connecticut had been the pioneers on the American continent in this matter. The Massachusetts legislation dates back to the famous laws[1] of 1642 and 1647, while the establishment of Harvard College as a colony college goes back to 1636. The Massachusetts school law of 1789, which was the first general school law of the State, merely legalized the practices that had been developing there for more than a century. New Hampshire, which was a part of Massachusetts up to 1680, enacted its first school law the year of separation, and in 1719 reenacted the Massachusetts law of 1647. After the coming of statehood, its first school law dates from 1789.

Vermont enacted its first state school law in 1782, and New York its first in 1795. The New York law was for a five-year period. It expired by limitation in 1800 and was not reënacted. The first permanent establishment of schools there dates from 1812. Delaware created a state school fund, in 1796, from the proceeds of tavern and marriage licenses, but it remained unused until 1817. Rhode Island enacted a school law in 1800, but this was repealed in 1803, and the first permanent law dates from 1828. Pennsylvania enacted a pauper-school law in 1802, which remained in force until 1834.

New York, in 1786, and Massachusetts, in 1788, had provided for the reservation, in state-owned lands, of lots for schools and for the ministry, and in 1805 New York definitely created a permanent state school fund. Georgia, in 1783, set aside a thousand acres of land in each county for county academies; in 1784 began the land endowment of a state university; and in 1817 and 1818 created a free school fund for the education of poor children. Virginia began a state school fund in 1805, Maryland in 1812, and New Jersey in 1816, though in these States no general school law was enacted until a later date. These early laws mark the legal beginnings of state educational systems in the United States.

In the meantime the National Government, rather unwittingly at first to be sure, began a policy of aiding the States to establish

[1] See the author's *Readings in the History of Education*, pp. 298–99, for these two laws.

and maintain schools within their boundaries, and Congress also early settled the question as to whether the school systems established in the States should be state school systems or a series of local school systems. Because we still have to deal with the results of these early grants in matters of school support, and because the national aid granted the States at first for the establishment of schools developed in time into an extensive undertaking, and because the influence of the grants made has been so stimulating to the States, we shall pause here to trace the beginnings of national aid for education in the States and the work of the Federal Government in education, before passing on to a consideration of our state educational systems and their problems.

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Chapters I–III give a more detailed account of the early rise of state education in this country.

CHAPTER II

NATIONAL LAND GRANTS FOR EDUCATION

I. LAND GRANTS FOR COMMON SCHOOLS

Origin of the national domain. The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1783, which acknowledged the Independence of the United States, gave to the new Republic the boundaries shown in the map on page 16. There had long been conflicting and overlapping claims as to how far westward and northward the boundaries of the different colonies extended, and for a time these claims[1] threatened to cause serious trouble.

To quote from Orfield:[2]

> The original charters of six of the thirteen colonies made the Pacific Ocean their western boundary. The Virginia charter of 1609 gave a territory extending from "Sea to Sea, West and Northwest." The Massachusetts Bay grant of 1629 extended "throughout the Mayne Landes there, from the Atlantick and Westerne Sea and Ocean on the Easte Parte, to the South Sea on the West Parte." In the Connecticut charter of 1662 the form of the grant was "to the South Sea on the West Part"; in the North and South Carolina charter of 1663, "to the west as far as the south seas"; and in the Georgia charter of 1732, "westerly . . . in direct lines to the south seas." New York, by virtue of treaties with the Six Nations and their allies, asserted a claim to Ohio and part of Kentucky.
>
> There were thus seven States which laid claim to western territory.
>
> The treaty of peace of 1783 made the Mississippi the western boundary of the thirteen States. No State could claim lands west of that river thereafter. But the six States referred to above claimed land as far west as the Mississippi, while New York asserted the right to a block of land west of her present limits.

As a means of settling these problems permanently, it was finally proposed by the Continental Congress, in 1780, that the different States cede the territory in dispute to the Federal Government, to constitute a public domain to be held on the following conditions:

1. That the western territory should be held and disposed of for the common benefit of all the States.

[1] For an excellent brief account of these conflicting claims, see John Fiske's *The Critical Period of American History*, pp. 187–96.

[2] Orfield, M. N. *Federal Land Grants to the States*, p. 33.

2. That from it new States should be formed, to be admitted to the Union on an equal footing with the original States.

3. That any expenses incurred in acquiring and subduing the territory should be reimbursed.

4. That the manner and condition of the sale of the lands acquired should be exclusively regulated by Congress.

In 1781, New York, the first of the States to accede to the proposal, ceded all its western claims to the Federal Government. Virginia followed, completing its cession in 1784; Massachusetts, in 1785; Connecticut, in 1786; South Carolina, in 1787; North

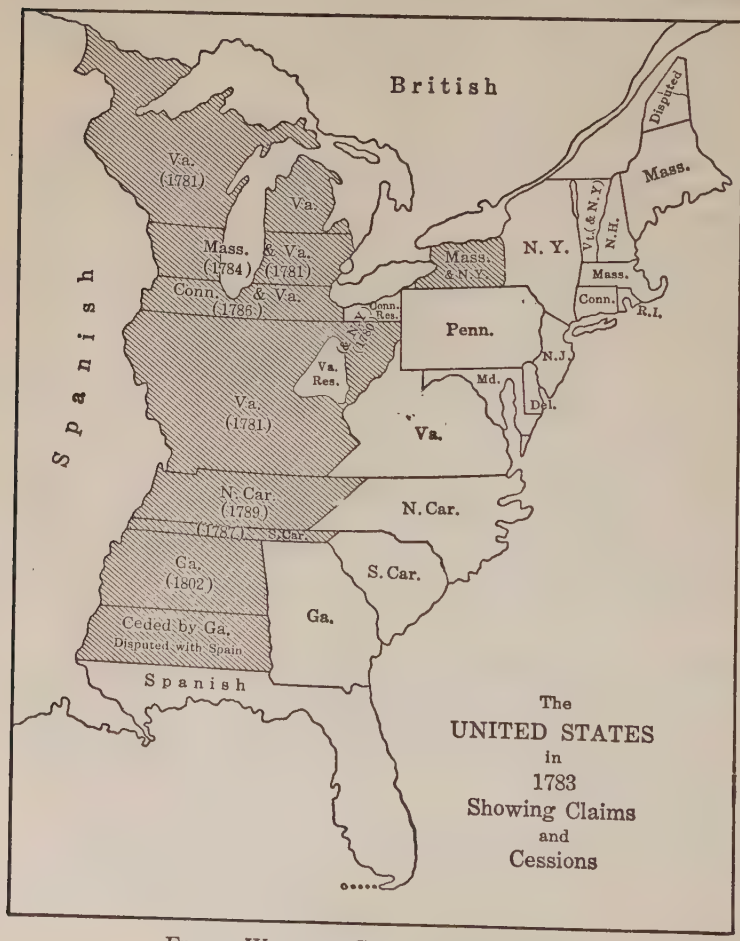

FIG. 3. WESTERN CLAIMS AND CESSIONS

Carolina, in 1790. With the cession of Georgia, in 1802, the public domain was complete.[1] Three of the cession deeds were without conditions. Virginia and Connecticut made extensive reservations[2] of land in what afterwards came to be the State of Ohio (see Fig. 5), and Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia inserted in their deeds of cession a provision[3] which demanded that all lands so ceded to the United States, not covered by reservations or bounties,

> shall be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said States, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatever.

The Congress of the Confederation accepted the cessions, and the "common estate" thus created not only served as a real bond of union between the States during the critical period in the life of the new Nation, but also became a source of wealth in years to come.

Between the close of the War and the establishment of the National Union six years (1783–89) intervened. During this time the Congress of the Confederation continued in power. During this period new settlers were pushing westward into the new territory, many applications to purchase land were received, and the demand for the opening of the new territory to colonization became more and more insistent. Surveys were required, and there were Indian titles to be extinguished and Indian tribes to be subdued.

Survey of the public lands. After a detailed consideration of many plans, Congress finally, in 1785, adopted a system of rectangular survey for the new domain, based in large part on the old New England system of "township planting." This scheme provided for the subdivision of the land into townships, six miles square, and for the subdivision of these in turn into thirty-six sections, each one mile square, as shown in Figure 4. With slight changes this form of survey, which was readopted in final

[1] The total area ceded amounted to 404,956 square miles of land, which was equal to four times the area of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania combined.

[2] Virginia reserved approximately 3,700,000 acres in southern Ohio, and Connecticut approximately 3,800,000 acres in northeastern Ohio. Each of these reservations is about the size of Rhode Island and Connecticut combined.

[3] Poole, B. P. *Charters and Constitutions.* 2d ed., vol. 1, 428 pp.

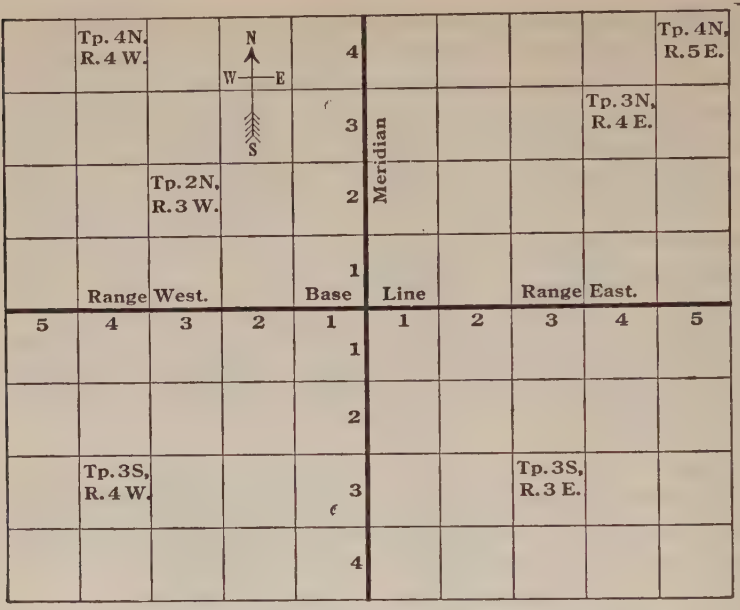

FIG. 4. BASE LINE, TOWNSHIPS, AND RANGES
Showing type of land survey finally adopted.

form in 1786, has been followed ever since, and is substantially as follows:

Starting at some meridian, as for example the western boundary of Pennsylvania or some degree of latitude, and from some base line, e.g., the point where the Ohio River emerges from the State of Pennsylvania, the land is laid off into townships of six miles square, except where streams, or the convergence of meridians to the north, create fractional townships, and these townships are designated as shown in Figure 4. Each township is in turn subdivided into sections, which are numbered, beginning at the upper right hand corner, as shown in Figure 6. Each section contains 640 acres, and is again subdivided into quarter sections of 160 acres each.[1]

Disposal of the National Lands. In April, 1783, Colonel Timothy Pickering drew up certain propositions for settling a new State in this national domain, now Ohio, by officers and soldiers of the federal army. The tract was to be purchased from the Indians by Congress, surveyed, and apportioned among the officers and men entering into the plan of settlement according to a

[1] See Treat, P. J. *The National Land System*, chaps. II and VIII, for a good description of the early surveys.

prescribed schedule. The proposals of Pickering were significant, since they contained the earliest suggestion of national land grants for education. One of the clauses read:

> ART. 7. These rights being secured, all the surplus lands shall be the common property of the State, and be disposed of for the common good; as for laying out roads, building bridges, creating public buildings, establishing schools and academies, defraying the expenses of government, and other public uses.

Two years later the Ordinance of 1785 (*Source Book*, p. 19), which ordered the rectangular system of survey shown in Fig. 4, went still further and laid the foundations for a future national land policy by a provision that "there shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools, within the said township." The famous Ordinance of 1787 (*Source Book*, p. 20), however, made no reservations of lands for schools, but merely stated in principle, for the whole Northwest Territory, that

> religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged

in the States to be carved from this Territory.

Another action that helped to lay the foundations of national land grants for schools was taken in 1787. In that year a New England company, known as the Ohio Company of Associates, and of which Manasseh Cutler[1] was a director, desiring to purchase a million and a half acres of land on the Ohio River, demanded certain concessions from Congress. Acting under pressure, and in fear that the Company might buy land from some State instead, the Congress of the Confederation finally agreed with the prospective purchasers to reserve section 16 in every township for schools, and section 29 for religion, and to grant, in addition, two complete townships for the benefit of a college (*Source Book*, p. 20). The college or seminary lands were given by Congress to the care and management of the legislature of the future State, but the control of the sections for schools and religion was left undecided. Similar terms were made in the

[1] Cutler and his associates were familiar with the plan of reserving lands for schools in the towns of New England, which had become a fairly well-established policy back in the colonial period. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York this had been done commonly, and the New England men availed themselves of these precedents when they sought to purchase land in the new national domain.

contract for the sale of a million acres on the lower Ohio, to John C. Symmes, in 1788. The actuating motive, in each case, was rather a desire on the part of the Continental Congress to raise much-needed money from the sale of western lands than any wish to aid either education or religion. We have here in these laws and grants made by the Congress the beginnings of what came in time to be a national land-grant policy of large dimensions, although it was some years thereafter before any settled policy may be said to have been adopted.

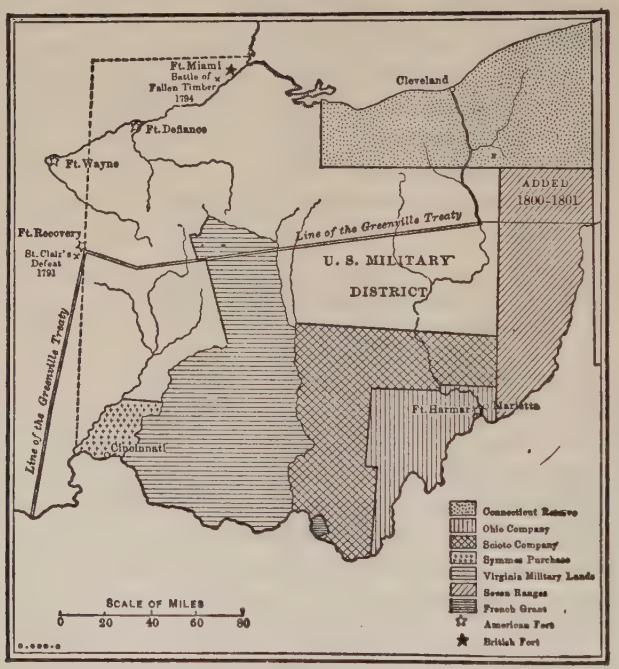

FIG. 5. GRANTS AND RESERVES IN OHIO

(From Allen Johnson's *Union and Democracy*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915. By permission.)

By the close of 1788, eleven of the States had ratified the new Constitution, and on April 30, 1789, the new Federal Government was inaugurated. One provision of the new Constitution, Art. IV, Sec. 3, §2 (*Source Book*, p. 21), gave the new Congress full power to control and dispose of the new national domain. Many petitions for grants of land and for the sale of land at reduced prices were presented to Congress (*Source Book*, pp. 21–23),

and it is much to its credit that a consistent policy of refusal was followed. In 1791 the new State of Vermont was admitted to the Union, and in 1792 Kentucky and in 1796 Tennessee. No land grants for either education or religion were made in the case of any of these three States. The new Congress also refused to grant "lieu lands" in the Ohio Company grant for those of Section 29 (religion) which were found to have been sold, and the grant for religion nowhere appears again. From that time on, excepting only a few small grants of land to Catholic mission schools for the Indians, Congress has followed a consistent non-sectarian policy.

Ohio establishes a type and a policy. With the admission of Ohio, in 1802, our land-grant policy for education really begins. A definite precedent was here established by Congress, which has been followed and extended in the admission of all subsequent States. The Enabling Act for the Admission of Ohio (1802; *Source Book*, p. 23) contained a definitely proposed bargain, which, if accepted by the new State, was to be binding on Congress and irrevocable without the consent of that body. Congress proposed to grant the sixteenth section of land in each township "to the inhabitants thereof" for schools; certain salt springs to the State; and to give to the State, for building roads, "five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of all public lands within the State"; *provided* that the State would agree to exempt from taxation all public lands sold by Congress for five years after the date of sale.[1]

This trade constituted a definite exchange of property for rights of value, and probably Congress at first was actuated more by a desire to increase the market for the national lands than to aid in the establishment of schools. By another Act, passed the following year (1803; *Source Book*, p. 24), Congress confirmed all earlier grants for schools; extended them to certain reservations not previously included; granted another township to the State for a seminary of learning; declared the grants to be "for schools and for no other use, intent, or purpose whatever," and now finally settled the question of the control of the school-section lands, as it had previously done for the university lands, by vesting their general control in the Legislature of the State, in trust for the purposes mentioned. The same year the provisions of

[1] Land was sold on five-year sale contracts, so that this exemption covered the time the purchaser was paying the Federal Government for the land.

the Ohio Act, reserving section 16 for schools, was extended to the national domain "south of the State of Tennessee." This extension covered Alabama and Mississippi (*Source Book*, pp. 25–26). Again, in 1806, in settling a dispute with the State of Tennessee, Congress still further extended the grants by providing for the reservation there of "six hundred and forty acres to every six miles square" for schools; of one hundred thousand acres "for academies"; and of the same amount "for two colleges" within the State (*Source Book*, pp. 26–27).

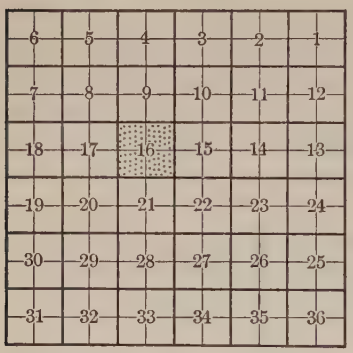

FIG. 6. THE OHIO TYPE OF GRANT

Showing sections and plan of numbering, as well as location of Section 16.

These grants, once begun, were continued in the admission of Indiana in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, and Alabama in 1819, though in each case the grant was made as part of a bargain with the State for the exemption of government lands from taxation for five years after date of sale. With the admission of Missouri, in 1821, the plan of grants for schools was further extended to the Louisiana Purchase as well as to the ceded national domain. In 1834 the State of Louisiana, which had received no land grant on its admission in 1812, was also granted the sixteenth section, "whenever the same has not been sold." All States admitted after the beginning of the land-grant policy in Ohio received grants of land for schools, with the exception of Maine, admitted in 1820, which was carved from Massachusetts; Texas, in 1854, in which the National Government owned no land; and West Virginia, in 1863, which was carved from Virginia.

Three types of grants. Three types of grants were used before 1840. In the Ohio type of grant, it will be remembered, the sixteenth section, or its proceeds, was "granted to the inhabitants of each township, for the use of schools" (*Source Book*, pp. 23–25). Indiana, in 1861, and Mississippi, in 1817, followed the Ohio form of grant. With the admission of Illinois, in 1818, a slightly different form of grant was made in that the sixteenth section was "granted to the State, for the use of the inhabitants of such township, for the use of schools" (*Source Book*, p. 28). Ala-

bama, in 1819, reverted to the Ohio form of grant, but Missouri, in 1821, and Arkansas, in 1836, followed the Illinois type of grant.

By the time Michigan came to be admitted, in 1837, the evils of both these forms of grant were apparent, and the convention which framed the constitution for the State memorialized Congress to give the sixteenth section lands "to the State, for the use of schools" (*Source Book*, p. 29), to be applied without reference to township lines. This wiser form of grant has been followed in the admission of all subsequent States. Indiana, in 1851, tried to correct the earlier mistake by consolidating the township fund with the state fund, so as to bring that State into conformity with the Michigan type of grant, but was restrained from so doing by the courts,[1] which held that this change was a violation of the agreement with Congress and of the trust imposed, and that such action could not be taken except with the consent of Congress. Florida and Arkansas have since gathered up all their scattered township funds and put them into one state school fund. In doing this they have followed the above suggestion of the courts, by first securing the permission of Congress for such action.

Fractional townships and lieu lands. It sometimes happened that the sixteenth section had been sold; in some small or fractional townships it was lacking; and in some areas, as for example the "Western Reserve in Ohio" which was exploited by Connecticut, the lands were not under the control of Congress. After the extension of the land-grant policy to the new Louisiana Territory, in the admission of Missouri, in 1821, Congress began to make grants to supply these deficiencies in the previous grants. In 1826, "An Act appropriating lands for the support of schools in certain townships and fractional townships, not before provided for," was passed (*Source Book*, p. 30). By 1834, all the different parts of the State of Ohio had received the sixteenth section grant, or grants in lieu thereof. This State, because of its early admission and the many reservations made within it, and because of its six different types of land survey, was the most confused and had the most incomplete grants of any of the States. After about 1850 it became the settled policy of the Federal Government to reserve the school-land sections when the survey of a ter-

[1] State of Indiana *et al. vs.* Springfield Township, Franklin County. 7 Ind. 636. Decided in 1854.

ritory was first made, and to hold them for the benefit of the future State.

Lease and sale. All the lands granted to the States before 1837 had been granted "for the benefit of schools in the townships," and were for some time held under lease. The lease system, however, proved unprofitable, since much cheap land abounded on all sides. Government land was so cheap that any one of even ordinary energy could buy and pay for a farm, so that the school sections were in general leased only by the poorest and least thrifty of the population, who often damaged the land and timber so much as to cost the State more than the leases produced. This situation was set forth at length in a Memorial of the State of Ohio (*Source Book*, pp. 34–36) which was presented to Congress, in 1824, and again in 1825, requesting the permission of Congress to sell the school lands. The permission was finally granted, in 1826. The other States now applied for a similar permission, which was granted to Alabama in 1827, to Indiana in 1828, and to Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Illinois in 1843 (*Source Book*, p. 36). From this time on the right to sell the lands seems to have been generally accepted.

The new Oregon type. Up to 1850 all States admitted after Ohio had received the sixteenth section for schools, except Maine and Texas. The reasons for these omissions have been stated. Two years after the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute with Great Britain, Congress established a territorial government in the Oregon country (1848), and in doing so provided for the reservation, when surveys were made, of "the sixteenth and the thirty-sixth sections in each township" for the benefit of schools in the future State, or States (*Source Book*, p. 31). Thus a new type of grant was established. California, entering the Union in 1850, was the first State to receive the two sections for schools, although the grant of the second section was not confirmed until 1853. The Oregon form of grant was followed in the case of all States admitted thereafter, until 1896.

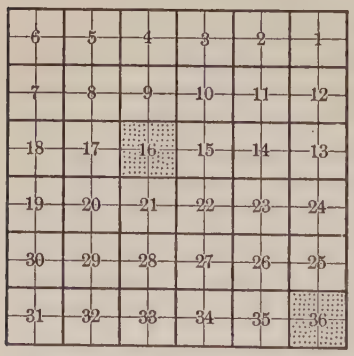

FIG. 7. THE OREGON TYPE OF GRANT

The Utah type. When Utah came to be admitted, in 1896, the Enabling Act provided for the grant of four sections in each township for schools — the second, sixteenth, thirty-second, and the thirty-sixth. Due to arid conditions and the low price at which much of the land granted must be sold, the Utah grants will probably prove less valuable than the two-section grants to a number of the preceding States. Arizona and New Mexico, both admitted in 1912, followed the Utah type of grant (*Source Book*, p. 32) and received four sections each.

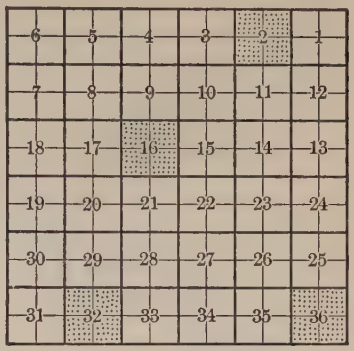

FIG. 8. THE UTAH TYPE OF GRANT

The Oklahoma grants. In the admission of Oklahoma, in 1907, the most generous of all the grants was made (*Source Book*, pp. 67–71). Only two sections of land in Oklahoma proper were granted for schools (sixteenth and thirty-sixth), but five million dollars in gold was given in lieu of grants in the old Indian Territory. In addition, the State received one section (thirteenth) for normal schools, agricultural colleges, and the university, one third for each, as well as an additional section (thirty-third) for charitable and penal institutions and for public buildings. Under the last heading aid for consolidated school buildings has recently been provided. Other liberal grants of land for educational and other purposes were also made in the Enabling Act for this new State (*Source Book*, p. 62).

Value of these Grants. The total of these land grants for schools, by States, is given in the following table, as compiled by Swift.[1] According to his figures they total 73,155,075 acres.

Federal Land Grants for Common Schools

GROUP I. STATES RECEIVING SECTION NO. 16.

	Acres.		Acres.
Alabama	911,627	Louisiana	807,271
Arkansas	933,778	Michigan	1,021,867
Florida	975,307	Mississippi	824,213
Illinois	966,320	Missouri	1,221,813
Indiana	668,578	Ohio	724,266
Iowa	988,196	Wisconsin	982,329

[1] Swift, F. H. *Federal Aid to Public Schools*, p. 10. Bulletin 47, 1922, U.S. Bureau of Education.

GROUP 2. STATES RECEIVING SECTIONS NOS. 16 AND 36.

	Acres.		Acres.
California	5,534,293	Nevada	2,061,967
Colorado	3,685,618	North Dakota	2,495,396
Idaho	2,963,698	Oklahoma	1,375,000
Kansas	2,907,520	Oregon	3,399,360
Minnesota	2,874,951	South Dakota	2,733,084
Montana	5,198,258	Washington	2,376,391
Nebraska	2,730,951	Wyoming	3,470,009

GROUP 3. STATES RECEIVING SECTIONS NOS. 2, 16, 32, AND 36.

	Acres.		Acres.
Arizona	8,093,156	Utah	5,844,196
New Mexico	4,355,662		

Total (not including Alaska) . . . . . 73,155,075 acres, or 114,304.8 square miles.
Alaska reservations (sections 16 and 36) . . 21,009,209 acres, or 32,826.8 square miles.
Grand total . . . . . 94,164,284 acres, or 147,131.6 square miles.

Another estimate, compiled from earlier figures, based on Donaldson (*Source Book*, p. 33), gives the total as 80,785,964 acres. The accompanying map of the United States shows the distribution of these grants. The total amount[1] is equal to an area about as large as the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois combined. At the traditional government price of $1.25 per acre, a permanent fund of approximately $100,000,000 for common schools should have been produced. As a matter of fact the grants have produced much more than this sum,[2] due to the fact that the sales in the newer Western States have been at much larger prices. Most of the earlier grants were grossly mismanaged,[3] and often the money when accumulated was "borrowed" by the State and spent, leaving to-day only a "perpetual obligation" on which the State pays interest raised by general taxation.[4] In all States ad-

[1] This amount will be increased somewhat, from time to time, as Indian reservations are vacated and the States receive section grants in them as well. See *Report, U.S. Commissioner of Education*, 1910, I, p. 185, for a list of such additional grants made by Congress during the session of 1909–10.

[2] Swift estimated their average money value at $10 an acre, which would total $1,243,900,000, not including Alaska. See p. 32 of his *Federal Aid to Public Schools*.

[3] See Swift, F. H., *History of the Permanent Common School Funds*, pp. 133–138, for the losses in the sixteenth section fund in Missouri. See also Knight, G. W., *History and Management of Federal Land-Grants in the Northwest Territory*, for losses there. See *Source Book*, pp. 447–51, for a history of the land grants in Wisconsin.

[4] For example, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin in the North, and Arkansas and Louisiana in the South. (See *Source Book*, pp. 447–51, for a statement as to Wisconsin.) Most of the Southern States lost their funds, accumulated up to 1861, as a result of the Civil War. For a table showing the debts of the different States to their permanent school funds, see the *American School Board Journal*, for June, 1921. A portion of the table is reproduced in Swift's *Federal Aid to Public Schools*, pp. 36–37. See also Swift's *History of Public Permanent Common School Funds*, chap. VI.

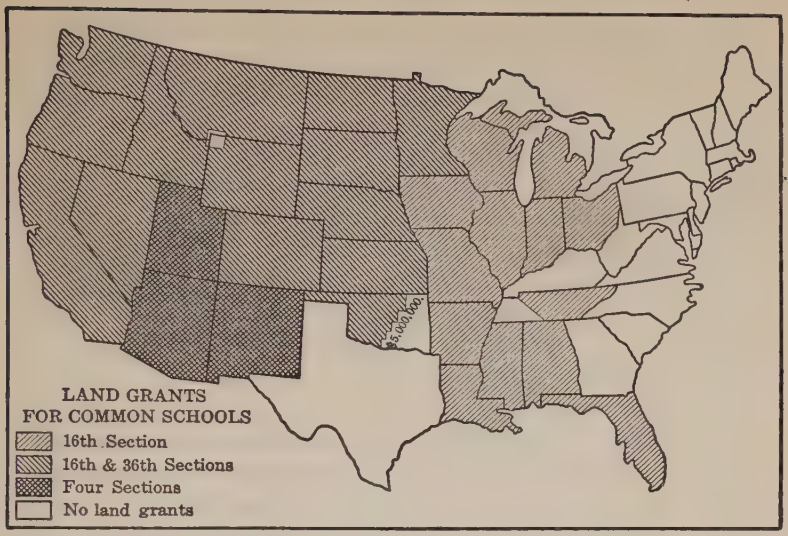

FIG. 9. SHOWING LAND GRANTS FOR COMMON SCHOOLS

mitted since 1850, however, the land grants have been supervised with more care, and reasonably satisfactory prices have been obtained for the lands. A detailed statement as to the approximate value of all educational grants, by States, may be found in the *Source Book*, pages 71–79. A tabulated summary of this statement shows the following approximate values:

GROUPS	ACRES REC'D IN SCHOOL SECTION GRANTS	APPROX. FUND DERIVED FROM SALE OF LANDS	APPROX. VALUE OF UNSOLD LANDS
10 States admitted before 1825.....	6,465,382	$15,250,000	$13,000,000 [1]
6 States admitted 1825–1850.....	4,726,153	8,750,000	1,250,000
8 States admitted 1850–1889.....	26,223,353	35,500,000	95,750,000
10 States admitted 1889–1912.....	43,371,076	43,500,000	300,000,000
Totals.....	80,785,964	$103,000,000	$400,000,000

[1] Two fifths of this sum is land belonging in the City of Chicago.

That a total permanent fund of $500,000,000 may in time be obtained from these school-section grants seems probable, while the amount may eventually prove much larger. Of this estimate of $500,000,000, but $6,000,000 is in the old Southern States; $27,000,000 is in the Northwest Territory States, two fifths of

which is land belonging to the City of Chicago; $35,000,000 is in Oklahoma; $157,000,000 in the Plains States; $205,000,000 in the Mountain States; and $72,000,000 is in the three Pacific Coast States.

Reservations for Alaska. In the public-land surveys of Alaska, sections sixteen and thirty-six have been reserved for the endowment of public schools. These reservations total 21,009,209 acres, or 32,827 square miles — an area nearly as large as the State of Indiana. These lands are now permitted to be leased and the income therefrom is used for the support of schools in the Territory. On the admission of Alaska into the Union these lands will become the property of the State, or States.

Protests of the older States. It will be noticed from the map of the United States showing the distribution of these land grants for common schools (Fig. 9) that certain States received no land grants whatever. The thirteen original States; Vermont, Maine, and West Virginia, which were carved from original States; and Kentucky, which was admitted before the land-grant policy began, did not participate in the distribution. This fact was for long a source of dissatisfaction and protest. Maryland, in 1821, drew up a long and detailed statement, which it transmitted to Congress and to each of the States. In it Maryland set forth the facts as to the grants; declared that each State in the Union "has an equal right to participate in the benefits of the public lands, the common property of the Union"; and requested Congress to make similar appropriations of land to each of the other States (*Source Book*, p. 38). The legislatures of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky (*Source Book*, pp. 38–43) endorsed the Maryland petition, and sent carefully worded memorials to Congress, praying for such grants for schools. Ohio alone among the States objected to the making of the grants.

The Committee on Public Lands of the Senate, which was "instructed to inquire into the justice and expediency" of making land grants to the old States, reported (*Source Book*, pp. 44–46) against making them. The Committee held that the so-called "donations" of land to the new States had been, in reality, "sales bottomed upon valuable considerations, in which the new States surrendered their right of sovereignty over the remaining public lands, and gave up taxes on lands sold for five years"; the Committee further held that to grant large areas of land to States

within the boundaries of other sovereign States would greatly impede the progress of the States in which the land was located. On the other hand, the Committee held that it would be both "just and expedient to grant a per centum . . . on the sales of public lands for the purpose of promoting education in such States as have not received the aid of the National Government."

This question has come up for discussion from time to time, but no settlement of it has ever been reached. In 1826 the House Committee on Public Lands made a favorable report on a similar resolution of inquiry, and in 1828 a select committee of the House reported in favor of the passage of a general land-grant bill for education. In 1838 Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, presented resolutions to the House, calling for an appropriation of public lands "to all the States and Territories of the Union, for the purposes of free schools, academies, and the promotion and diffusion of education in every part of the United States." No action was taken, however, and the question was then lost sight of in the growing slavery agitation. Had the matter been pushed to a settlement before 1810, when Jefferson and other Southern leaders favored the plan, it is probable that some equitable arrangement for general national aid might have been made; after 1830 the growing interest of slavery, which universal education might imperil, made Congress unwilling to take any action in the matter.

Another attempt to equalize these grants was made in 1894–95 by a Representative from Kentucky, who introduced a bill the purpose of which was to equalize the educational land grants to the States on the basis of a grant to each State of two sections in each township. States which originally received only the sixteenth section were to receive a grant the equivalent of one additional section, and States which had never received any land grants for schools were to receive a grant the equivalent of two sections. It was calculated at the time that 28,000,000 acres of public land would be required. The bill was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, and died there. In 1922, there still remained 1,820,366,080 acres of public land, distributed among twenty-nine States and Alaska (see *Source Book*, p. 108, for table). Such a grant would require about 1.5 per cent of the remaining public land, but the advisability of land grants, as will be seen a little further on, now may well be doubted.

It can hardly be denied that the older States have not had an

equal share in the grants made for purposes of education. This will be even more apparent as one reads further in this chapter, and looks at the different maps. That these older States would have wasted their share, had they been given the equivalent lands at the beginning, seems probable; the story of the waste of school lands by the new States admitted before 1850, and the squandering of the surplus revenue by the older States (*Source Book*, pp. 52–57), leaves little doubt as to what would have been the result had there been a general grant of school lands at the beginning to all the older States. Still, when one remembers that the funds greatly stimulated the States which received them; that forty per cent of the school children of the United States are in the older States which did not share in these or other grants for common schools; that many of the schools in these States are very poor, largely for want of adequate support; and that, in the older Northern and Eastern States, at least, there is no such general interest in education as exists in the newer States to the West; and then, when one contrasts these conditions with those which exist in the Western States, with their important normal school and university endowments, and the certainty of annual incomes from permanent endowment funds of from $1 or $2 up to $8 or $10 per child per year, probably for all time to come, the question naturally arises — would it not be wise, even yet, to make some form of grant for education which would tend better to equalize conditions as between the States?[1]

2. OTHER GRANTS FOR COMMON SCHOOLS

Saline grants. In the second subdivision of Section 7 of the Enabling Act for the Admission of Ohio (*Source Book*, p. 23), certain saline lands were also granted to the State by Congress as a part of the bargain entered into as to non-taxation of public lands. These were at the time considered to be quite valuable, and the State decided to add them to its school fund. In all 24,216 acres were granted, and their final sale added $41,024 to the permanent fund. Indiana, similarly, derived about $85,000 from its 23,040 acres of saline lands. When this State applied for permission to sell lands, Congress required that the pro-

[1] Texas is in a different category, as this State retained all its lands on entering the Union, and from them has liberally endowed its schools and university. In 1840, when Texas was still an independent State, 17,712 acres of state lands in each county were reserved for the support of schools. Other grants in addition have since been made.

ceeds be put into the state school fund. Shortly afterward, in lieu of definitely locating the salt springs given, it became customary to grant two full townships (46,080 acres) of saline lands to each new State on its admission to the Union, to be devoted to any purpose the State saw fit, though in the admission of all States after Colorado (1876), except Utah[1] (1896), the grant of saline lands has been omitted. For a list of the States which have received this grant, the number of acres, the use which has been made of it, and the fund produced from the sales, see *Source Book*, p. 47. In all, 834,235 acres of saline lands have been granted, about 600,000 of which were applied to educational purposes. Just how much was derived from the different grants it is somewhat difficult to determine.

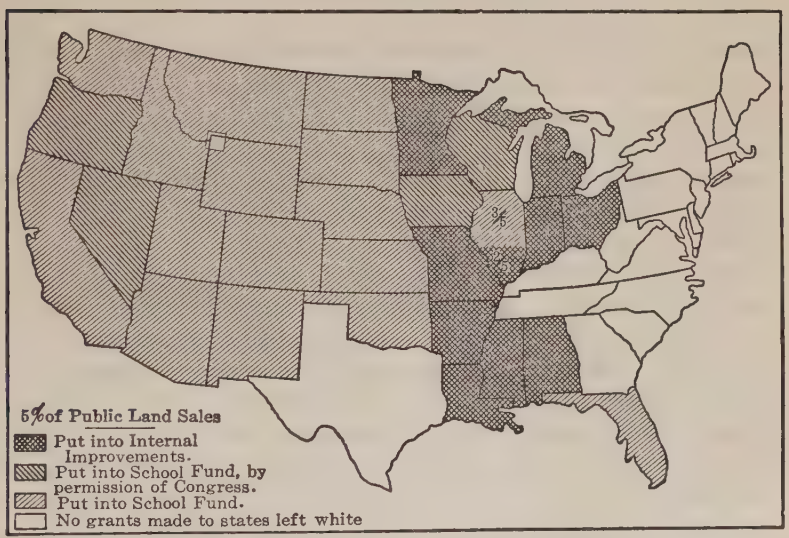
5% of Public Land Sales
Put into Internal Improvements.
Put into School Fund, by permission of Congress.
Put into School Fund.
No grants made to states left white

FIG. 10. SHOWING DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF THE FIVE PER CENT OF LAND-SALES FUND

The five-per-centum fund. The Enabling Act for Ohio (Sec. 7, subdiv. 3; *Source Book*, p. 23) started the practice of granting to the State, for internal improvements, five per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands within that State. This practice was continued in the case of all States admitted after-

[1] All saline lands in Utah were given to the state university, for endowment purposes.

ward, except Maine, Texas, and West Virginia, which contained no public lands. With the admission of Illinois, in 1818, a portion (three fifths of the five per cent) of this grant was for the first time permitted to be used for education (Sec. 6, subdiv. 3; *Source Book*, p. 28). This State, however, formed an exception, as the fund was not again applied to an educational purpose for nearly thirty years. In the case of all States admitted between 1845 and 1860, except two, the fund was at first given for internal improvements, and was later diverted by the States, with the permission of Congress, to their permanent school funds. The exceptions were Minnesota, which used the money for internal improvements, and California, which put the money into its permanent school fund by its first constitution, but did not actually receive the grant from Congress until 1906. In the case of all States admitted since 1860 the grant has been made by Congress expressly for the permanent common school fund. In the *Source Book*, p. 48, is given a table showing the total value and present income of this fund up to 1913, by States.[1] In all, approximately $8,000,000 has been added to the permanent school funds of the new States from this source, and four fifths of this amount has been to the funds of States west of the Mississippi River.

The surplus revenue. The idea of devoting a portion of the money derived from the sale of public lands to the encouragement of education, and of dividing it in some equal proportion among the States, seems often to have been considered in the early days of the Republic. In his last annual message to Congress, in 1808, Jefferson called attention to the increasing surplus revenue in the Treasury, derived from the tax on imports and from land sales. He asked:

> Shall it lie unproductive in the public vaults? Shall the revenue be reduced? Or shall it not rather be appropriated to the improvement of roads, canals, rivers, education, and other great foundations of prosperity and union, under the powers which Congress may already possess, or such amendment of the Constitution as may be approved by the States?

The report of the Committee on Public Lands, in considering the memorial presented by Maryland, in 1821 (*Source Book*, p. 38),

[1] The total of these grants, by 1913, had reached $16,093,417. By the close of 1922 this had increased to $16,854,200. There will be but small yearly increments from now on, and these mostly to the Western States. Many States have no longer any public land within their borders.

states that the Committee, while opposed to large grants of land for educational purposes, would consider it "just and expedient to grant a per centum on the sales of public lands" to the States (*Source Book*, p. 45). In 1826, the Committee on Public Lands of the House presented a report (*Source Book*, pp. 49–50), in answer to a resolution of the House instructing the Committee "to inquire into the expediency of appropriating a portion of the net annual proceeds of the sales and entries of the public lands, exclusively for the support of schools, and of apportioning the same among the several States in proportion to the representation of each in the House of Representatives." The report declared that the public domain constituted "a common fund for the joint benefit of the States," and recommended such a distribution. On this report no action seems to have been taken. In the meantime the surplus revenue from import taxes and from land sales continued to increase.

The surplus revenue "deposit." Between 1817 and 1827 there was an annual surplus of national revenue over all expenditures of from two to six millions of dollars. By 1827 the extinction of the national debt within a dozen years seemed certain, and visions of great surplus revenue began to appear. As all national expenditures for internal improvements were at that time regarded as unconstitutional, apparently the only thing left to do with the money was to distribute it among the States. As early as 1826 a bill was introduced into Congress to distribute $5,000,000 yearly for four years among the States, presumably for internal improvements. If it proved successful, the plan was to be continued, and after the extinction of the national debt it was estimated that there would be $15,000,000 a year to distribute. Although the bill failed of passage at the time, the idea was cherished. In 1831 the legislature of Pennsylvania passed a resolution asking for the distribution of the surplus. In 1835, Clay's bill providing for the distribution of the land revenues among the States passed, but was vetoed by President Jackson. This bill proposed that, after deducting ten per cent to be set apart for new States, the residue should be divided among the twenty-four States in proportion to population, to be devoted to education, internal improvements, colonization, or redemption of existing debt.

The matter soon became a political issue. The Whigs, led by Clay, favored a distribution largely because of a desire to main-

tain the high tariff which was producing the surplus. The new States, too, were developing vast schemes of internal improvements and establishing school funds and schools, and a feeling of injustice, on the part of the old States, began to manifest itself. Governor Seward, of New York, gave expression to this feeling in the following words:[1]

If New York got her share, yearly, of the public land revenues, the internal-improvement enterprises would no longer be rivals, for all would have all of the money they wanted; different educational institutions would no longer contend for shares, as there would be ample for all. We are now obliged to practice a cold, calculating charity. ... Let us bring annually into the treasury of the State of New York

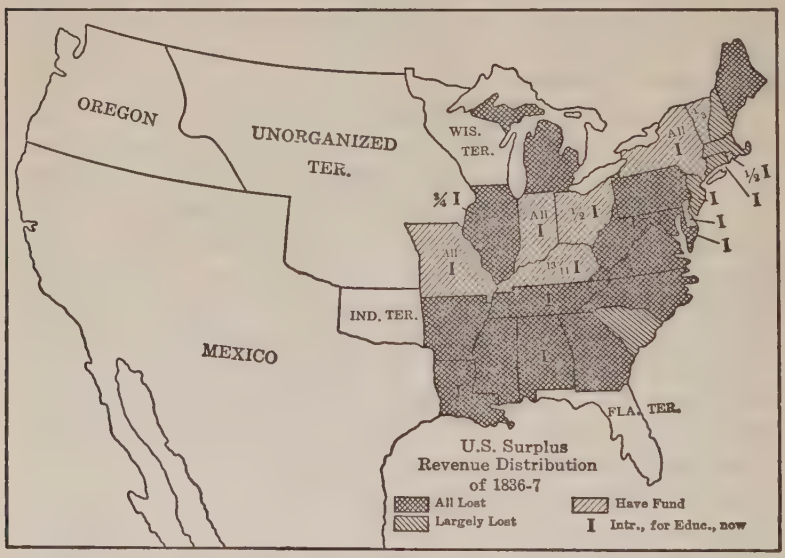

FIG. 11. SHOWING RESULTS OF THE SURPLUS REVENUE DISTRIBUTION

her proportion of the revenues (from land sales), and our fellow citizens can be relieved of the burthen of repairing common roads, and of paying tolls upon canals, railroads, and turnpikes, and from the heavy expense of the administration of justice and the support of schools and charities. We are sometimes called by the adversaries of internal improvement to contemplate a condition of exhausting taxation. Who can object to a measure which would secure a general exemption from the burthens of government.

[1] William H. Seward's *Works*, vol. II, p. 291.

Finally, in 1836, was passed the famous "Act to regulate the Deposit of Public Money" (*Source Book*, p. 51), which provided for the distribution so long talked about, but was put into the form of a "deposit" to escape a presidential veto. The Act provided that, after reserving $5,000,000, all the remaining money in the Treasury of the United States on January 1, 1837, should be distributed to the States on the basis of their representation in the House and Senate combined, and in four equal quarterly payments. The deposit was declared to be a loan, to be repaid on demand of the Secretary of the Treasury, but in the year following the power to recall it was changed from the Secretary of the Treasury to a vote of Congress. The panic of 1837 came on immediately afterward, and after three payments had been made the Treasury was empty, and the fourth payment was never made. In all $28,171,453.86 was "deposited" with the States, the amount varying from $286,751.49 each to Delaware, Michigan, and Arkansas (3 quotas), to $4,041,520.71 to New York (42 quotas).

The deposit was everywhere regarded as a distribution.[1] The history of this distribution has been traced in detail by Mr. Bourne,[2] and will be found briefly summarized, by States, in the *Source Book*, pp. 52–57. Of the total amount distributed approximately $7,500,000 actually exists to-day, the interest on all of which is devoted to the maintenance of schools. Over half of this amount is in the State of New York. There is also an interest charge on $6,405,837.74 of lost funds, in eight States, which is raised annually by taxation and given to the support of schools. The school funds, then, actually received about one fourth of this distribution, and to-day draw interest on approximately one half of it. This "deposit" has never been called for and probably never will be, nor will this form of distribution probably ever again be employed. The proposals for distribution were not completely silenced by this grant, however, and in 1841 came up again in new form.

[1] "The Senator from New York has averted, for another purpose, to the twenty-eight millions of Surplus Revenue divided a few years ago among the States. Was not that, in effect, distribution? Was it not so understood at the time? Was it not voted for by Senators as practical distribution? The Senator from North Carolina has stated that he did. I did. Other Senators did; and no one, not the boldest, will have the temerity to rise here and propose to require or compel the States to refund that money. If in form it was a deposit with the States, in fact, and in truth, it was distribution. So it was then regarded. So it will ever remain." — Speech of Henry Clay, in the Senate, Jan. 28, 1841.

[2] Bourne, E. G. *History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837.*

The Internal Improvement Act of 1841. In this year a new law was enacted (*Source Book*, pp. 57–59), providing for the distribution of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands among all the States, but this was automatically repealed the next year by a change in the tariff. Only one distribution was made under it,[1] and about five per cent of the amount distributed was used for education. This practically marked an end of the distribution proposals.

Another section of this same Act (Sec. 8) has been of great importance to education, however. By its terms (*Source Book*, p. 60) 500,000 acres of public land were granted to each new State admitted after 1800, except Maine, and the same grant was to be made to every new State admitted thereafter.[2] The land was given for "internal improvements," but after 1845 the gift was diverted by the States to education, with the consent of Congress, or given direct for schools in all cases except Minnesota (1858). Beginning with the States admitted in 1889, and thereafter, Congress discontinued the general grant, and instead made specific grants of land to each of the new States. These specific grants have in all cases equaled 500,000 acres, and in the case of the last four States admitted have greatly exceeded that amount. (See *Source Book*, p. 62, for table of these specific grants.)

A brief statement of the amount and approximate value of these 500,000-acre grants under the law of 1841, including the later specific grants, is as follows:

1. *General grants*, made to the States before 1889. Minimum scale price fixed by law at $1.25 per acre.
   Lands sold (about three fourths) have produced approximately $7,000,000
   Lands still on hand, probably worth about 8,000,000
   Total gains to common school funds about .. $15,000,000

2. *Specific grants*, for educational purposes, 1889 and since.
   1,040,000 acres for universities; 680,000 acres for schools of mines; 1,000,000 acres for agricultural and mechanical colleges; $1,260,000 acres for normal schools; 560,000 acres for schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind; 230,000 acres specifically for reform schools; 1,180,000 acres for reformatory, penal, and charitable institutions; 180,000 acres for insane asylums; 180,000 acres for hospitals; be-

[1] In all, $691,117.05 was so distributed to the twenty-nine States and the District of Columbia. (See *Source Book*, p. 59, for table.)

[2] Texas and West Virginia did not share, for obvious reasons.

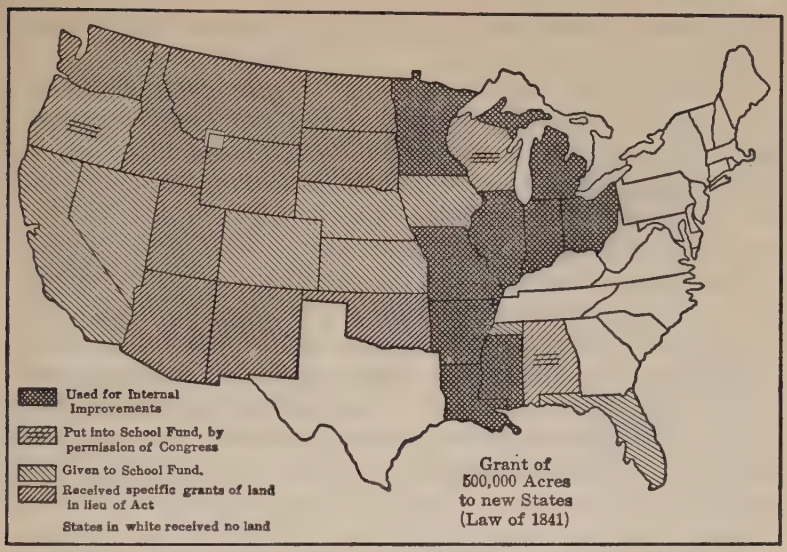
Used for Internal Improvements
Put into School Fund, by permission of Congress
Given to School Fund.
Received specific grants of land in lieu of Act
States in white received no land
Grant of 500,000 Acres to new States (Law of 1841)

FIG. 12. SHOWING GRANTS TO NEW STATES UNDER THE LAW OF 1841

sides other grants for public buildings, penitentiaries, irrigation systems, etc.; and also two sections additional in Oklahoma for normal schools, colleges, and charitable, penal, and reformatory institutions, and public buildings (see Table, *Source Book*, p. 62). On most of these lands the sale price was fixed at $10 per acre, and at $25 per acre on certain lands. The lands probably will bring an average of close to $20 per acre, if properly disposed of.

Total of all these specific grants in the last ten States, 11,243,080 acres, worth at least $100,000,000.

Of this amount, 6,656,540 acres have been for purposes specified above as educational, and are worth at least from $65,000,000 to $75,000,000.

Swamp-land grants. In 1849 Congress granted to the State of Louisiana, on its application, all the swamp and overflowed lands within the State, in recognition of money spent by the State in reclamation work, the proceeds to be used to construct levees and drains. Since the law was made general, the following year (*Source Book*, p. 63), fifteen States have shared in the grant. This Act, like the Internal Improvement Act of 1841, applied only to the new or public-land States. In 1857 all lands so far selected were confirmed to the States. In 1860 Minnesota and Oregon were included, and in 1866 California also. Since that date the grant has not been made to any new State, although the

old States still continue to perfect titles to swamp lands within their borders.[1]

A number of the States have used this grant, or the balance after paying for drainage work, for educational purposes rather than for so-called public improvements, and have either put all, or the net proceeds, into the permanent school fund. For a detailed statement of the grants up to 1883, their use, and the proceeds of the grants, see the table in the *Source Book*,[2] p. 64. In all a total of about 40,000,000 acres of swamp lands were put into the school funds, and have added, as nearly as can be estimated, from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 to the permanent school funds of the different States. Perhaps two thirds of this amount is actually in existence to-day.[3] The fund is interesting chiefly because, originally given to the States for internal improvements, it has in many States been diverted to the permanent school fund.

Recent Enabling Acts. Beginning with the admission of the two Dakotas, Montana, and Washington, in 1889, the National Government began a more liberal and a much more intelligent policy in the matter of the land grants to the States for education. Specific objects were selected for aid, and liberal amounts of land were given to the States for definite purposes. Minimum sale prices were fixed, high enough to insure a reasonable income from the grants, and new restrictions were included to guard against a diversion of the funds (*Source Book*, p. 66).

These grants reached a climax in the Enabling Act for Oklahoma, in 1907 (*Source Book*, pp. 67–71), and the grants there made attained a scale of munificence equalled nowhere else. (See page 25). The grants to Oklahoma of all kinds total 3,876,163 acres, an area three fourths as large as the State of Massachusetts. These lands are estimated as worth at least $25 per acre, and in addition the $5,000,000 in gold must be included in the total. With reasonably careful management and not too rapid sales, a fund of at least $100,000,000 should be derived from these En-

[1] For example, during 1921–22, six States qualified for a total of 7770 additional acres of swamp lands under the old 1850 law.

[2] Swift gives a table in his *Federal Aid to Public Schools*, p. 14, which brings the swamp-land grants down to April, 1921. This report shows a slightly larger amount than the table in the *Source Book*, because of the continuing right of the States to perfect title to such lands.

[3] Michigan, for example, received 5,838,775 acres of swamp land, which produced $972,606. This money was "borrowed" and spent by the State, and now exists only as a "perpetual obligation" on which the State pays interest, from the proceeds of taxation, at the rate of five per cent.

abling Act grants. The recent Enabling Act grants for Arizona and New Mexico (*Source Book*, p. 62) are also on an almost equally liberal scale, so far as acreage is concerned.

One new feature of these recent Enabling Acts is the grant of lands for normal schools, asylums for the care of defectives, and for charitable and penal institutions. A few States, still earlier, devoted certain of their land grants to the endowing of their normal schools, as is shown by the accompanying map, but only since 1889 have direct grants for teacher-training institutions been made by Congress. In all something over 1,500,000 acres have been used to form endowment funds for normal schools, ninety per cent of which has been in the ten States admitted since 1889. This is equal to an area about one third the size of the State of New Jersey. Each of these new Western States should derive a permanent endowment fund for its normal schools of at least a million dollars from these grants, while Oklahoma should greatly exceed this amount.

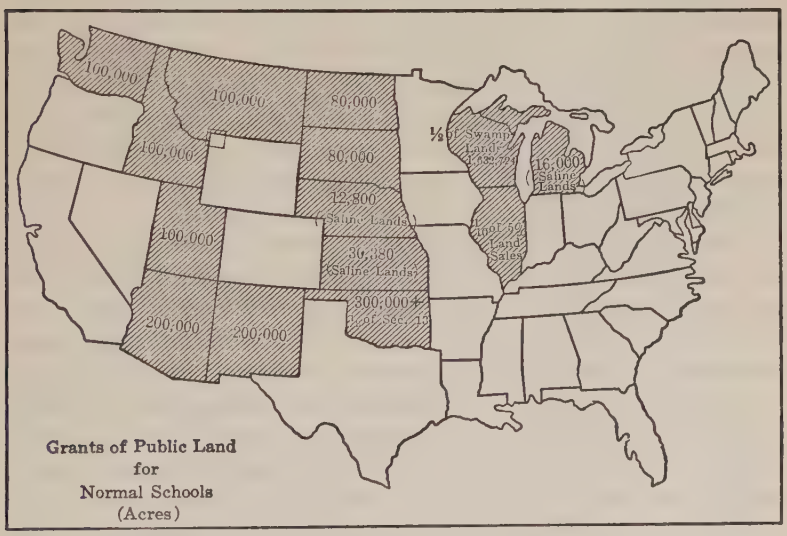

FIG. 13. SHOWING LAND GRANTS FOR NORMAL SCHOOLS

3. GRANTS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Seminary-township grants. The Ordinance of 1787, relating to the sale of 1,500,000 acres of land to the "Ohio Company of Associates" (*Source Book*, p. 20), made the first grant of two

townships of land for a university. A third township for the same purpose was granted with the Symmes purchase, in 1788 (see p. 21). On the admission of Ohio, the three townships previously granted for purposes of seminaries of learning were confirmed to the State. In the settlement with Tennessee, in 1806 (*Source Book*, pp. 26–27), 100,000 acres of land were granted for two colleges, one in east and one in west Tennessee, and a similar amount for county academies. The Enabling Act for Indiana, in 1816, granted the State two townships "for a seminary of learning," and vested their control in the legislature of the State (*Source Book*, p. 81). The Enabling Acts for nearly all public-land States since admitted have contained similar grants, and, when omitted from the Enabling Acts, equivalent grants have been made by Congress at some other time. All new States have received two townships (72 sections, 46,080 acres), and a few have received a larger amount. (See *Source Book*, p. 80, for table of grants.) Beginning with the States admitted in 1889, Congress has, in each case except Wyoming, made additional specific grants of land for the benefit of the state university, and often also for the school of mines as well. (See *Source Book*, p. 62, for table of grants.) In the case of Oklahoma (*Source Book*, p. 68, sec. 8), one section of land in each township (706,540 acres in all) was granted for the endowment of the university and its preparatory schools (one third), the state normal schools (one third), and the two state agricultural colleges (one third).

In all, the Federal Government has granted to the States for university purposes a total of approximately 3,500,000 acres, or an area two thirds the size of the State of Massachusetts. This estimate does not include the grants of land for agricultural and mechanical colleges, mentioned further on, or the saline lands of Utah granted to its state university. The accompanying map shows the distribution of these university grants. In all a fund of approximately $5,000,000 has been derived from these "seminary" and university grants, some of which has been lost or spent, while probably $25,000,000 to $30,000,000 additional will be obtained from lands as yet unsold. At least three fourths of this prospective amount will be in the ten States admitted in 1889 and since.

The thirteen original States, and the two States carved from them, together with Kentucky and Texas,[1] it will be noted from

[1] Texas endowed its university from its own state lands.

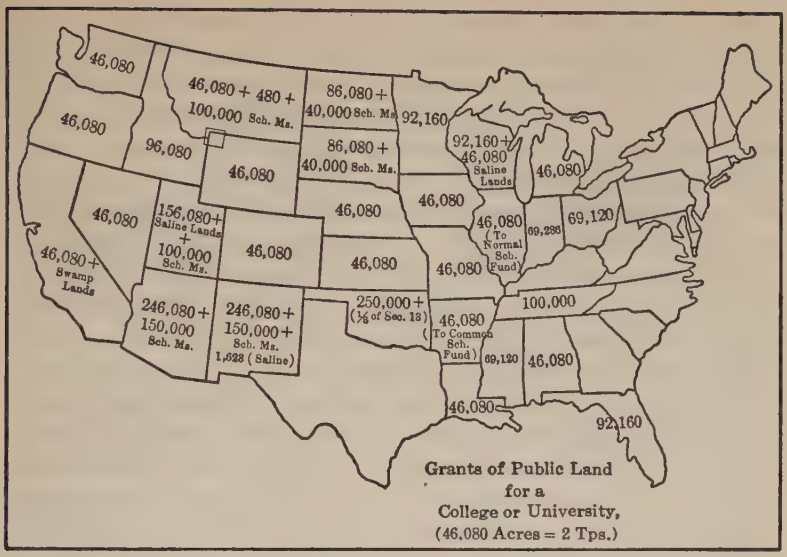

FIG. 14. SHOWING LAND GRANTS FOR STATE UNIVERSITIES

the map, have never shared in these grants, although from time to time propositions have been made to make grants of land to them as well as to the other States. In 1819, the Committee on Public Lands of the House was instructed "to inquire into the expediency of appropriating 100,000 acres of land to each State, for the endowment of a university in each State," but reported against the plan (*Source Book*, pp. 81–83). "To invest twenty-three corporations," reads the report, "acting under state authority, with a fee simple estate of 2,300,000 acres of land, to be located in the Western States and Territories, would put it in their power to impede the settlement of that section of the Union," would "interfere with the general regulations now in force for the disposal of public lands," and "would greatly lessen the value of the lands offered for sale by the United States." If such aid were to be granted, the Committee was of the opinion that "it should be given in money," and not in land. These are the same objections urged in the Report against the request of Maryland and other States, in 1821, for lands for common schools (*Source Book*, pp. 44–45), and against all such proposals for national aid, up to 1862.

The land-grant colleges. After about 1838 a rising interest in agricultural instruction appears in the States. The discussion

relative to the Smithsonian Bequest (p. 90) seems to have stimulated this interest. Agricultural societies here and there began to recommend the establishment of agricultural schools, and in 1846 a committee of Congress was appointed to consider the question. In 1841, and again in 1848, individuals presented memorials to Congress recommending the establishment of colleges in the States to give instruction in scientific branches, including agriculture, mechanics, road-making, and architecture. In 1847 a committee of the New York legislature recommended the establishment of a school in the State to teach "agriculture and mechanic arts." In 1850 the legislature of Michigan petitioned Congress for funds to establish an agricultural school, which was seconded by Illinois, in 1851. Pennsylvania established a state agricultural school in 1854, and Michigan followed in 1855. In 1856 Senator Morrill, of Vermont, offered a resolution in the House of Representatives asking that "the Committee of Agriculture be requested to inquire into the expediency of establishing one or more national agricultural schools upon the basis of the naval and military schools," and in this same year the Massachusetts legislature urged Congress to make a grant of public lands for "a national, normal, agricultural college, which should be to the rural sciences what West Point is to the military." In 1858, Michigan renewed its request for a grant of lands to the State for an agricultural college.[1]

In 1859, a bill finally passed both houses of Congress, granting to each State in the Union 20,000 acres of public land for each Senator and Representative to which the State would be entitled by the census of 1860, to found a college for instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts. The bill, which was staunchly opposed by the Southern members, was vetoed by President Buchanan. His veto message (*Source Book*, pp. 84–86), an interesting summary of the old objections to all such grants, held that the granting of so much land (6,060,000 acres) would glut the market and so depreciate the price of land that government sales would stop; that it entangled State and Federal Governments in a dangerous manner, and tended to cause the States to look to the Federal Treasury for the support of their systems of education; that it would operate greatly to the injury of the new States; that it was doubtful if the bill would contribute to the advance-

[1] For a more detailed history of the development of the agricultural college idea in the United States, see I. L. Kandel's *Federal Aid for Vocational Education*, pp. 73–79.

ment of agriculture and the mechanic arts; that the funds could be diverted and wasted, with no Federal recourse; that the new colleges would seriously injure the existing ones, built up as the result of much private and denominational effort; and, finally, that Congress had no constitutional power to make such a grant.

In 1862 a bill, drawn on similar lines except that the grant was increased to 30,000 acres for each Senator and Representative in Congress,[1] and that instruction in military science and tactics was now added, was passed and signed by President Lincoln (*Source Book*, pp. 86–89). By subsequent legislation (*Source Book*, pp. 89–90) the time for accepting the grant was extended to 1869, the time for opening the new colleges to 1874, and new States and those formerly in rebellion were also made eligible for the grant.

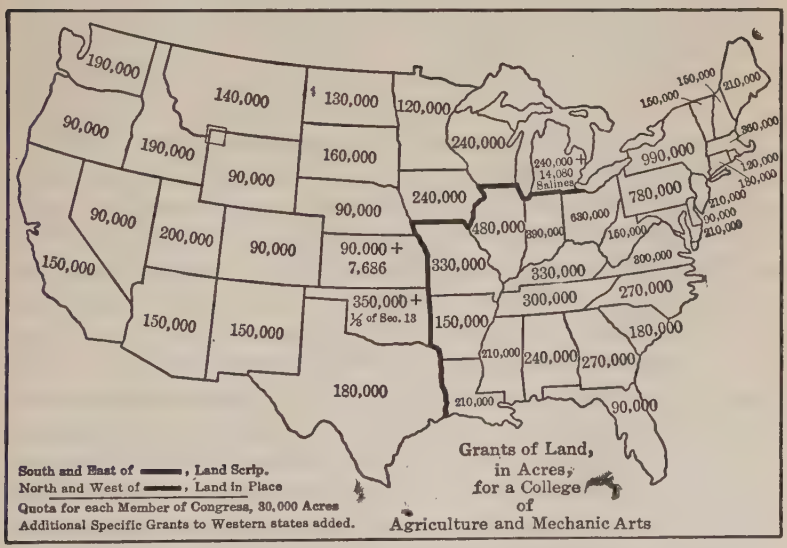

FIG. 15. SHOWING LAND GRANTS UNDER THE MORRILL ACT OF 1862

In all, counting additions made by recent Enabling Acts, a total of 11,315,665 acres have been granted for colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts, an area half as large as the State of Indiana. Fig. 15 shows the distribution of these grants.

[1] Commonly known as the first Morrill Act, after Senator Morrill of Vermont, who championed the bill.

Eighteen States added the fund to the endowment of their state universities, and have combined the two institutions. Three States (originally five) gave the grant to private colleges or universities, already established within the State. The remaining States founded separate agricultural and mechanical colleges.

Results of these land grants. While the financial returns from this large grant of land for special forms of higher education have been very disappointing, the educational results have been very large. A compilation from the most recent statistics available gives the following results for the original (1862) grants:

Total acres granted under the law of 1862	10,548,295
Acres sold to date (1925)	9,646,645
Funds produced from lands sold	$19,323,312
Annual income from these funds	$904,381
Acres still unsold, mostly Western	901,650
Estimated value of unsold lands	$13,491,400
If sold for estimated value, total funds produced would be	$33,137,712
This total is distributed as follows:	
In the 27 land-scrip States	$7,469,434
In the 21 lands-in-place States	$25,668,278

The heavy line drawn across the map, from Lake Erie to the Louisiana-Texas boundary line, divides the States receiving grants of land into two classes. All States to the north and west of this line had government land within their borders, and located the lands within their own domain. The States to the south and east of this line had no government land, and were given "land-scrip," which was virtually an order enabling them to locate their grant on government land to the westward. Of the 9,500,000 acres granted before 1870, 8,050,000, or eighty-four per cent, was in scrip. The result was much what President Buchanan, in his veto message, declared would be the case: all the States were trying to sell their lands at the same time, the market was glutted, the price of land scrip at one time dropped to as low as thirty cents an acre, and much of it was sold for fifty to sixty cents. Pennsylvania sold most of its land scrip at fifty-five cents an acre, and Ohio at fifty-four cents. The total endowment funds obtained by the twenty-seven land-scrip States, divided by the number of acres they received, gives an average price of but eighty-one cents an acre, and this average is materially raised by the results in New York.

The land scrip of this State was turned over to the newly

founded Cornell University, after some sales. Ezra Cornell bought the remaining scrip (eighty-two per cent of the whole) at thirty cents an acre, held it a number of years, sold three eighths of it at an average price of ninety-three and four tenths cents an acre, and in 1874 turned over the remainder of the land and the proceeds of the sales to the university, from all of which it derived about $5,000,000. While the 990,000 acres nominally produced but $688,576, or an average of sixty-nine cents an acre, through the foresight and generosity of Ezra Cornell the grant has actually produced about $6,000,000, or over six dollars an acre.[1]

The results of these grants to the States, educationally, have been quite different. Probably no aid for education given by the National Government has ever proved so fruitful as have these grants for the development of instruction in agriculture and mechanic arts. Instead of causing the States to lean upon the Federal Government for the support of their educational systems, as feared by President Buchanan, the result has been just the opposite. New and vigorous colleges have been created; small, feeble state universities have been awakened to new life; the agricultural and engineering professions have been developed, to the very great benefit of the country at large; and the States have been stimulated to make large and rapidly increasing appropriations for these colleges. The far-reaching educational importance of the Morrill Act of 1862 is not likely to be overestimated.

4. THE TOTAL OF THESE NATIONAL GRANTS

The amount large. While education has received but a small fraction of the income from "the common property of the Union," and but a very insignificant fraction of all the money appropriated for all purposes by the National Government, the total amount given for education, spread over nearly a century and a half, has not in itself been small. As the common schools are "residuary legatee" for certain large grants made to Arizona and New Mexico,[2] and as a few other grants of land have been

[1] For a table giving acres received and still unsold, and much other information regarding the colleges, by States, see Bulletin 44, 1925, of the United States Bureau of Education.

[2] By the provisions of the Enabling Acts for these two States, a million acres of public land were given to each with which to pay off certain county bonds; and any surplus from sales was to be added to the state permanent school fund.

added to school funds, it is perhaps safe to say that the Federal Government has given to the States about 145,000,000 acres of public land for educational purposes (226,562 square miles; an area nine tenths as large as the entire old North-West Territory), and has reserved in addition 21,000,000 acres in Alaska (an area nearly as large as the State of Indiana); that $250,000,000 have been received from sales so far; and that from $600,000,000 to $800,000,000 may be obtained from future sales, depending on the kind of management displayed in selling the lands.

Some idea of the size of the national domain given to the thirty public-land States, and also of the additional land grants set apart for the endowment of public education by the States themselves, may be gained from Figure 16, reproduced here from Swift. The total grants from the national domain to the thirty States total 114,000 square miles, an area slightly larger than Italy, over twice the size of England, and twenty-three times the

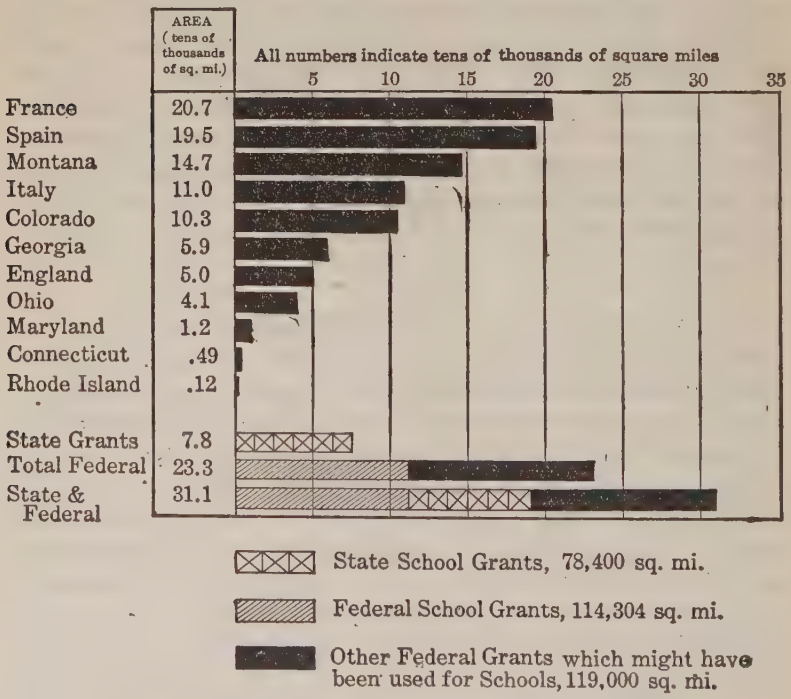

FIG. 16. COMPARATIVE AREAS OF THE LAND GRANTS
(After Swift. Based on Department of the Interior data to April, 1921.)

size of the State of Connecticut. Adding the federal land grants that might have been devoted to education but were not, gives a total of 233,000 square miles, an area almost as large as the State of Texas, twice as large as Italy, and forty-seven times the size of the State of Connecticut. If we add to the federal grants the land grants set apart for education by the States themselves, the combined area equals 311,000 square miles, an area as large as Italy and France combined, and twice the size of California. The fact that so much of this vast endowment has been lost, diverted, or misappropriated does not speak well for either the honesty or the competency of the early legislators and public officials in our States. On the other hand, the realization that the big losses occurred before 1860, and that within the past forty to fifty years the funds and lands have in most cases been fairly well managed, is much more encouraging.

In the next chapter we shall show how the Federal Government later changed the form of its grants from land to money; what the extent of these money grants has been; and to what forms of educational work the Federal Government has so far seen fit to give subventions.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Was Congress quite fair with the original land-cession States in disposing of the "common estate"?
2. Show the superiority of the Michigan type of grant.
3. Were Arkansas and Florida wise in consolidating their grants into the state school fund? If so, how do you explain the neglect of other States to do so?
4. Was the change in policy from lease to sale wise? Why?
5. Explain how the sixteenth section grants were really "sales bottomed upon valuable considerations," as held by the Senate Committee on Public Lands, in 1821. (*Source Book*, pp. 44–46.)
6. Were the objections urged against making grants of land to the old States, in the Report of 1821 (*Source Book*, pp. 44–45) sound, or not? Why?
7. Suppose you desired to rectify the omission of grants to the original States, to equalize matters, what would you do, and why and how would you do it?
8. Why should the five-per-centum fund income received by the States be added to the permanent school funds, rather than be expended for yearly maintenance?
9. In a number of States the law provides that the income from the leasing of sixteenth section and other school lands shall be placed in the current-expense fund each year, and apportioned and spent. Is this provision in accordance with the original intent of such grants?
10. How might the wasting of the surplus revenue of 1837 have been prevented by Congress?

11. What is your opinion of the policy proposed, in that part of the Internal Improvement Act of 1841, which provided for the distribution of the net proceeds of public land sales among all the States?
12. Are we ever likely to have a surplus revenue distribution proposal again? Why?
13. How do you reconcile the long-held idea that direct appropriations to the States for internal improvement were unconstitutional, with the present willingness to give aid freely, and this without any change in the Constitution itself relating thereto?
14. What is your opinion of the Oklahoma grants: (*a*) as expressing a new national attitude; and (*b*) in relation to the other States of the Union?
15. What is your opinion of the educational influence of the seminary-township grants? If favorable, justify it by evidence.
16. Analyze President Buchanan's veto message (*Source Book*, pp. 84–86), and state your opinion of each of his objections.
17. Can you give any historical reasons why a demand for colleges of agriculture should have arisen in the United States about 1850–1860?
18. Account for the present care and honesty, in contrast with the waste, neglect, and dishonesty of three generations ago, in handling the land grants.
19. Does the history of the land-grant colleges offer any answer to the frequently advanced argument that it is unwise for the Federal Government to aid education in the States?

PROBLEMS

1. Determine, as accurately as can be ascertained, the total sum produced by each of the educational grants to your State.
2. Assume no funds lost and five per cent annual returns, and show what each fund would produce for education.
3. Determine the degree of care and honesty which has been exercised in preserving the different educational lands, and resulting funds, granted to your State.
4. If your State has any "permanent obligations" to educational funds for money lost or squandered, determine the tax-rate cost for the annual interest raised.
5. Assuming that the provisions of the proposed bill of 1894–95, equalizing the grants to two sections in each township to all States, were to be carried out now, how many acres would be granted to your State?
6. Assuming that, instead of granting land, the equivalent at $10 per acre were granted, to be added to the permanent school funds, what would be the grant to your State, and what would be the yearly income for schools at five per cent?
7. Assuming that the earlier proposals to establish a permanent national school fund were to be carried out now by setting aside say 2,000,000 acres of national land, worth an average of $20 per acre, what would the total income amount to per year, at five per cent? Would it be worth doing in this way now? Why?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

Look up the facts, and make a report on the following topics:

1. The establishment, growth, and amount of the permanent state school fund, and the university fund, of the State of Texas, with a consideration of the probable future of each.

2. The Ohio seminary-township grants, and why they are so valuable to-day.
3. The Illinois sixteenth section grants, and the location and value of the unsold lands (excluding swamp lands).
4. The nature and the probable future of the permanent school and university funds of Minnesota.
5. The care exercised to-day in handling the land-grants made to Oklahoma, and the probable future of the different educational funds.
6. The development of the agricultural college idea and legislation in the United States.

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CHAPTER III

NATIONAL SUBVENTION PROPOSALS

I. MONEY GRANTS TO THE STATES

The Hoar and Blair bills proposed national aid to the States. When, after the close of the Civil War, the question of national aid to the States for education asserted itself in a new form, certain proposals of historic interest were made concerning such aid. The prostrate condition of the Southern States[1] and the illiteracy of the new citizenship alike seemed to many to demand some form of national assistance for education, so that the unwelcome conditions might be improved more rapidly than could ever be done by unaided state action.

The statistics of illiteracy, as revealed by the National Census of 1870, and again in 1880, formed the basis for strong arguments for action. The Hoar bill of 1870 gave concrete form to this discussion in that it proposed a national system of compulsory education, the establishment of a national permanent school fund from the proceeds of national land sales, and the distribution of the income to the States[2] for educational purposes. The aid, for the first ten years, was to be distributed in proportion to the illiteracy in each State, as shown in the last Federal Census. Although this bill awakened much interest throughout the North and was strongly endorsed, its proponents were never able to secure its enactment into law. The Blair bills of 1884–87 (*Source Book*, pp. 104–07), in a way a corollary of the Hoar bill, proposed similar aid in a temporary form.[3] The enactment of these bills was urged by many influential organizations; they were passed

[1] The taxable property of the South had been largely destroyed as a result of the fortunes of war. Banks and railroads, in which much of the school funds had been invested, had been destroyed, and the slaves, valued at about $2,000,000,000, had been freed. Had the North dealt generously with the South, the recuperation would not have been so long delayed. The Hoar and Blair bills were attempts to extend aid in a most helpful manner.

[2] A National Department of Education had been created in 1867, though it was reduced to a Bureau in 1868, and Senator Hoar now proposed to nationalize education and give the new Bureau real work to do.

[3] The first year $15,000,000, and to decrease $1,000,000 a year until ten payments had been made and then to stop. The apportionment was to be based on the relative illiteracy of the States, and 79 per cent of the amount would have gone to the former slave-holding States.

three times by the Senate, but were never able to secure the approval of the House.

The unsuccessful attempts in Congress after the Civil War to inaugurate a generous system of national education, endowed from the proceeds of land sales, and at first for the relief of the South, brought before the people for the first time the question of national education and evoked a remarkable series of discussions, particularly in the United States Senate. Though the logic of the arguments presented was clearly in favor of national action, and though any one of the Blair bills would have passed had it ever come to a vote in the House (*Source Book*, p. 106), the persisting bitterness of sectional strife prevented constructive action. That such a grant of national aid would have been good business for the North, as well as just and generous to the South; that it would have aided the South in recovering from the effects of the civil strife; and would have laid the foundations for an extensive system of national aid for education, which probably would have been well developed by now, is generally recognized to-day. That a strong national department of education might have been developed that would have rendered a service to the people of this Nation analogous to that rendered by the National Department of Agriculture,[1] is also probable. The fear that such a department, if created, might so develop and render such service has from the first been one of the strong arguments in Congress against any such constructive action.[2]

The Agricultural Experimental Station Act. After the final defeat of the third Blair bill, in 1887, Congress made no attempt to extend aid to the States for education for over twenty years. In the meantime it began what soon developed into an extensive system of money grants to the land-grant colleges, which has greatly aided in their development and has been of large significance to the Nation.

By 1887, twenty-five years after the passage of the Morrill

[1] A Bureau of Agriculture was created by Congress in 1860, and this was enlarged into a Department in 1885. It was not until after about 1891 that it began to render any large service, however, but since then it has gone forward very rapidly. A Department of Education was created in 1867, but this was reduced to a Bureau in the Interior Department in 1868. For a comparative table, showing appropriations for and growth of the two, see *Source Book*, pp. 124–25.

[2] In 1911, for example, in a debate in the House of Representatives on a proposal to enlarge materially the staff of the Bureau of Education, the Republican floor leader, in opposing the appropriation, warned the House that if this Bureau ever got started it would become another Department of Agriculture and would cost millions, and that the thing to do was to keep it from getting started.

Act, practically all the States had organized and opened their colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts (Indiana, Michigan, Kansas), or equivalent instruction in the state university (California, Minnesota, Wisconsin), or had designated some existing college or university (New Jersey, Rhode Island, Vermont) to receive the grants and organize the work for the State. The Centennial Exposition of 1876 had given the needed emphasis to the courses in engineering; by 1887 these courses had become well established. The agricultural courses were longer in finding their work and in establishing themseives, but were nevertheless beginning to see their way clearly by this time.

In 1887 Congress was led to endow these land-grant colleges further by the passage of what is commonly known as the Hatch Act (*Source Book*, pp. 90–95), thus making a new departure in the matter of government aid to the States for purposes of education. Instead of a further land grant, the National Government now made a direct yearly grant of money to each State and Territory, in the form of an appropriation of $15,000 a year, nominally "from the proceeds of the sale of public lands," and for the particular purpose of maintaining, in connection with the agricultural and mechanical colleges or the departments of agriculture in the universities, an agricultural experimental station to conduct "researches or experiments bearing directly upon the agricultural industry of the United States." In addition, the franking privilege was also given these stations for sending out their bulletins through the mails. What was for so many decades regarded as unconstitutional now became an accomplished fact.

The new work thus begun proved so important and profitable that, eight years later, the grant to each State and Territory was increased to $20,000 a year, with a provision that the grant was to be still further increased by $2000 a year for five years, or until a maximum of $30,000 a year was reached, at which amount it was to continue. This sum was reached in 1910–11, when the total annual appropriation to the forty-eight States for experiment station work was $1,440,000.[1] In these stations the professors were not to teach, but were to devote their time, or such portion of their time as was paid for from Hatch Act funds, to agricultural experimentation and research. The payments were so safe-

[1] Agricultural experimental stations, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, have also been established in the colleges of agriculture in the new universities of Hawaii, Porto Rico, and Alaska, and some work is also done in Guam and the Virgin Islands.

guarded that there has been no misappropriation of funds, the Government making no payments except where actual expenditures for the purposes of the Act have been incurred. The results of this grant have been so remunerative to the Nation as a whole that it has proved to be one of the best investments the Federal Government has ever made. As a result, by the Purnell Act of 1925, the experiment station grant to each State was further increased to $50,000 for 1925–26, and provision was made for a further increase of $10,000 a year until 1929–30, when it will reach $90,000, at which sum it is to continue each year thereafter.[1] The total annual grant to the fifty-one institutions for experimental work will now be $4,590,000 yearly.

The "Second Morrill Act." In 1890 Congress made a still further grant of money to aid in the support of these land-grant colleges. By the law of August 30, 1890, commonly known as the "Second Morrill Act" (*Source Book*, pp. 96–99), a grant of $15,000 a year was made to each State and Territory to assist in "the annual maintenance" of the land-grant colleges, this amount to be increased $1000 a year for ten years, or until a maximum of $25,000 a year was reached. Again it was stated, in the title of the Act, that the appropriation was "to apply a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to the more complete endowment and maintenance" of these colleges. In 1907 a new law further increased the grant by $5000 a year for five years, or until a maximum of $50,000 was reached. This was attained in 1911–12, making an annual grant for maintenance of $50,000 a year in money, or a total of $2,550,000 a year to the fifty-one land-grant colleges. Adding the two grants together, there will soon be (1929–30) a cash grant of $140,000 a year to each State and Territory for the maintenance of its college of agriculture and mechanic arts.[2] In the Territories, and in some of the more sparsely populated States, these Federal grants form a very substantial proportion of the cost for maintaining these institutions.

Certainly no grants which the National Government has ever

[1] See Bulletin 44, 1925, United States Bureau of Education, pp. 2–3, for the full text of the Purnell Act of February 24, 1925.

[2] In 1916 a bill was introduced in the Senate to make a grant of federal funds to establish an engineering experimental station in each State, and in 1920 it was also proposed gradually to increase the agricultural experiment station grant to $85,000 a year and to extend the research "to such economic and sociological investigations as have for their purpose the development and improvement of the rural home and rural life." Neither bill was enacted into law, but both have since been reintroduced.

made to the States for educational purposes have been so well administered as have these money grants to the land-grant colleges, and probably no subventions made by the National Government have ever given such large return in the advancement of scientific knowledge or in the promotion of the general welfare of the Nation. Compared with the results obtained, the cost has been small indeed. If anything like such results could have been obtained from the appropriations proposed in either the Hoar or the Blair bills, it must remain a matter of deep regret that the passage of one or the other was not secured. The excellent results obtained from these relatively small expenditures for agricultural and engineering education are but an illustration of what might be done by the National Government in advancing education and the public welfare along many other lines, were we as a people to decide that we desire to have it do so.

The Forest Reserve income grant. In 1908, largely in response to objections coming from the Western States to the creation of vast non-taxable Forest Reserves within their borders,[1] Congress returned to the earlier idea of aid to the States for common schools and began to appropriate money to the States from the proceeds of the National Forests. By an Act passed that year, twenty-five per cent of the income of each National Forest Reserve is to be paid, at the end of each year, to the States in which reserves or parts of reserves are located, for the benefit of public roads and public schools in the county or counties in which the Reserves are situated (*Source Book*, p. 65). This grant has produced[2] for the States from $438,702, in 1908–09, to $1,271,276, in 1924–25, and promises to be a slowly increasing source of revenue to the twenty-seven States, Alaska, and Porto Rico, having Forest Reserves within their borders. Figure 17 shows the location of these Reserves, excepting Alaska. Again it is the new Western States that will profit most from these grants. The total area of the National Forests, in 1922, was 158,395,056 acres, and this is slowly being increased.

What use is to be made of these grants is left to the States to determine, though most of the States divide the fund in some determined proportion. Arkansas, for example, requires the coun-

[1] For example, approximately one sixth of Arizona and Montana, one fifth of California, Colorado, and Oregon, one fourth of Washington, and one third of Idaho is in National Forest Reserves.

[2] For a detailed statement as to the amount of these grants, by years and by states, see Swift, F. H., *Federal Aid to Public Schools*, pp. 24–25.

ties to spend twenty-five per cent of the income on roads and seventy-five per cent on schools, while California divides the fund equally between the two purposes.

In 1912 a Senate bill, which however did not become a law, proposed also to grant to the States five per cent additional of the gross receipts from the National Forests, during each fiscal year, to promote instruction in forestry in the States and Territories

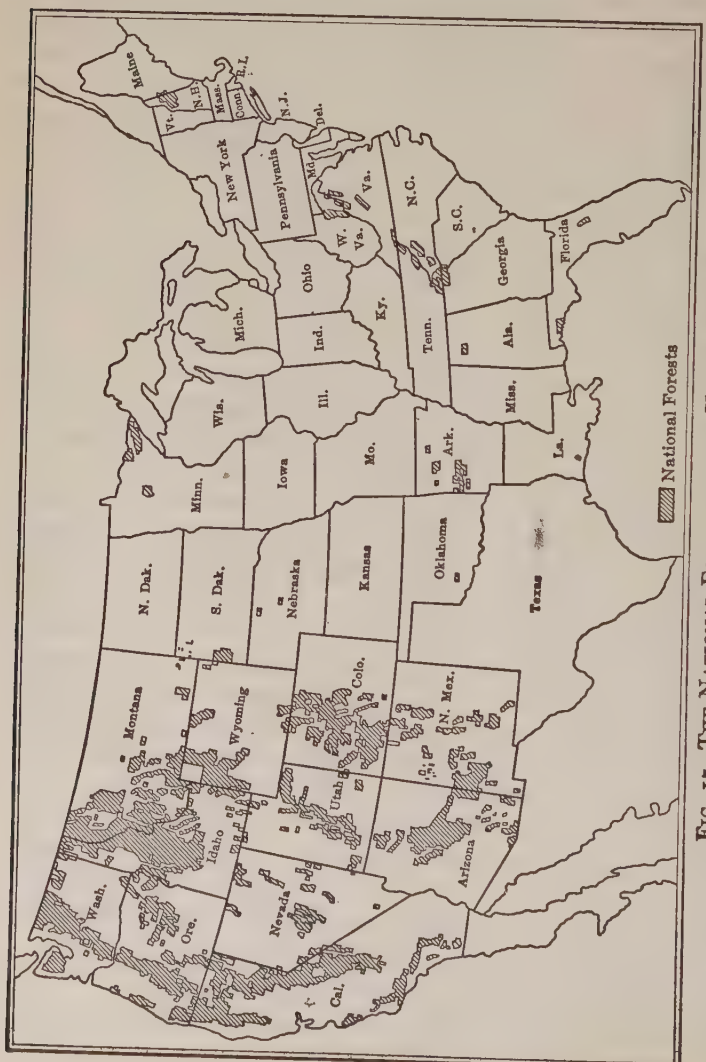

FIG. 17. THE NATIONAL FORESTS OF THE UNITED STATES

Smallest forest area in South Carolina, 18,000 acres; largest in California, 19,000,000 acres. Total acreage in twenty-seven States (1925) was 137,815,316 acres; in Alaska 20,579,740 acres additional have been set aside as National Forests. Increased forest area is being added in the Appalachian watersheds.

containing such forests. Such an extension of the forest income grant is likely to come at any time.

The federal mineral-royalty grant. In 1920, Congress further extended the forest-reserve-income-grant idea, by granting to the States a percentage of the proceeds from the extraction of "non-metallic mineral deposits" from public lands within their borders. This has become commonly known as the Oil and Mineral Leasing Act. It gives to the States twenty per cent for past production, and thirty-seven and one half per cent for future production, of all money paid to the United States as bonuses, royalties, and rentals for mining on public lands. The sums paid to the States must be devoted to public roads or education, but, instead of being for the sole benefit of the counties in which the Reserves are located, as in the case of the Forest-Reserve funds, the money goes to the State and may be used by it in any proportion for the two objects specified, and the educational portion may also be used for other forms of education than public schools.

California, for example, has devoted the entire proceeds to a state junior-college fund, while Wyoming gives two per cent of its quota to the counties in proportion to their production of the fund, ten per cent for the support of the state university, thirty-eight per cent for state highways, and fifty per cent for increasing the salaries of its rural school teachers.

The twelve States which shared in this grant, in 1924–25, received sums varying as follows:

Alabama..	$345.00	Montana.....	$59,908.51	South Dakota.	$63.06
California.	373,123.91	Nevada.....	270.00	Utah	10,027.43
Colorado..	26,624.25	New Mexico..	1,302.85	Washington ..	1,149.56
Louisiana .	398.52	North Dakota.	2,923.50	Wyoming	2,980,536.64

Should "coal, phosphate, sodium, oil, oil shale, or gas" be discovered in the future on other national lands, a new source of revenue would be created for the States in which the lands are located.

The Smith-Lever Act. In 1914, Congress made a further extension of the federal-aid principle by the passage of what is commonly known as the Smith-Lever Coöperative Agricultural Extension Act. This Act was an outcome of the Report of the Country Life Commission appointed by President Roosevelt to examine into rural-life needs and to suggest remedies, and was a logical further application of the principle embodied in the several land-grant college Acts.[1] After analyzing the rural-life problem, this commission in 1909 recommended, among other

[1] *Report of the Country Life Commission.* 65 pp. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1909.

things, that an effort be made to improve life for both men and women on our farms with a view to making the country a more satisfying place in which to live.

The Smith-Lever Law of May 8, 1914, which was a direct result of this recommendation, provided for national aid to the States for "the diffusion among the people of useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same" (*Source Book*, pp. 101–03), the work to be under the general direction of the United States Department of Agriculture, but to be done by the agricultural colleges in each State. The work must "consist of the giving of instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics" to persons not attending the colleges. An important part of the work was to be through publications, for which $480,000 a year was appropriated, to be distributed equally between the States. For extension work, a sum, beginning with $600,000 in 1915–16, and increasing by regular increments until it reached $4,100,000 a year in 1922–23, was provided for in the bill. The amount for extension work is distributed to the States in the proportion that the rural population in each State bears to the total rural population in the United States. A new feature was added to the law in a provision that each State sharing must double the national grants received. By this Act Congress made the beginnings of what has already proved to be a very important national movement for vocational education among the rural population of the United States.

From the first the work proved to be of large importance, and before the maximum grants (1922–23) were reached the appropriations had to be supplemented by additional congressional appropriations, while the States have already more than doubled their share. For the year 1924–25 the funds expended in this work were as follows:

From the Federal Government:		
Smith-Lever Act grants*	$5,880,000	
Additional for farmers' coöperative demonstration work.	959,967	
Additional from other Bureaus for same	51,287	
Total federal funds		$6,891,254
From state sources:		
Appropriations by state legislatures	$5,562,707	
Supplemental from county appropriations	5,578,344	
From miscellaneous county sources	1,384,993	
Total state contributions		$12,526,044
Total expenditures for coöperative extension work		$19,417,298

* Includes $4,580,000, provided by Smith-Lever Act, and $1,300,000, supplementary extension fund provided by the Agricultural Appropriation Act.

For the year 1925–26 this coöperative agricultural extension work required the services of 4868 people. Of this number 3455 were employed in the counties, of whom 2171 were county farm agents, 880 were employed in home demonstration work, 133 in boys' and girls' club work, and 271 in negro extension work in the Southern States. In addition 723 full-time and 207 part-time specialists at the agricultural colleges helped in the work. Of the estimated 45,000 communities in the United States capable of organization for extension purposes, 25,000 participated. The activities of these extension workers are extensive and varied. The county agents advise the farmers, and carry on demonstration projects in crop production of various kinds — pig-raising, dairying, poultry-disease control, rodent control, orchard work, etc. The home workers give demonstrations on food selection and preparation, child care, clothing, household management, school lunches, and similar work. Special work has been organized for the negro farmers of the South. Farmers' institutes are held all over the Union. During a year it is estimated that the workers under the Smith-Lever Act came into instructional contact with approximately 2,000,000 farmers, 650,000 farm women and 500,000 farm boys and girls in the club work.[1]

The far-reaching importance of this new undertaking for the improvement of crops, stocks, home-life, and child-life among our rural population can hardly be overestimated. What the Federal Government is doing in this work may be taken as a type of what the Government could, with equal success, stimulate the States to do along many other lines of human-welfare work, such as health instruction, physical education, child welfare, the training of teachers, the improvement of schools, and other similar activities, all desirable.

The Sheppard-Towner Act. The recent (1921) so-called Sheppard-Towner Maternity-Aid Act,[2] giving aid to the States to assist them in providing printed information and workers for "promoting the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy," is one illustration of such stimulation of the States to new activity along lines of large usefulness to our people. Under this Act each

[1] For a detailed report on the work under this Act, see a pamphlet issued annually by the United States Department of Agriculture entitled *Coöperative Extension Work, State Relations Service.*

[2] For a synopsis of the provisions of this Act (of November 23, 1921), see Publication No. 95 of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. Also see Appendix C, pp. 221–23, of Arnold Gesell's *The Pre-School Child.*

State receives $5000 outright for the purposes specified, $5000 additional if matched by the State, and an additional grant, if matched dollar for dollar, based on its percentage of the total population of the United States. The total appropriations to the States for the purposes of the Act were to increase $1,000,000 a year for five years, reaching the maximum of $5,240,000 in 1925–26. What our States need, in many lines of endeavor, is first stimulation to activity, and then national help in showing them what to do and how to coördinate the efforts they make. This the Sheppard-Towner Act attempted to provide.[1]

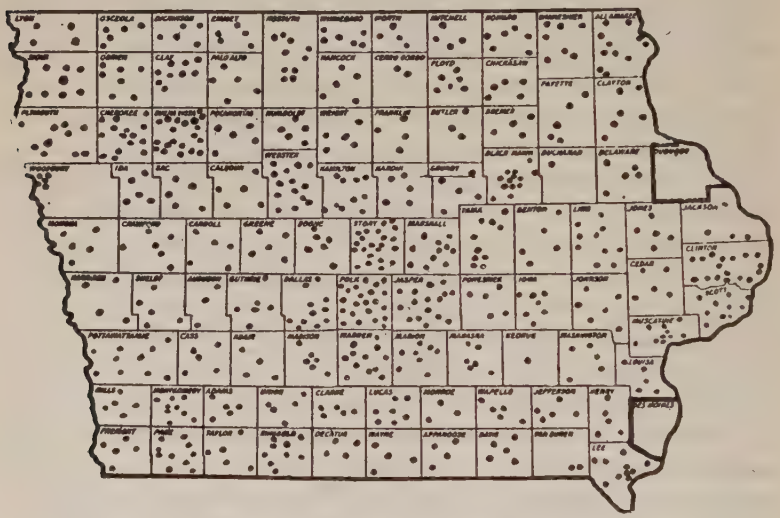

FIG. 18. A YEAR OF SHEPPARD-TOWNER CLINICS IN IOWA
Each dot represents a day of service.

The Act, rather curiously, met with much resistance in some of our States, and legislatures had to have much pressure brought to insure the required appropriations. While readily appropriating $250,000 for a cattle exhibit building at a state fairground, a Sheppard-Towner appropriation of $50,000 was refused until the last day of one legislative session. In Massachusetts, the attorney-general for the State filed a suit in the United States Supreme Court, in October, 1922, to test the constitutionality of the Act, alleging that the cost for the federal subsidies fell as a very un-

[1] See *School and Society* for December 12, 1925 (vol. 22, p. 742), for statistical table showing working of the Federal Maternity Act, by States.

equal burden on the several States; that the Act was "a usurpation of a power not granted to Congress by the Constitution" and an encroachment on the rights of the States under the Tenth Amendment (page 10); and that the proposed coöperation set up an agency that was neither federal nor state, but "an alien form of government not provided for nor recognized by the Constitution." As the principles involved in this case were the same as those of the Smith-Lever, Smith-Sears, Smith-Hughes, and the so-called Education bills, the suit was of more than ordinary importance.[1]

In June the following year, the United States Supreme Court dismissed the suit for want of jurisdiction, fully sustaining the law and the right of Congress to enact such coöperative legislation for the promotion of the public welfare. The Court held that a State had no right to bring suit to protect the rights of citizens of the United States, that the Federal Government must look after the rights of its citizens, and that the Court would assume authority over the work of Congress only when a direct issue involving the rights of a citizen was presented.

The rising demand for vocational education. For more than half a century preceding 1914 the leading countries of Western Europe had been giving increasing attention to the education of such of their young people as were destined for the vocations of the industrial world. Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France had been the leaders, with Germany the most prominent of all. In the United States practically no attention was given to vocational education, aside from the professions, until about the beginning of the twentieth century. Because of the character and position of our country, with its great natural resources, large land area, small population, isolated position, and our ability to sell our products to nations willing to come for them in their own ships, we felt little need, before about 1900, for any special technical education for our workers. A good general education, with some manual training and a commercial course in the high school, was considered sufficient for our youth. Such technically trained workers as we needed we had been able to draw to our factories from European lands.

The impulses arising from our new position following the Span-

[1] See article by C. A. Prosser, entitled "Massachusetts Attack on Federal Aid," in *Vocational Education*, vol. 1, pp. 113–15. (January 28, 1922.) An analysis and refutation of contentions of the Attorney-General of Massachusetts.

ish-American War, our growing factories and foreign trade. the increasing foreign competition, and the realization by more and more of our people of the advantages that would accrue to us as a Nation and to our workers as individuals were we to provide better and more specific types of education for those who are to do skilled labor, gradually directed attention to the desirability of providing some form of vocational education for our future workers. By 1900 some half-dozen trade schools had been established privately in the United States, and the fifteen years from 1902 to 1917 covered a period of discussion, investigation, and growing interest in the problem.[1] Experts who visited Europe reported, state commissions were appointed and made plans, and much propaganda work was done by volunteer societies interested in vocational education. In 1906 Massachusetts created a State Commission on Industrial Education; in 1907 Wisconsin enacted the first trade-school law; and in 1909 New York permitted the organization of trade schools in its cities.

Realizing the slow rate of local development, and that it would require a generation or more before any system could be organized if isolated state and local action were to be depended upon, those interested in the movement urged the immediate creation of a national system of vocational schools, with national aid to the States for their maintenance. The Davis Bill[2] of 1907, proposing a national-aid grant of ten cents per capita of the population of each State and Territory for the aid of secondary schools in agriculture, mechanic arts, and home economics, and the Page Bill of 1912, with purposes much like the later Smith-Lever Act, represented unsuccessful attempts to obtain national subventions for the movement. Both of these bills virtually proposed the creation of a national system of vocational schools, to parallel the state and local high schools. One cause for serious opposition to them was this very fact. The legislature of the State of Illinois, in 1911, memorialized Congress[3] to appropriate $1 per capita of the population to each State and Territory "for the purpose of establishing, maintaining, and extending" the public school system by adding instruction "in such practical, industrial, and

[1] The *Annual Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education* for a number of these years, but especially from about 1907 to 1912, contain much material in the form of digestion of reports and discussion of the question.

[2] For the text of the Davis Bill, see *Report United States Commissioner of Education*, 1908, vol. 1, pp. 85-87.

[3] For resolution, see *Proceedings National Education Association*, 1912, pp. 205–06.

vocational training . . . and other similar subjects of a practical nature as the interests of the community may seem to require." Finally Congress, in 1913, provided for a presidential commission to investigate the matter, and to report on the desirability and feasibility of national aid to the States to assist them in developing and maintaining what would virtually become a national system of agricultural, trade, and vocational education.

The Smith-Hughes Act. A bill to carry out the recommendations of the commission was at once introduced into both branches of Congress (*Source Book*, pp. 132–40). After the usual congressional delay the bill was finally passed, and approved by President Wilson on February 23, 1917. It is usually spoken of as the Smith-Hughes Law, from the names of the chief sponsors for the bill in Senate and House.

This law provided for the creation of a Federal Board for Vocational Education; for acceptance of the law by the States; for national aid to the States for the salaries of teachers in the schools created, which aid the States must duplicate, dollar for dollar; for federal supervision of work and expenditure; and for national studies and investigations regarding needs in agriculture, home economics, industry, trade, commerce, and courses of instruction. The courses must be given in public schools; must be for those over fourteen years of age, and be of less than college grade; and must be primarily intended for those who are preparing to enter or have entered a trade or useful industrial pursuit. Both full-time and part-time classes were provided for.

The national aid is divided into four funds, as follows:

1. For the purpose of coöperating with the States in paying the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, to be allotted to the States in the proportion which their rural population bears to the total rural population of the United States.

2. For the purpose of coöperating with the States in paying the salaries of teachers of trades, home economics, and industrial subjects, to be allotted to the States in the proportion which their urban population bears to the total urban population of the United States.

3. For the purpose of coöperating with the States in preparing teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects and teachers of trade and industrial and home economics subjects, to be allotted to the States in the proportion which their population bears to the total population of the United States.

4. For making or coöperating in studies, investigations, and reports as to needs and courses in agriculture, home economics, trades, industries, and commerce.

The sums appropriated by Congress, which increased each year for nine years, when the maximum was reached, are as shown in the accompanying table.

Year	For Agricultural Education	For Trade, Home Economics, and Industrial Education	For Training Teachers of both	For Investigations	Total National Aid
1917–18	$ 500,000	$ 500,000	$ 500,000	$200,000	$1,700,000
1918–19	750,000	750,000	700,000	200,000	2,400,000
1919–20	1,000,000	1,000,000	900,000	200,000	3,100,000
1920–21	1,250,000	1,250,000	1,000,000	200,000	3,700,000
1921–22	1,500,000	1,500,000	1,000,000	200,000	4,200,000
1922–23	1,750,000	1,750,000	1,000,000	200,000	4,700,000
1923–24	2,000,000	2,000,000	1,000,000	200,000	5,200,000
1924–25	2,500,000	2,500,000	1,000,000	200,000	6,200,000
1925–26*	3,000,000	3,000,000	1,000,000	200,000	7,200,000

*Reached the maximum this year, and continues at this sum.

A rapidly expanding system of vocational education has since been developed through the Nation, and the appropriations for the work have been fully expended.[1] Despite some criticisms as to the rigidity of the administration the law has met with general acceptance, and promises in a decade or two to give us a really national system of vocational education. This we might have waited half a century for had we depended on local community and individual state action. The stimulating effect of a national plan of organization, and a national grant to aid in starting the work, has been again shown here.

The reëducation of wounded soldiers. By an Act of Congress, approved June 27, 1918, and commonly known as the Smith-Sears Vocational Rehabilitation Act,[2] this country provided for an extensive national plan for the medical, surgical, and mental treatment, as well as for the vocational reëducation and return to civil employment, of disabled soldiers and sailors returning from the World War. Recognizing that, in time, gratitude for military service must give way to the demand for efficient service in industry, commerce, and the professions, the National Government sought to protect the returning soldier by

[1] So rapidly has the work in home economics grown that in 1924 it was proposed (*Senate Bill* 1408, by Fess) to add a new continuing appropriation for home economics work alone, equal to that for "trade, home economics, and industrial education" in the original Act, thus adding $3,000,000 to the grants provided for in the original bill.

[2] For the bill in full, as well as a number of statements regarding the work, see the June, 1918, number of *The Vocational Summary*. (Vol. 1, no. 3.)

training him for efficient work to help place him in that occupation for which he is best adapted.

The plan included the provision of schools, workshops, instructors, suitable courses, mechanical appliances to take the place of lost limbs, and extensive medical treatment, as well as the provision of courses by contracting for tuition in existing schools, colleges, and technical institutions. The purpose was to advise every soldier and sailor, able to carry on some gainful occupation, as to the course he would best pursue; to prepare him for efficiency in the work by carefully training him for it; and to rehabilitate him vocationally by finding him occupation, thus reëstablishing him as a useful and independent individual in society. During the time he is being so educated and prepared to earn his livelihood, his army or navy pay, as well as family allowance, continues. For this work Congress made an initial appropriation of $2,000,000. The work naturally has expanded very rapidly, as thousands of men were put under training, and the expenditures for vocational rehabilitation under the United States Veterans' Bureau, in 1921–22, reached $178,809,861. The cost for this work then declined to $38,000,000 in 1925–26, and ceased the following year. The total cost was $591,494,000, or an average cost of $6300 for each man.

Instead of providing Soldiers' Homes and pension charity, all those who were able to earn their living at any useful occupation were segregated, made as sound as possible by the army medical staff, and then given free education and living while preparing to return to the wage-earning and self-sustaining class of our citizenship. This was a most important educational service, worthy of a great Nation, and but a slight expression of the national gratitude for the help these men rendered in the saving of civilization from destruction. While much of the work has been done in schools under national control, many men have also been sent to existing colleges and technical schools for specific training. The work represents another new phase of national educational effort, and the most costly of any educational work the Government has so far undertaken.

Extension of the vocational rehabilitation idea. Two years later, by an Act approved June 2, 1920, and commonly known as the Federal Vocational Rehabilitation Act (Smith-Bankhead Act), Congress further extended the idea of vocational rehabilitation so as to "provide for the vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry, or otherwise, and their return to civil

employment" by making money grants to the States to enable them to undertake this work.[1] Each State, as under the Smith-Hughes Bill, was to provide for a state board of vocational education and a director of the work; was to match the grants from the Federal Government dollar for dollar; could not use the money for buildings or equipment; and was to coöperate with the Federal Board for Vocational Education in the administration of the Act and the provision of the necessary courses. For the carrying out of the provisions of the law Congress provided for a general appropriation for allotment to the States of $750,000 the first year, and $1,000,000 annually thereafter.

Bills for nationalizing education. With the precedents of the various land-grant college acts, the Smith-Lever Bill, the Smith-Hughes Bill, and the vocational rehabilitation bills in mind, and facing the many new problems and needs in public education following the World War, a committee appointed by the National Education Association, in 1919, proposed that public education be in great part nationalized by the transformation of the Bureau of Education into a Department, with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet; that money to conduct educational investigations be provided; and that a subvention of $100,000,000 a year be granted by the National Government to the States to assist them to maintain better their state school systems, but in particular to aid the States in the elimination of illiteracy, the Americanization of immigrants, the promotion of health education and physical education, the training of teachers, and the better equalization of educational opportunities.

In 1919 (66th Congress), a bill to carry out these recommendations was introduced in both Senate and House, which became known as the Smith-Towner Bill. Although this bill failed to pass, substantially the same bill was reintroduced, in 1921 (67th Congress), and became known as the Sterling-Towner Bill. When this bill also failed, a substantially similar bill, widely endorsed as well as opposed by individuals and organizations throughout the Nation, was again introduced, in 1923 (68th Congress), and became known as the Sterling-Reed Education Bill.[2] No action

[1] Just how large this body of disabled is we have no reliable data to show, other than that it is large and that its maintenance is a tremendous social cost. Investigations show quite conclusively that this cost is not necessary, and that the general proposition may be laid down that it will cost less to remove the burden than to support it.

[2] For the arguments pro and con see *Hearings before the Committee on Education, House of Representatives, 68th Congress, 1st Session, on H. R. 3023, a Bill to Create a Department of Education.* Government Printing Office, 1924. 763 pp.

being taken, again in 1925 a substantially similar bill was again introduced (69th Congress), now known as The Education Bill, except that the $100,000,000 annual subsidy was now omitted from the proposed Act.

With the steadily increasing sentiment for some form of national stimulation and aid for education, as the possibilities for service of a Department in the National Government becomes more and more apparent; with the Joint Committee on Reorganization of Government Departments recommending cabinet reorganization,[1] and the creation of a new Department of Education and Welfare; and with President Coolidge recommending the creation of such a Department in his Message to Congress, in December, 1923, some type of national education bill may be expected to pass before long. Since, at the time of writing, such a bill has not been enacted, the problem is deferred for consideration in a later chapter (XVIII), where the question of federal aid to the States for the promotion of education is considered as a phase of the problem of so financing state school systems as to provide a greater equalization of both the burdens and the opportunities of education.

Having considered the growth of federal aid to the States for educational purposes, we next desire to show the nature of the educational work now carried on by the Federal Government, but before doing so we wish first to trace briefly the history of another proposal for federal educational work which has reappeared from time to time throughout our national history, namely, the proposal to create a national university at the seat of Government.

2. THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Washington and the national university idea. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787, Washington, Franklin, Madison, Pickering, and others desired to have provision for the creation and maintenance of a national university at the seat of government expressly made in the Constitution itself, but the general opinion of the Convention seems to have been that the power to establish such an institution at the seat of government was sufficiently implied. The desirability of creating a national university, once the Federal City was laid out and the new Government properly established, seems to have been taken for granted, for

[1] Transmitted to the President, February 13, 1923, and to the Senate, February 16. Printed in full as Senate Document 302, 67th Congress, 4th Session.

many favorable comments were made on the proposal in the newspapers and magazines of the time.

Washington was a warm advocate of the idea. In his first Message to Congress, in 1790, he dwelt at some length on the importance of education in such a Government as we had just established, and in closing raised the question of a national university. Congress, however, took no action. In 1795 Washington wrote to the Commissioners for the District of Columbia, expressing approval of the idea, and offering a substantial gift toward its endowment if established. The year following, in a letter to Alexander Hamilton, Washington suggested endowing the proposed university from the western lands, and that same year, 1796, a plot of nineteen acres, long known as University Square, was set apart in the City of Washington as a site for the university. This same year also, Washington, in his final Message to Congress, again urged that action be taken. The Senate appointed a committee to investigate, which reported favorably, but after some discussion the matter was postponed for further information and forgotten. Finally, Washington made one more effort. In his last will and testament, under date of July 9, 1799, he again expressed his deep interest in the establishment of a national university in the Federal City, and bequeathed toward the endowment of such an institution fifty shares (par value $500 each) of the Potomac River Company stock, which he offered in 1795. Until such time as Congress took action the dividends from the stock were to be invested in bank stock, by his executor or by the Treasurer of the United States, under the direction of Congress, and all unused income was to be compounded, with a view to the accumulation of "a sum adequate to the accomplishment of this object." Washington died in December, 1799, and the bequest then became available.

Congress and the national university idea. This bequest seems to have stimulated many people to action, but not Congress. A leader of the time, Samuel Blodget, memorialized Congress in 1803 on the matter. In his memorial he stated that more than a thousand persons had subscribed to the project, and he requested Congress to appoint a committee to consider the endowment of the university from district lots and Western lands. In 1805, no action having been taken, Blodget presented another memorial, in which he now stated that eighteen thousand persons had subscribed to the endowment, and that a sum

of $30.000 had been received. In 1806 Blodget published his *Economica*, and dedicated the proceeds to the object. How much this added, or what became of the money, is not known.[1]

Both President Adams and President Jefferson strongly favored the establishment of a national university at the seat of government, and Jefferson, in his Message to Congress in 1806, pointed out briefly the advantages of a national institution, saying "that if Congress, approving the proposition, shall yet think it more eligible to found it on a donation of lands, they have it now in their power to endow it with those that will be among the earliest to produce the necessary income." A bill to establish a national university was introduced in the Senate that year, and reported favorably, but no action was taken. President Madison, in 1810, renewed the recommendation,[2] as he did again in 1815 and 1816. The House twice reported favorably, and in 1816 a bill to establish the university was introduced, but it failed of passage. In 1825 President John Quincy Adams again recommended that Congress take action, but without result, and after this time we hear no more about a national university for many years. There was a temporary revival of interest in the matter in 1846, when the Smithson bequest to the Nation of approximately half a million dollars "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men" (*Source Book*, pp. 119–20) became available, and a number of addresses and communications on the subject were made during the next ten years, but there seems to have been no attempt to secure any action from Congress. The slavery question and the sectional bitterness displayed in Congress precluded united action on any important national project, and the question was soon lost in the much larger issues of the approaching Civil War.

Early efforts of the National Education Association. At the

[1] Just what became of Washington's bequest, or of the $30,000 subscribed, also is uncertain. The Potomac River stock paid but one dividend, and was doubtless lost through the neglect of Congress. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and later the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, were developments of the project. Had the bequest been properly looked after, doubtless much might have been saved. Had Congress kept faith with Washington as well as did the legislature of Virginia, which received an equal bequest, the amount of his donation, compounded annually at six per cent, would have amounted to $28,400,000 by 1925, and the $30,000 which Blodget says was subscribed by 1805 would similarly have amounted to $45,700,000 additional, or a total of almost $73,000,000 by 1925.

[2] There were real reasons for inaction in 1810. At that time the expenditure of national money for internal improvements or general purposes was not regarded as constitutional; Indian troubles existed to the westward; the second war with Great Britain was impending; the national debt was still large; the old colleges had but a limited constituency; and Washington was but a small city of 8208 inhabitants.

Trenton, New Jersey, meeting of the National Teachers' Association,[1] in 1869, Dr. John W. Hoyt, in an address on "University Progress," again urged the creation of a national university. As a result a committee was appointed, with one representative from each State, to consider the matter and to report at the next meeting of the Association. The report, made at the Cleveland meeting in 1870, urged action, and a second report, made at the St. Louis meeting in 1871, further recommended the appointment of a special committee to precipitate action by Congress. A bill was prepared and introduced in 1872. In the House, the Committee on Education and Labor, to which the bill had been referred, submitted a report (March 3, 1873) unanimously approving the project. This bill proposed to establish a national university at Washington, and to utilize the libraries and scientific collections of the Government for instruction. Faculties in all fields of human knowledge were to be organized, original research was to be an important part of the work, and an effort was to be made to give the country a well-ordered system of education. The institution was to be endowed with "a registered unassignable certificate for $20,000,000," on which the National Government was "to pay the national university, in perpetuity, five per cent interest." Congress, however, adjourned without taking action. President Grant, in his Message to Congress the same year (1873), recommended "the establishment of an institution of learning or university of the highest class, by the donation of lands," and expressed it as his opinion that "there is no place better suited for such an institution than the national capital."

The proposal awakened much interest at the time, but never reached the stage of action. Many addresses were made and many papers were written on the subject during the years from 1873 to 1876. In 1875 Dr. John W. Hoyt made a tour of the country in the interests of the movement. In 1876 an effort was made to revive the bill so favorably reported by the House Committee in 1873. The Hayes-Tilden election contest of 1876–77, and the bitterness felt on this subject at the time, contributed much to the deferring of all action. The establishment of the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, in 1876, an institution founded after the German model and the first of our real universities, also

[1] Organized in 1857; name changed to National Educational Association in 1871; chartered by Congress as The National Education Association, in 1906.

contributed to the further postponement of the idea, and little mention of a national university occurs again for many years.

New attempts to establish a national university. In 1890, Senator Edmunds of Vermont introduced "A bill to establish the University of the United States." A "Select Committee" on the subject was created by the Senate to consider the idea, and was continued from year to year. A bill "providing for the establishment of a university of the highest type, resting on the state universities and other institutions of collegiate rank as they rest upon the high schools and academies," was provided for, and one half of the net proceeds of the sale of public lands was to be appropriated for its support. In 1892 a carefully prepared "Memorandum in regard to a National University" was laid before Congress, and ordered printed by the Senate. This report formed a book of 123 pages, and was the work of Dr. John W. Hoyt. In 1893 the Senate Select Committee reported as follows:

> Your committee are of the opinion that the cause of American learning demands such an institution as this bill provides for; that the highest dignity and welfare of the nation demand it; that it should be established at the capital of the country; and that after a delay of one hundred years since it was first proposed and sought to be established by the founders of the Government, it would be unworthy of so great a people to wait longer for a more favorable time in which to meet all these high demands.

In 1894 the Committee again presented a unanimous report in favor of the passage of the bill. In 1896 the Committee, after "careful consideration for several sessions, and having heard advocates both for and against the measure," presented a detailed Report of 156 pages, reproducing the arguments on both sides at the hearings, as well as many letters supporting the proposal, and recommended the passage of the bill. In closing, the Committee held that:

> Progress in higher education has indeed been made in this country since the revival of efforts for the proposed national university; but the growth of science, the needs of the people, and the demands of the age have more than kept pace with the increase of instrumentalities, so that relatively we are no nearer the goal, the realization of the aims so long cherished by the patriots and scholars of the Nation, than before.
>
> It is for America to say whether she will be content to lag forever in the rear of nations so greatly her inferior in resources, or whether she will at last take the one remaining step requisite to fairly meet the de-

mands of learning and of those free institutions for which she assumes to be the supreme representative.

It would seem, therefore, that it but remains to mature and adopt such a measure as shall in the best manner meet these high demands.

This report was never acted on by the Senate, "owing to the subsequent absence of the chairman and repeated assurances of his early return." The Senate Committee was further continued from 1897 to 1902, held hearings, revised the bill, and submitted it, together with another detailed report of 192 printed pages, to the Senate in 1902. In this survey of the situation the opposition of the denominational colleges and of "the old universities of the Northeast" was analyzed. This document, which reproduced many valuable magazine articles which had been written on the subject, notably those by Dr. David Starr Jordan, Dr. Andrew D. White, and Professor W. J. M'Gee, closed with these words:

Even the four or five Eastern institutions of learning which have thus far withheld their support of the national university proposition concede that Washington affords surpassing advantages for such a university because of its incomparable array of material facilities, supplemented by the constant presence in surpassing number (and their availability to some extent) of scholars, men of science, experts in every branch of Government service, together with the foremost of legislators, jurists, and members of national courts, besides opportunities for contact with the world's masters in the realms of diplomacy and statesmanship. The facilities and opportunities are here. They have cost the whole country millions and millions. Shall they be monopolized by institutions founded in private, local, and denominational interests, or shall they be made available in the interest of the whole American people, regardless of conflicting faiths, whether religious or political, of this already central figure among the nations — the American Republic?

Having duly weighed the important historic facts above presented, reviewed the arguments for a national university contained in the several affirmative reports upon the subject heretofore submitted to the Senate, and carefully considered the reasons urged by members of the executive council of the said national university committee as above set forth, your committee return the bill without amendment and recommend its passage by the Senate.

Again no action was taken on the bill by Congress.

A new National Educational Association Committee considers the idea. In 1898, the idea still being urged, the National Educational Association appointed a committee of fifteen, with President Harper, of the University of Chicago, as chairman, "to in-

vestigate the entire subject of the establishment of a national university and to report to the Council." The committee contained representatives from four of the state universities, seven non-state universities, three city superintendents of schools, and the agent of the Peabody and Slater funds in the South. This committee held meetings in 1899, 1900, and 1901, and made its report[1] to the Association at the Detroit meeting of 1901.

The question of the constitutionality of the proposal, which had often been raised, was investigated and reported affirmatively; the history of past efforts and legislative proposals was examined; and the government facilities at Washington and their possible use were reported upon. The committee held that the universities of the United States already offered ample opportunities for advanced research, "in many departments in excess of the number of students wishing to avail of them." That the large government collections and laboratories should be opened to advanced students was conceded, but the committee held that the best way to accomplish this end was under private or individual auspices, rather than through "the creation of a statutory, degree-conferring university." The committee accordingly decided: (1) that the Government ought not to control the educational instrumentalities of the country; (2) that none of the bills heretofore introduced was satisfactory; and (3) that the Government was not called upon to maintain a university at the capital.

This same year, 1901, the George Washington Memorial Association, which had been organized in 1898 "to advance and secure the establishment in the City of Washington of a university, for the purposes, and with the objects substantially as contemplated and set forth in, and by, the last will of George Washington, and to increase the opportunities for the higher education of the youth of the United States," changed its statement of purpose so as to omit all mention of a university, and to this "nongovernmental institution," now called Memorial Institution, the National Educational Association Committee recommended should be given "the systematic oversight of the advanced study and investigation to be carried on by duly qualified students in the government laboratories and collections." These latter facilities were also thrown open, by new legislation (Law of 1901, amending an earlier law of 1892), so as to open them more fully to students.

[1] For the Report of the Commission and its membership, see *Proceedings, National Educational Association*, 1901, pp. 457–67; discussion of Report, pp. 467–74.

The year following (1902) Mr. Andrew Carnegie was induced to give ten million dollars to twenty-six trustees, named by him, to found the Carnegie Institution, "for improving and extending the opportunities for study and research in this country." This foundation came as a culmination of efforts to secure an endowment for a memorial institution which should do the work of a national university, and it was thought by many that the creation of this institution by Mr. Carnegie would meet all national needs and end all discussion of the national university idea. The president of the Memorial Institution was elected president of the new Carnegie Institution, and the Memorial Institution and the Memorial Association now virtually ceased to exist.

New demands for a national university. When the Carnegie Institution became a reality, it developed along lines somewhat different from what was at first expected. Practically from the first it became a distinctly scientific research institution of the highest rank, giving up any attempt to fulfill the functions of a national university. With the realization of this fact, the demand for a national university at Washington again became insistent. After full and careful consideration by the National Association of State University Presidents, they endorsed the idea of a national university and prepared a bill [1] to carry it into effect. This bill was introduced into both houses of Congress, in 1908, and a similar bill was before Congress again in 1911 and 1913. The National Education Association, at its Chicago meeting of 1912, devoted one of its general session programs to a consideration of the proposals. Four papers by four state university presidents were presented, all favoring the establishment of a national university at the seat of government.

The institution now proposed was an advanced graduate university, admitting as students only those holding the master's degree or its equivalent; was to confer no degrees; and was to have a three-fold purpose, as follows:

1. To promote the advance of science, pure and applied, and the liberal and fine arts, by original investigation and research, or other suitable means.

2. To provide for the higher instruction and training of men and women for posts of importance and responsibility in the public service of State or Nation, and for the practice of such callings as may require for their worthy pursuit a higher training.

[1] For the bill of 1908, see *Report, United States Commissioner of Education*, 1908, vol. 1, pp. 82–84.

3. To coöperate with the scientific departments of the Federal Government, the land-grant colleges, the state universities, and other institutions of higher learning.

No action was taken on the proposed bills, and, although the outbreak of the World War for a time deflected interest from the proposal, a bill proposing its creation is introduced almost regularly into each new Congress. It is not improbable that the demand for a national university may be expected to continue[1] until it is satisfied either by the creation of a research institution of the highest type at the capital, or is shunted off again in some new direction. The need for a national college such as Washington had in mind has clearly passed, as have the purposes he had in mind in urging its foundation, but new and larger needs have come in their stead. Whether these can now be handled by the governmental bureaus and the scattered universities, working through the National Research Council, as is now proposed, remains to be seen. The very large and extremely valuable libraries and scientific collections at Washington, so large and so important that no university can ever hope to equal them; the very great educational opportunities which the Federal City affords; and the recent rapid growth of Washington in importance as a residential city and a world capital, will almost inevitably keep the idea of some type of a national university before our people for their consideration.

3. THE FEDERAL ATTITUDE

Principles established. Such a brief review of the federal legislation relating to education as we have given in Chapters II and III demonstrates conclusively that there has been a slowly developing federal interest in and influence over education in the States. In recent decades, because of changing national conditions, this growth has been rapid.[2]

[1] For example, there was a bill "To create a National University at the Seat of the Federal Government" introduced in the House of Representatives by Fess, of Ohio, April 11, 1921, but the bill died in committee. Mr. Fess, advanced to the Senate, proposed such a bill again there in 1923 and 1925, no action resulting in either case.

[2] "The real reason for the rapid growth of the powers of the Federal Government in recent years, by interpretation as well as by formal amendment, is found in the complete failure of the States to solve the vast social and economic problems confronting them. Railroad and telegraph lines have bound the Nation from coast to coast; great corporations have extended their activities over the entire country; labor unions have far transcended state boundaries. There has been need for regulation, and the States have found themselves impotent. For many functions of government the proper unit of administration has become the Nation." — A. F. Macdonald. *Federal Subsidies to the States*, p. 107.

From the very first, while still under the Continental Congress, the provisions inserted in the sales of Western lands (p. 19) and the organization of the Northwest Territory (*Source Book*, p. 20) alike reveal such an interest. On the admission of Ohio a precedent in a land grant for education was established (pp. 21–22) which has been followed in the case of all public-land States admitted afterward, and the policy thus begun has since been expanded. In the Morrill Act of 1862 (pp. 42–45) a new form of aid to the States for education was begun, and in this and the subsequent Hatch and second Morrill Acts the policy of "aiding the States" to provide certain forms of education was clearly formulated. The extent of "federal control" was also clearly stated as advisory, directive, and supervisory, but based on coöperation with the States and not the superseding of them in the management of the educational work aided and provided. The Smith-Lever Act (pp. 57–59) was definitely based on the principle of coöperation with the States, while the Smith-Hughes Act (p. 63) and the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act (p. 59) were coöperative undertakings on a contractual basis of matching federal with state dollars to provide educational advantages within the States. Here we find the point reached where the Federal Government directly influences the administration of the grants in the States.

So far our review of legislation establishing a Federal policy in education, in relation to the States, reveals certain definite trends, which may be summarized as follows:

1. The National Government has always been interested in education in the States.
2. The precedents established have been maintained, and have not been judicially interfered with.
3. Both land and money grants to the States have been made, and all grades of education have been aided.
4. The money grants have given the best returns.
5. Contractual relations with the States for definite purposes seem to have been arrived at as a satisfactory policy.
6. Some Federal supervision of the grants made to the States is very desirable.

In the chapter which follows we shall point out the many different types of educational service which the Federal Government itself now supports, and thus give some idea of the extent of the scientific and educational undertakings of the Nation.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Contrast the arguments, pro and con, for national aid for education, as advanced in the 1870–87 movement, and give the reasons as you see them for the failure of these movements.
2. Had the 1870–87 movements for national aid succeeded, is it probable that our immigration policy might have been favorably influenced as a consequence? How?
3. Is there any real difference in governmental theory between aid for agriculture and aid for education? If so, what is the difference? If not, how do you explain the ease with which agricultural appropriations are voted, and the cry of centralization, state rights, and pauperizing the States when it is proposed to vote money to improve education in the States.
4. Is there a real difference, as Congressmen frequently assert, between "encroaching on the right of a State to educate its own children" in any way it sees fit, and the continuous encroachment of the National Government on the rights of the States to control (or fail to control) their own hog cholera, plant diseases, cattle tick, or bovine tuberculosis?
5. What are the important lessons to be drawn from a comparison of the results obtained in the distribution of the surplus revenue, and the present money grants made to the land-grant colleges?
6. In your judgment, is the present method of distributing the Forest Reserve income wise, or not? Could you propose a better plan?
7. How nearly does the Smith-Lever Act approach national aid for education? The Smith-Hughes Act?
8. What difference is there in principle, if any, between aid to the States in disseminating information as to "the hygiene of maternity and infancy" through state bureaus and special workers, and health and physical development information through the public schools?
9. Draw up a statement of the arguments, pro and con, for a National Department of Education, and aid to the States to help in equalizing opportunities and to stimulate desirable improvements in education. Contrast the interests and elements in the population that would favor each side.
10. Why has the need for a national university, as conceived by Washington, passed away now? What forces and changes in our national life have caused this change in need?
11. How do you explain the long neglect of the national university idea by Congress?
12. Can any argument for a national university to-day be based on the arguments advanced by Washington and his immediate successors?
13. The past quarter century has witnessed the creation of a new type of American university out of the old American colleges, besides the creation of entirely new universities. In what way has this altered the old problem?
14. Is there still a place for some kind of a national university or research institution of high grade to be located in the City of Washington? If so, why, and what kind of an institution, and under what auspices?
15. State what you conceive to be the chief arguments which can be advanced to-day, both for and against the creation of a national university of the highest type to be located at the national capital.

PROBLEMS

1. Capitalize the grants of money now made annually to the agricultural colleges, under the laws of 1887 and 1890, and subsequent amendments, on a five per cent endowment basis.
2. Similarly, capitalize the Smith-Lever grants, and the Smith-Hughes grants.
3. Assume that Congress decides to establish some form of a national university at Washington and endows it with the Washington bequest and the Blodget money, compounded at six per cent to date, with six per cent interest thereon guaranteed by taxation, what annual sum would be produced? Would it be adequate? What would it cost the people of the United States in taxation, per capita per year, to do this?
4. Assume that the National Government decided to aid the States in preparing teachers. Draw up a satisfactory plan, and determine its approximate annual cost.
5. Assume that, instead of any type of national university at Washington, the Government decides to work through the National Research Council, or some similar chartered organization, and to aid research generally and finance promising research workers anywhere. Draw up a plan for administering such aid.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Consult the texts of the Hoar and the Blair bills, and the arguments advanced pro and con at the time, and formulate your conclusions as to the wisdom of action or inaction.
2. Study the history of the movement for agricultural education and the forces at work that led to the enactment of the Morrill Act of 1862.
3. Examine the history of the work of the Country Life Commission and the work being done under the Smith-Lever Act, and state your conclusions as to the importance of this work in solving the problems pointed out by the Commission as needing solution.
4. The nature, extent, and importance of the Smith-Hughes work.
5. Go over the chief literature relating to a national university, analyze its arguments, and formulate your opinion as to the proposal.
6. Do the same with the literature relating to the National Department of Education and Federal aid to the States for education, as proposed in the different National Education Association bills.
7. Analyze the National Education Association reports of 1901 and 1912 on a national university, and point out the strong and the weak arguments, and in particular the omissions in the cases as presented.
8. Ascertain the plan of organization and proposals for work of the National Research Council, at Washington.
9. Weigh the arguments and estimate the worth of the majority and minority reports of the Special Committee on Education of the United States Chamber of Commerce, found in the volume of *Hearings on the Bill to create a Department of Education.*

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1. James, E. J. The National Association of State Universities and the National University, pp. 201–10.
2. Van Hise, C. R. A National University a National Asset, pp. 210–20.
3. Baker, Jas. H. A National University as related to Democracy, pp. 220–25.
4. Thompson, Wm. O. Ways and Means; the Next Step, pp. 225–30.

White, Andrew D. A University at Washington; *Forum*, February, 1889. Reproduced in *Senate Report of 1902*, pp. 49–56.

The above articles are all favorable to the proposal, and set forth the advantages that may be expected to accrue from the foundation of a National University. The *Senate Reports* of 1896 and 1902, and the *House Report* for 1914, present and answer negative arguments.

CHAPTER IV

NATIONAL SUPPORT OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

Educational work of the Federal Government. While it has been seen that the Federal Government so far (1926) has not undertaken to aid directly in the maintenance of public education in the States, or to maintain a national university at the seat of government, it has, however, been seen to have done much to assist in the inauguration and development of a number of special educational undertakings of importance in the States. The grants of land and money which have been made during the past century and a quarter, and the specific purposes for which they have been given, constitute the principal element of the Federal policy toward education in the States, as it has developed since 1785.

In addition, the Federal Government has in time become engaged in a number of educational undertakings on its own account, some of them of large importance, as would be revealed by an examination of the *Annual Federal Budget* as compiled by the Director and submitted through the President to any recent session of Congress. In this way the Federal Government has attempted to fulfill its obligations to scientific and educational work by causing its Departments and Bureaus to serve, in part, as educational agencies. The Federal Government has also, in a similar way, provided for the performance of educational functions beyond the possibilities of the individual States.[1] While the educational functions are often only partially carried out, and not infrequently are quite inadequately supported, the worth of these scientific and educational agencies of the Federal Government must be estimated when attempting to strike a balance in the Federal Government's educational account. In this chapter we wish to set forth briefly the nature of these educational activities of the Federal Government, with a statement of the amounts at present

[1] Some notion of the scope of educational activity and the range of educational influence of the Federal Departments of the Government may be gained also from an examination of the contents of the *Catalogue of United States Public Documents*, issued monthly from the Government Printing Office.

(1926) expended for them,[1] before passing on to a consideration of education in our States.[2]

The educational activities of the Federal Government classify themselves under the following headings:

1. Teaching Institutions.
2. Libraries, Scientific Institutions, and Museums.
3. Governmental Departments and Bureaus having important educational functions.
4. The Bureau of Education.
5. Education of the Indians.
6. Education in the Territories and Insular Possessions.
7. Extra-Governmental Institutions and Agencies.

I. TEACHING INSTITUTIONS

The army schools. The first institution of an educational nature set up by the Federal Government was the Military Academy at West Point. This was established by Congress in 1802 to train officers for the national army. Here the foundations of the entire system of American military education have since been worked out. The immediate purpose has been to provide both a theoretical and a practical training for young men expecting to become officers in the regular army. The course is of collegiate rank, four years long, and the cadets on graduation are given commissions as officers in the regular army. This school has also trained many capable engineers for the public service. The institution is under the general supervision of the Secretary of War. Its maintenance cost, in 1926–27, was $2,489,573.

Special post-graduate courses of instruction for officers are prescribed by the army regulations, and are maintained at nearly all the regular military posts for commissioned officers on duty at these posts. Beginning in 1881, a large group of schools has since been developed at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for further post-graduate training of army officers for the actual work of warfare. These schools include the Army School of the Line, the Army Staff College, the Army Signal School, the Army Engineering School,

[1] The descriptions which follow indicate the work and costs as of the year ending June 30, 1927. As frequent changes in the organization and distribution of work are made in the government service, the descriptions may fail to be accurate in details in the years to come. The costs for maintenance will also vary from year to year, but the 1927 figures will show, relatively, the cost-size of the undertaking.

[2] In this survey of the supplementary educational activities of the Federal Government, the more important features only will be enumerated. For a more detailed statement the student should consult the *Annual Reports* to Congress of the Secretaries of the different Departments of the Government.

and the Army Field Service and Correspondence School for Medical officers. Still further, a number of special service schools are maintained, at different places, for special technical instruction of both officers[1] and men in the different branches of the service. As a culmination of the scheme of military education, the Army War College was established at Washington Barracks, in 1901, to provide the most advanced professional study of military problems available for small special details of army officers. This college also directs and coördinates the military education of the army, and that given at civil schools and colleges to which army officers are detailed as instructors. These schools have been very useful without being at all expensive.

Within recent years an extensive and a very commendable scheme of vocational training for the enlisted men of the army has been developed. By 1927 the cost for this had reached $3,667,800, but as the work develops the cost is certain to increase. The purpose is only partly military, and is definitely calculated to relieve army life of its tedium and unproductive features by utilizing the opportunity of service to train the men along vocational lines and fit them for success in civil life. It is, in effect, a vast system of vocational education organized in connection with the army and at the army posts. It promises not only to do much to relieve army life, for the enlisted men, of many of its objectionable and wasteful features, but also to make a contribution to trade teaching of large national importance.

Coöperation with the States in military instruction. The Federal Government also coöperates with the States in maintaining instruction in military drill and tactics at all the land-grant colleges, as provided for in the original Morrill Act of 1862, by detailing an officer to each college to act as Professor of Military Drill and Tactics. A few other colleges, academies, and institutions have since been admitted to share in this provision.

When the United States entered the World War, in 1917, the plan of coöperative army training was further extended to the state universities and to many privately endowed institutions, and after the close of the War these were continued under the title of Reserve Officers' Training Corps (R.O.T.C.). The aim is to fit students to become reserve officers, while taking their

[1] These include an Engineer School and an Army Medical School at Washington Barracks; a Coast Artillery School at Fort Monroe, Virginia; a Field Artillery School at Fort Sill, Oklahoma; a Mounted Service School at Fort Riley, Kansas; and a Signal Corps Aviation School at San Diego, California.

college course. The course is planned to cover the four academic years, and its completion leads to a commission in the Reserve Officers' Corps. Uniforms and equipment are furnished, and $12 per month for subsistence is paid students in training while completing the advanced half of the course. The cost for this work, in 1926–27, was approximately $3,911,500. A number of summer camps for civilians and students have also recently been provided to supplement the ordinary basic instruction drill. The Federal Government also coöperates with the States in the instruction of the state militia through the loan of equipment, inspection by army officers, and the participation of the militia in the encampments, maneuvers, and field instruction of the regular army.

In addition to its general supervision of the organized system of military education, the Department of War maintains oversight of all matters pertaining to the civil government in the Island Possessions of the United States. The official Reports of the Government of the Philippine Islands, Guam, and Porto Rico, including the work of public education in these islands, are submitted through the Bureau of Insular Affairs to the Secretary of War.

Educational work in the navy. In 1845, Congress created an institution at Annapolis to do for the navy what West Point had for some time been doing for the army. Since 1850 this has been known as the Naval Academy. This institution is under the general supervision of the Secretary of the Navy, and its maintenance cost, in 1926–27, was $1,929,160. The course of instruction is of collegiate grade and four years in length, at the close of which the graduates are commissioned as Ensigns in the navy. In 1904 a post-graduate department was added, with instruction in ordinance and steam engineering, and in 1909 a school of marine engineering also was added.

In addition, the Federal Government maintains a Naval War College, at Newport, Rhode Island, for the purpose of instructing officers in the art of naval warfare. There are also four naval stations — two on the Atlantic Coast, one on Lake Michigan, and one on the Pacific Coast — for the training of newly-enlisted recruits, as well as a number of special schools for the training of enlisted men for special lines of service, such as musicians, clerks, stewards, cooks, bakers, electricians, gunners, machinists, and various types of trade training.[1] Within the past decade the

[1] See an interesting brief article by Secretary Curtis D. Wilbur, in *School Life* for May, 1925 (pp. 164–67), entitled "The United States Navy a Trade School of Extraordinary Scope."

navy, as well as the army, has begun an extensive scheme of academic and vocational education, aboard ship and at stations, for the enlisted men, a comprehensive plan for this work having been put into effect, beginning in 1914, and reorganized under the Training Division of the Bureau of Navigation in 1923, with three divisions: (1) training and education of officers; (2) training and education of enlisted men; and (3) morale and recreation. Concerning this work the Secretary of the Navy wrote, two years later, in his *Annual Report* to Congress:

> Every man in the navy is a student, from the Admiral in the War College to the midshipman at the Naval Academy and the apprentice in the training station and afloat. The beneficial result of the whole educational system in the navy is that theoretical knowledge is almost immediately put into practice. . . . The man who does not wish to go to school ought not to knock at any door in the naval service. The navy is the greatest educational institution in America, and in it theory is valued only as it is put into practice.
>
> The navy offers a wide variety of industrial courses to ambitious young men. . . . In the electrical schools at the Brooklyn and Mare Island Navy Yards the course of instruction comprises machine-shop work, reciprocating steam engines, steam turbine engines, internal combustion engines, magnetism and electricity, dynamos, motor generators, alternating currents, and the like. In the radio group there is thorough practice in radio mechanism. In the Artificer School at the Norfolk Navy Yard men are taught to be shipwrights, steam fitters, blacksmiths, painters, and plumbers. Both at Newport, Rhode Island, and San Francisco are yeomanry schools, where the men are perfected in the clerical work of the navy, to become expert stenographers, typewriters, bookkeepers, etc.

The Federal Government also coöperates with the States in the maintenance of the Naval Militia, assigning ships, equipment, and officers for the purpose. The Navy Department has also recently begun (Act of March 4, 1925) coöperation with some half dozen large universities in the establishment of naval training of collegiate grade, analogous to the R.O.T.C. work of the army. Under the Navy Department there are also maintained: (1) the Hydrographic Office, which provides accurate and cheap nautical maps, sailing directions, and manuals of instruction for the use of the vessels of the United States and of navigators generally; and (2) the United States Naval Observatory, at Washington, which in addition to its astronomical and chronographic work has charge of the preparation and publication of the *American Ephemeris Nautical Almanac*, used by sea captains everywhere.

Schools in the District of Columbia. The Constitution specifically authorized Congress (Art. I, sec. 8) to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over the District that might become the seat of government of the United States. All the governmental affairs of the District of Columbia are therefore subject to direct national control. One half of the expenses of the District is appropriated by Congress, the other half being derived from the taxation of property and privileges, other than property of the United States, within the District. The largest items of expense, of an educational nature, are for the maintenance of the public schools ($12,016,979 appropriated for 1926–27) and the free public library ($259,860, same year) of the District. The school system of the District was a pauper school system up to 1844, and with but few pupils in attendance. After that date a public school system was slowly built up, though but little was done in this direction until after 1865. The free public library was created in 1896.

The public school system of the District is the usual city type of school system, including kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools, city normal schools, and the usual supplementary and special classes and instruction. There is an appointed school board which selects the superintendent of schools, but the financial control is as yet too dependent upon Congress for the most successful administration. A hampering and a far too detailed Congressional oversight, a large official and transient population, a citizenship deprived of the right of voting, a peculiar social situation due to nearly one third of the people being of the colored race, and political traditions that forbid segregation or differentiation on the basis of race or color, all have conspired to produce a certain civic inertness toward such community efforts as education, the results of which have been bad for the schools. The blame for the situation rests largely with Congress, which has apparently never conceived of the possibility of influencing American educational development by making the public school system of Washington a model in organization and effective administration.

Other teaching institutions in the District. In 1864 an Industrial Home School for White Children was established privately to provide for the care and elementary education of indigent and neglected children, with a view to making them self-supporting. Since 1872 Congress has given the school a slowly increasing sup-

port and has provided for its control. The trustees of the school are appointed by the Commissioners for the District, they reporting to the Board of Charities for the District, and the teachers for the school are appointed by the Board of Education for the District. In 1907 a similar school for colored children was established.

In 1866, a House of Correction for the District was established by Congress. In 1870 this became the Reform School of the District of Columbia, and in 1908 the name was changed to the National Training School for Boys. In 1893 a similar Reform School for Girls was created, and in 1912 the name was changed to the National Training School for Girls. Both schools are under the Department of Justice, and exist to care for delinquent children committed to them by the juvenile or other courts of the District. Due to the fact that most of the children committed to these schools are colored children, the question has at times been before Congress of creating separate institutions for white children, but so far without resulting in action.

Congress also makes small annual appropriations to provide for the care and education in institutions of indigent children of the District who are deaf, dumb, or blind. In addition the Columbian Institute for the Deaf, incorporated by Congress in 1857, has been the recipient of governmental grants for maintenance and buildings since that time. In 1864 it was given power to confer degrees, and since 1868 Congress has been represented on its board of trustees, and this board reports to the Secretary of the Interior. Most of the Congressional grants for the education of indigent deaf, dumb, and blind go to Maryland institutions, the Columbian Institute being a more advanced school. The Federal Government also virtually supports Howard University, established in 1867, which has done good work in the higher education of the negro. The supervision of the expenditure of the Federal grants for this institution and its oversight are placed with the Secretary of the Interior.

2. LIBRARIES, INSTITUTIONS, AND MUSEUMS

The Library of Congress. The Library of Congress, sometimes known as the National Library, was first established in 1800 and was designed for the special use and assistance of the two legislative branches of the government. When the British burned the Capitol, in 1814, the Library, then containing three thousand

volumes, was almost entirely destroyed. In the following year Congress provided for the purchase of the library of Thomas Jefferson, and this collection formed the nucleus of the present Library. Since 1846, a copy of each book copyrighted in the United States has been required to be deposited in the Library. On a number of occasions important private collections have been presented to it. The support given by Congress to the Library, while never large, has still been liberal enough to permit of its expansion until it now ranks as third among the great world libraries. Its maintenance cost, in 1926–27, was $1,469,161. It now contains approximately three million printed books and pamphlets and a million other items, such as manuscripts, maps, music, photographs, and engravings. The Library is housed in one of the largest and most magnificent buildings of its kind in any country.

The exceptional resources and facilities of the Library are made readily accessible to students and investigators — not only to those working in Washington, but also to those of the country at large — through a well-developed system of coöperation with other libraries. Numerous indices, catalogues, and bibliographies have been published, and certain valuable historical records have been edited and issued in printed form.[1]

Besides the District Public Library and the Library of Congress, there are some thirty departmental and bureau libraries of importance in the city, and these contain over two million books, pamphlets, and maps. Perhaps the most important of these is the medical library in the Office of the Surgeon General, one of the largest of its kind in the world. The library of the Bureau of Education, in documents, is perhaps the most complete in the United States. Practically all these departmental and bureau libraries contain excellent working collections.

The Smithsonian Institution. This Institution has an interesting history, and owes its origin to an Englishman by the name of James Smithson. An illegitimate son of the Duke of Northumberland, and a graduate of Oxford, he spent most of his life, for family reasons, on the continent. He seems to have had ample means, and his tastes inclined him to scientific study and investigation. Dying at Genoa, in 1829, he left a will (*Source Book*,

[1] See an interesting article by A. P. C. Griffin, entitled "Contributions of the Library of Congress to Education"; in *School and Society*, vol. 20, pp. 323–28. (September 13, 1924.)

pp. 119–20) which provided that, should his nephew die without issue, his property was to go "to the United States of America, to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The nephew dying without issue, the estate, amounting to more than half a million dollars, came in trust to the Government of the United States, in 1837.

A prolonged discussion now took place as to the particular method to be followed in carrying out Smithson's idea. The bequest revived discussion as to the possibility of using it to help found a national university. After nine years of consideration and delay it was decided to devote the fund to the establishment of an institution for scientific research. The resulting Institution has always had able scientific direction, and has grown into one of the most important of our national institutions for the study of science. To supplement the annual income from the trust fund, and to assist in carrying out the enlarged purposes of the Institution, Congress now appropriates to it annually $60,000, approximately twice as much additional maintenance money as the trust fund produces. Recently the Institution has appealed to the public for an added endowment of $5,000,000, to enable it to carry on work beyond what its present income will permit it to do.

Collateral organizations. As the pioneer national institution for the promotion and conduct of systematic scientific research, the Smithsonian Institution occupies front rank among the federal activities related to education.[1] It has developed a number of influential collateral branches, among which are the National Museum, a huge storehouse of scientific materials, provided for in the foundation act of 1846; the National Gallery of Art, an institution as yet in its beginnings; the Bureau of American Ethnology, resulting from the transfer to it, in 1879, of the ethnological research previously carried on by the Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region; the National Zoölogical Park, at Washington, containing a large collection of animals, and the Astrophysical Observatory, both established in 1890; and the United States Bureau of the International Cata-

[1] For a fuller description of the work of the Smithsonian Institution, see two articles: (a) Fewkes, J. W. "What the Smithsonian Institution is doing for Public Education," in *School and Society*, vol. 20, pp. 321–23 (September 13, 1924); (b) Abbot, C. G. "The Smithsonian Institution at Work," in *American Review of Reviews*, vol. 69, pp. 635–41 (June, 1924).

logue of Scientific Literature. The total appropriation to the Smithsonian Institution for all purposes, in 1926–27, was $858,240.

3. GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS AND BUREAUS HAVING IMPORTANT EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS

What to include. While it would be possible to stretch this subdivision of the work of the Federal Government to include the work of the Post Office; the Consular and Diplomatic Service; the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce; the Bureaus of Labor Statistics, Immigration, and Naturalization; the Federal Labor Board; the Government Printing Office, which prints and distributes millions of publications each year; the Census Bureau; the Civil Service and the Inter-State Commerce Commissions; the Patent Office; the Reclamation Service; the Census Bureau; as well as similar Bureaus and Commissions which perform functions which have some educational bearing and in the benefits of which the States share, we shall not do so. Instead we shall confine our consideration to those Departments and Bureaus, not previously mentioned, which have a distinct scientific or educational purpose and perform functions clearly scientific or educational in character, and which are of importance from an economic point of view.

The Department of Agriculture. The most important of the Departments or Bureaus performing functions distinctly scientific and educational in character, as well as the one most nearly analogous to the service that might be rendered by a well-organized Federal Department of Education, is the Federal Department of Agriculture. This Department occupies a unique position in the governmental organization because of the great variety, broad extent, and positive value of the influence it exercises upon the social, cultural, economic, and scientific progress of our people.

The idea of governmental effort for the encouragement of agricultural industries, such as sheep-raising and the breeding of silkworms, was one that found some practical acceptance in the Colonies. Washington showed both personal and official interest in the establishment of societies and public boards for the development of agriculture. In spite of a number of efforts to enlist the support of Congress, it was not until 1839 that the first step was taken which finally led to the creation of the Department of Agriculture. In that year a congressional appropriation of

$1000 a year was made to the Commissioners of Patents, to be used for the purpose of collecting and distributing seeds, prosecuting agricultural investigations, and collecting agricultural statistics. The work was slowly developed under successive Commissioners, and in 1862, with the passage of the Morrill Act, the work was enlarged into an independent Bureau with a Commissioner of Agriculture in charge. In 1885 the work was further extended by the creation of a Department of Agriculture with a Secretary in charge, and its real development as a Department was undertaken. With the appointment of James Wilson, an Iowa farmer, as Secretary of Agriculture by President McKinley, in 1897, the rapid expansion of the work of the Department began. He served for sixteen years as Secretary, and during his administration[1] the annual appropriations for the work of the Department were increased ten times, and the number of employees six times. (See *Source Book*, pp. 124–25, for table of appropriations from 1860 to 1913.) New Bureaus were added, new lines of service and investigation were undertaken, and the work of the Department was made national in scope and large in influence. The impetus given to the work of the Department by Secretary Wilson has since been maintained. By 1926 the Department was employing approximately 20,500 employees, approximately 4800 of whom are stationed in Washington, and the remainder outside.

The work of the Agricultural Department classifies itself into three main functions, viz.: (1) police or regulatory; (2) scientific or research; and (3) extension or educational. The police or regulatory functions have to do with plant and animal quarantine work, meat inspection, pure-food law work, and the control of pests and diseases. The principal Bureaus, Offices, and Divisions through which the regulatory, scientific, and educational aims of the Department are carried out may be summarized briefly, as follows:

1. *The Bureau of Animal Industry.* Organized in 1884, replacing the Veterinary Division, established in 1883. It has as its principal object the investigation and suppression of dangerous communicable diseases in live stock. The Animal Husbandry, Meat Inspection, Field Inspection, Tick Eradication, Tuberculosis Eradication, Hog-cholera Control, Virus-serum Control, Pathological, Biochemic, and Zoölogical Divisions are within this Bureau.

[1] See *Annual Report of the Secretary of Agriculture*, for 1912, for an illuminating review of the Department's work during the sixteen years of Secretary Wilson's administration (1896–1912).

2. *The Bureau of Plant Industry.* By a consolidation of the work of the Divisions of Agrostology (1895), Botany (1869), Gardens and Grounds (1862), Pomology (1886), and Vegetable Physiology and Pathology (1886), this Bureau was organized in 1901. It studies plant life in all its relations to agriculture and industry. Farm-management studies and farm-demonstration work are also carried on, through cooperation with the state agricultural colleges.

3. *The Bureau of Dairy Industry.* This Bureau was created in 1924 to take over work from the Bureau of Animal Industry as it related to milk cattle and the dairy industry, and to enlarge and improve such work.

4. *The Bureau of Entomology.* As its name indicates, this Bureau, which dates from 1863, investigates and disseminates information regarding insects which are helpful and injurious to the health and life of plants, animals, and human beings.

5. *The Bureau of Biological Survey.* The work of this Bureau began in 1885, in connection with the entomological work of the Department. Its principal energy is devoted to the study of the geographic distribution of animals and plants. It also has supervision of the national bird and mammal reservations, the preservation of native wild game, the enforcement of the Lacey Act (unlawful shipment of game), and the administration of the Federal migratory bird law.

6. *The Forestry Service.* Investigations in forestry were begun in 1876. From the Division of Forestry, established in 1880, the present Forest Service has been developed. This Service has charge of the national forest reserves, investigates the methods of planting and the kinds of trees for planting, studies commercially valuable trees to determine the best means of using and reproducing them, and also studies other problems of forest products and forest management. It also has charge of a large and rapidly increasing coöperative service with the States in forestry work.

7. *The Weather Bureau.* The work of systematic meteorological observation, for the purpose of forecasting weather conditions throughout the United States, was first undertaken by the Signal Office of the War Department, in 1870. Here it remained until 1890, when the work was transferred to the Department of Agriculture. In addition to the weather forecast service, its work now includes river and flood service, aërological investigations, and studies of climatology, seismology, solar radiation, and similar work. This Bureau, which is probably the best known of the Department of Agriculture, has been of great practical worth and of notable influence in creating a scientific attitude on the part of the people toward natural phenomenon. It has been estimated that this Bureau alone saves the people of the United States half a billion dollars a year.

8. *The Bureau of Chemistry.* The far-reaching work of this Bureau, which grew out of the Division of Chemistry, established in 1862, has dealt with foods and their adulteration. Most of the pure-food laws of the States owe their scientific structure to the work of this Bureau.

9. *The Bureau of Soils.* Within this Bureau, organized in 1894, fall the very important investigations connected with surveying, classifying, and mapping of soils, together with their drainage and conservation; fertilizer investigations; and the more recent studies in nitrogen fixation.

10. *The Bureau of Agricultural Economics.* The earliest direct service of the Government for farmers was the collection and publication of agricultural statistics. The Division of Statistics was established in 1863, and existed as such until 1904, when the Bureau of Statistics was organized. This was changed to the Bureau of Crop Estimates, July 1, 1914, and later the Office of Markets and Rural Organization was combined with it. The present Bureau was organized in 1922. Regular reports as to condition and yield are issued for the various crops, for the information of producers and consumers. This Bureau has also made important investigations of land tenures, country-life problems, transportation, coöperative marketing, and other lines of rural economics; maintains a Division of Statistics and Historical Research; administers the United States Warehouse Act; and operates Center Market in the City of Washington.

11. *The Division of Coöperative Marketing.* Established by Congress in July, 1926, to coöperate with the States and farmers' organizations in the establishment of coöperative marketing throughout the Nation, with a view to improving marketing conditions and the economic returns of farming.

12. *The Bureau of Home Economics.* Created as the Office of Farm Management in 1915 by the transfer of work from the Bureau of Plant Industry, and materially enlarged and renamed in 1923 to include research as to farm organization, cost of production, farm labor, farm finance, land economics, home-life conditions, agricultural history and geography, and rural-life studies. This Office also cooperates closely with the extension work done in the States under the Smith-Lever Act.

13. *States-Relations Service.* This work, established in 1888 as the Office of Experiment Stations, and renamed in 1914, represents the Department in all its relations to the Agricultural Experiment Stations existing in the States and Territories, and has general charge of the Coöperative Extension Work in the States under the Smith-Lever Act. The general object involves the promoting of the interests of agricultural education and investigation throughout the United States; the improvement of farm methods and farm life; the collection and dissemination of general information regarding agricultural schools, colleges, and stations; and the publication of accounts of agricultural investigations at home and abroad. It also indicates lines of inquiry for the stations, aids in the conduct of coöperative experiments, reports upon their expenditures and work, and in general furnishes them with such advice and assistance as will best promote the purposes for which they were established. In a similar way, it aids in the development of the Farmers' Institutes throughout the United States. It is charged with investigations on the nutritive value and economy

of human foods; and conducts investigations of the laws and institutions relating to irrigation in different regions, the use of irrigation waters, the removal of seepage and surplus waters by drainage, and the use of different kinds of power and machinery for irrigation and other agricultural purposes.

14. *The Bureau of Public Roads.* The Office of Public Roads began early to collect and disseminate information throughout the United States concerning systems of road management; to conduct investigations and experiments regarding road-building materials and methods of road construction; to make chemical and physical tests of road materials and materials of construction; to give expert advice on road administration and road construction; and to demonstrate the best methods of construction. On the passage of the Federal Highway Act, providing for the establishment of a system of public main-line highways, and granting aid to the States on the dollar for dollar basis,[1] the laying-out and approval of all such Federal grant highways was placed with the Secretary of Agriculture, working through this Bureau, as it was now renamed.

15. *The Office of Personnel and Business Administration.* Created in 1925 by bringing together all offices having to do with personnel, salary classification, budgeting, finance, accounts and disbursements, purchase and sales, and fiscal inspection.

16. *The Library.* The Library, established in 1862, now (1926) contains approximately 200,000 books and pamphlets, and is probably the best collection on agriculture and allied subjects in the world.

17. *The Director of Information.* Through this important Division, which is charged with the supervision of the editing (except for the Weather Bureau), printing, and distribution of the departmental publications, the press news service, and the new radio extension service, the Department performs its essential functions of disseminating educative information among the people. Nearly twenty-five million copies of new and reprinted documents are now distributed annually. Recently a Motion-Picture Office and Laboratory has been added to the Division, for the preparation and issuance of agricultural films.

18. *Other work of the Department.* In addition to the above-described Bureaus and Divisions and Offices, the Agricultural Department maintains a Solicitor; a large staff for enforcing the Federal laws relating to the forests, quarantine, pure food, drugs, game, meat inspection, grain standards, and similar matters; the Insecticide and

[1] In 1917 the Federal Government began granting aid to the States for the construction of main-line highways, under the terminology of postroads. The first grant was $75,000,000 a year, for three years. This was then increased to $100,000,000 a year, and later reduced to $80,000,000. The money is distributed to the States as highways are approved for building, to assist the States in the creation of a system of main-line trunk highways. It is estimated that the roads so created will eventually pass through almost every city of 5000 or more inhabitants in the United States, and that ninety per cent of the population will live within ten miles of one of these trunk-line roads. The fifty-fifty basis for aid has since been changed, for the sparsely-settled Western States, so that much larger proportions of Federal aid may be granted there.

Fungicide Board; the Federal Horticultural Board, for inspection and quarantine; has charge of the nitrogen-fixation research work; the Farmers' Seed-Grain Loans Act; has been given charge of the administration of the Weeks law (1911) for fire protection in and extension of the national forests, and administers the Packers and Stockyards Act (1921).

Cost for the Department of Agriculture. As the Department of Agriculture is nearest by analogy and the character of its work to what a well-organized Department of Education might in time become, it may be both interesting and important to give the budget estimates for appropriations to this Department, taking the last figures available as we write. The amounts are increasing each year, but the savings effected by its work greatly exceed its cost. For 1926–27 the appropriations authorized by the Bureau of the Budget for the Department of Agriculture were:

For general operations, and office of Secretary (Includes salaries, office expenses, contingent and miscellaneous funds, and extension service)	$12,182,549
The Weather Bureau	2,505,971
The Forestry Service (This omits all road and trail work, and refunds)	8,169,722
The Bureau of Animal Industry	10,586,490
The Bureau of Plant Industry	3,748,325
The Bureau of Dairy Industry	485,704
The Bureau of Chemistry	1,474,440
The Bureau of Soils	395,512
The Bureau of Entomology	2,307,428
The Bureau of Biological Survey	920,200
Bureau of Home Economics	117,244
Bureau of Agricultural Economics	3,425,838
Operation of Center Market	171,000
Expenses Bureau of Public Roads	432,170
Salaries and expenses for the Library	84,180
Printing and binding	720,000
Other minor activities	224,900
Total for regular work of the Department	$47,961,172
Appropriation for building highways (Post roads)	$80,000,000
Appropriation for payment to States on account of forest reserves	1,307,750
Appropriation for Hatch and Adams and Purnell Acts payments to States for land-grant colleges	2,880,000
Appropriation for Smith-Lever Act work	5,880,000
Appropriation for coöperative agricultural extension work in the States	4,500,000
Appropriation for Fire-Coöperation (Weeks) Act	660,000
Appropriation for coöperative work in forestry and planting work	100,000
Appropriation for the administration of various regulatory acts	2,254,830
Total appropriations for all work	$145,543,752

An analysis of the appropriations for the preceding year will reveal better the character of the work done. Of the amount appropriated for the regular work of the Department, 23 per cent was for research work, 5.5 per cent for extension service, 21.6 per cent for the administration of regulatory activities and laws, 19.6 per cent for campaigns for the eradication and control of animal and plant diseases and pests, and 30.3 per cent for services, as the forests, weather bureau, crop reporting, and marketing. In addition the Department had approximately ninety-five millions of dollars for forestry work (roads, bridges, and trails), Smith-Lever Act work, highway construction in the States ($80,000,000), farmers' seed-grain loans, purchases of additions to the national forests, fire-prevention work, and similar activities.

The record of the Department of Agriculture for the past fifty years is replete with evidence of conspicuous service to the people of the entire country.[1] The work which it has done in promoting the general welfare and increasing the wealth of the Nation undoubtedly points the way toward other opportunities for Federal activity along lines equally important, especially with regard to child welfare, health, and education. If the money the Nation now wastes on war work, expenses of past wars, and preparation for future wars might be diverted to productive enterprises, almost everything of a welfare nature could be achieved in behalf of our people.

Geology and Reclamation. The Geological Survey and the Reclamation Service are organized under the Department of the Interior.

The Geological Survey was established in 1879, and superseded the Geological and Geographic Survey of the Territories (1867–79), the Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region (1874–79) — both under the Department of the Interior — and the Geographical Surveys west of the 100th Meridian, under the War Department. The contributions of the Geological Survey to our knowledge of the geology, geography, typography, and hydrography of the United States have been of tremendous practical and scientific importance. The publications resulting from its regional surveys and investigations of the

[1] See a good article by C. W. Warburton, entitled "The Educational Work of the Department of Agriculture," in *School and Society*, vol. 20, pp. 332–36. (September 13, 1924.)

natural resources — minerals, coal, oil, and water — and the maps and atlases prepared as a result of its explorations, have placed at the disposal of the American people a foundation fund of invaluable scientific information. At the same time the way has been paved for a national appreciation of the value of policies of conservation. The budget for maintenance of this Survey was $1,879,310 in 1926–27.

The Reclamation Service was originally established under the Geological Survey, in 1902, but became an independent Bureau in 1907. The project of reclaiming the vast stretches of arid western lands by proper conservation and distribution of the water supply has afforded the Federal Government an extraordinary opportunity to educate men in the arts of making homes out of what were regarded as the waste places of the earth, and has very materially aided the States in their settlement and development. The budget for this Service, for 1926–27, was $10,007,257.

Mines and Fisheries. The Bureau of Mines was established, in 1910, under the Department of the Interior, and was transferred, in 1924, to the Department of Commerce. While its work is mainly that of analyzing and testing fuels, it nevertheless renders an important social and educational service through its studies of mine accidents and its efforts to promote safety in mining. It also aids the States in the better handling and utilization of their mineral resources. This Bureau had a maintenance budget of $1,730,950 for 1926–27.

Another important scientific, educational, and economic service is rendered by the Bureau of Fisheries, now under the Department of Commerce. Under this Bureau, which was organized under the Department of Commerce and Labor, in 1903, has been placed the Fish Commission, an independent Government office established in 1871, and the work of the Alaskan Fisheries Division (from the Treasury Department, 1908). Through investigation and experiment, this Bureau seeks to bring about the conservation and development of all the aquatic resources of the country. Special attention is given to studies relating to the culture and preservation of our food fishes. The budget of this Bureau, for 1926–27, was $1,589,140.

Coast Survey and Bureau of Standards. An important scientific and educational service is rendered by the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Upon the recommendation of President Jefferson,

in 1807. Congress first provided for a survey of the coasts of the United States. This Survey of the Coast, as it was called, was not begun until 1816. Systematic work was suspended between 1818 and 1832. From 1832, the coast survey work originally contemplated was undertaken within the Treasury Department, where it remained (Navy Department, 1834–36) until 1903, when it was transferred to the Department of Commerce and Labor. The work of the Coast Survey was extended, in 1871, so as to include a primary triangulation across the continent, to form a geodetic connection between the work on the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts. The present name Coast and Geodetic Survey dates from 1878. Through its achievements, not only those of a practical nature, such as the mapping of the coastal regions of all the territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, the preparation of tidal and other charts for use in navigation, the determination of standard elevation points throughout the country, and the making of magnetic surveys, but also those of great scientific moment, the Coast and Geodetic Survey has attained a position as one of the most valuable of the scientific-educational institutions under the control of the Federal Government. The budget of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, for 1926–27, was $2,327,650.

Another important scientific, educational, and economic service is rendered by the Bureau of Standards, now under the Department of Commerce. This Bureau owes its origin to a Senate resolution of 1830, directing "the Secretary of the Treasury to cause a comparison to be made of the standards of weight and measures used at the principal custom houses of the United States, and to report to the Senate at the next session of Congress." The discovery of great discrepancies caused the Treasury Department to adopt standards. By Congressional resolution (1881) a complete set of all standards adopted by the Treasury Department was delivered to the Governor of each State for the use of the agricultural colleges in the States which had received a grant of land from the United States. The Office of Standard Weights and Measures remained under the Superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey (in Treasury Department) until 1901, when it became the National Bureau of Standards. This was transferred to the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903, and its present title given. The scope of the work of this Bureau has broadened in recent years to include standard units

for power, light, heat, electricity, and refrigeration.[1] The budget of the Bureau, for 1926–27, was $1,842,825.

The Public Health Service. This service is under the Treasury Department, and its work is that of promoting the national health by research, sanitation, and publication. Under the Service are the Divisions of Domestic Quarantine, Foreign and Insular Quarantines and Immunity, Sanitary Reports and Statistics, Marine Hospital and Relief, Venereal Diseases, and the General Inspection Service. The Service has made many important studies, the more recent ones covering such subjects as official water standards, venereal disease, tuberculosis, child hygiene, rural health, malaria, food poisoning, industrial hygiene, pellagra, trachoma, etc. The Service coöperates with the States in health studies and disease elimination. The maintenance appropriation for 1926–27 was $9,128,101, a little over half of which was for hospital maintenance.

The Department of Labor. A Bureau of Labor was organized, in 1884, in the Interior Department. This was transformed, in 1888, into an independent department and termed the Department of Labor, which was however placed within the Department of Commerce and Labor, in 1903. Ten years later the Department of Labor was erected[2] into an independent executive department "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of wage earners of the United States, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment." This Department does a large amount of educational work through its Bureaus of Labor Statistics, Immigration, Naturalization, the Children's Bureau, and the Women's Bureau.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics is the direct descendant of the first Bureau of Labor, established in 1884. Its title does not indicate fully the broad scope of its functions. These have resulted in numerous and comprehensive investigations, and publications of the greatest importance to our national economic welfare.

The Bureau of Immigration has taken over a work formerly performed by the state authorities, under the general direction of the Federal Government. As some sort of a national immigration policy has developed, it has been seen that something more than

[1] See a paper by Geo. K. Burgess, entitled "The Bureau of Standards as an Educational Institution," in *School and Society*, vol. 20, pp. 328–32. (September 13, 1924.)

[2] See the first two annual reports of the Secretary of Labor, for 1913 and 1914, for valuable summaries of the history and work of the Department.

counting, examining, classifying, disinfecting, and policing the incomer is necessary, and that the National Government is primarily responsible for guaranteeing to the immigrant some form of social guidance and protection, as well as a fair opportunity to become naturalized, educated, and prepared for assimilation into the national stock. This work is capable of further expansion, and of being made educative to a high degree.

The Children's Bureau. In consequence of a number of years of agitation and effort by workers for social reform, especially those actively engaged in the work of the National Child Labor Committee, a Children's Bureau was established by Congress, in 1912 (*Source Book*, pp. 121–22, for law). It was at first proposed to add this new work to the Bureau of Education, but it was finally decided to place it in the Department of Commerce and Labor. With the separation of Commerce and Labor into two departments, in 1913, the Children's Bureau was placed in the Department of Labor. In the Report of the Joint Committee on Reorganization of Government Departments (1923) it was recommended that both the Children's Bureau and the Women's Bureau, created later for somewhat similar service, should be assigned to a new Department of Education and Welfare.

The Children's Bureau is under the direction of a chief, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. It was created to investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to child life, and the welfare of children among all classes of people, and with special attention to the questions of infant mortality, birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents, and diseases of children, as well as employment and legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories.

The establishment of the Children's Bureau was a timely extension of the general principle of the conservation of the national resources — for long applied to timber, crops, cattle, hogs, fish, and game — so as to include child life as well. The accumulated evidence pointed conclusively to the tragic wastage of child life in the United States, through parental ignorance and because of the conditions of modern economic life, and made a strong case for action by the Government. The conspicuous service being rendered by the Department of Agriculture for the general welfare of the material interests of the country afforded persuasive

precedents.[1] If the Federal interest in plant welfare and animal diseases was legitimate, then a similar interest in the investigation and publicity of the facts relating to children was easily justified.[2]

During the first two years of its existence (1912–14) the Children's Bureau had a staff of but fifteen persons, and its annual appropriation for salaries was a little more than $25,000. There were small additional allotments, aggregating less than $10,000, for printing and contingent expenses. The status and functions of this Bureau were fully debated in Congress in 1914.[3] After much opposition, the funds available for the Bureau were then increased to $165,000 per year, and for 1926–27 the appropriation was $313,000, with $1,000,000 additional for coöperative work with the States in the activities provided for under the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act of 1921 (see page 59), the administration of which had been placed with this Bureau. The proper development of this Bureau, and the assignment to it of duties consistent with its important purposes, now seems assured. Important reports on birth registration, pre-natal care, infant care, infant mortality, Federal statistics of children, and laws relating to mothers' pensions have been issued by it, and an important educational program has been planned in conjunction with the States under the Maternity and Infancy Act. These include such measures as accurate birth registration, improved milk supplies, state surveys of medical and nursing facilities for

[1] "Gentlemen may talk about extravagance as much as they like, but I insist that while the people of the country are in favor of economy they are in favor of the right kind of economy. A few weeks ago we rushed through this House, by unanimous consent, a bill appropriating $600,000 to stamp out hog cholera. We would have made the appropriation $6,000,000 if the experts had told us that by the expenditure of such a sum they could save the lives of the hogs of this country. I would have voted for such an appropriation and you would have voted for such an appropriation, Mr. Chairman, and the people of the country would have approved of such an appropriation. If it is essential to protect the lives of the hogs of this country, how much more important it is to protect the lives of the children of this country. The experts tell us that each year 300,000 children die in this country before they attain the age of one year. We are assured that fully one half of the deaths are directly traceable to ignorance and lack of care. This is truly a slaughter of the innocents." — Representative Keating, in *The Congressional Record*, 63d Congress, 2d Session, April 16, 1914, p. 6795.

[2] This seems, however, a difficult thing to make legislators see. It is true of the state legislatures as well as of Congress. For example, the Iowa legislature recently increased the state appropriation for the study and eradication of bovine tuberculosis from $100,000 to $250,000, and refused to increase that for the study of child tuberculosis from $5000 to $10,000. See editorial on in *Educational Review*, January, 1922, p. 89.

[3] The debates reported in *The Congressional Record* for April 14 and April 16, 1914 (63d Congress, 2d Session, pp. 6709, 6794, 6800, 6805, 6806), reflect in a striking way some of the real difficulties in the way of widening the scope of governmental activities related to education.

maternal and infant care, registration and supervision of midwives, and general child-welfare work.

The Women's Bureau. This Bureau began as a war service, in 1918, its function being to "formulate standards and policies which shall promote the welfare of wage-earning women, improve their working conditions, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment." All matters relating to women in industry were placed within the scope of inquiry of this Bureau.

General studies as to wages, hours, and working conditions of women have been made. Coöperative relations with the States in these studies have been established. Its appropriation for work, for 1926–27, was $105,000.

4. THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION

Establishment. The notion that the Government in some direct way is responsible for a system of education, suited to the needs of American democracy, seems to have been firmly fixed in the minds of the leading statesmen throughout the nation-forming period between the Revolutionary and Civil Wars,[1] but governmental responsibility for popular education was invariably interpreted as belonging to the several States, and not to the Federation. The somewhat accidental evolution of a plan for subsidizing the school systems of the States, through grants of national land, tended to fortify a policy of making the Federal Government an interested and benevolent spectator, but not an active participant in the creation and culmination of a national program of education.

The educational revival of the forties emphatically brought to educational leaders, as well as to political idealists, the limitations of means and the apparent inadequacy of the machinery of the different States, working apart, for the upbuilding of a system of public education capable of contributing constantly and constructively to the solution of the ever-recurring problems of democracy. The Civil War greatly increased the importance of the educational issue, to the Northern as well as to the Southern States, and the Union as a potential factor for educational progress assumed a new significance. Out of these new influences the movement for a national office for the study of educational problems arose.

[1] Consult *Expressions on Education by American Statesmen and Publicists*, United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, no. 28, 1913, for a collection of typical paragraphs.

The successful movement for the establishment of a national agency for education took definite form through the discussions and activities of the National Teachers' Association (the grandparent of the present National Education Association), between 1858–65. In 1866, the National Association of State and City School Superintendents presented a memorial to Congress urging the establishment of a national Bureau of Education. James A. Garfield, then a member of the House of Representatives, had charge of the memorial, and also of the bill for the establishment of a governmental Department of Education. Through his persistent zeal and skillful leadership,[1] Congress, by a narrow margin, passed an act which was signed March 2, 1867. This established

at the City of Washington a Department of Education (but without Cabinet rank) for the purpose of collecting such statutes and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and of diffusing such information regarding the organization and management of schools and school systems, and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country.

The President was to appoint a Commissioner of Education, who was to receive a salary of four thousand dollars a year, and who was to report annually to Congress.[2]

Subsequent history. As might be expected, efforts were made to abolish the so-called Department almost as soon as it was created. The opposition succeeded the next year, 1868 (effective June 30, 1869), in reducing the Department to the rank of a Bureau, legally designated as the "Office of Education," which was placed in the Department of the Interior. This administrative position it has occupied up to the present.[3]

During the nearly sixty years of the existence of the Bureau there have been but seven Commissioners of Education: Bar-

[1] Garfield's speech in the House of Representatives, June 8, 1866, may be found in the *Proceedings of the National Educational Association*, 1901, pp. 426–38.

[2] At the time of the establishment of the so-called Department, in 1867, there were available at Washington statistics regarding education in but seventeen States. Nothing was known as to education in the other nineteen. What had become of the vast land-grants for schools was also almost unknown. The new office was ordered to ascertain the condition and progress of education throughout the country, and was provided with a Commissioner, a chief clerk, and two assistants, and was given $7 2,000 for salaries. The next year the chief clerk was dropped, the salary of the Commissioner was reduced from $4000 to $3000, and the Bureau was quartered in two small rented rooms. In this condition it remained for many years.

[3] For a detailed history of the Bureau, see a volume by D. H. Smith. entitled *The Bureau of Education, its History, Activities, and Organization.* 172 pp. 1923.

nard, 1867–70; Eaton, 1870–86; Dawson, 1886–89; Harris, 1889–1906; Brown, 1906–11; Claxton, 1911–21; and Tigert, 1921–. While this would seem to indicate that the Commissionership has been regarded from a non-partisan point of view, and therefore not subject to the uncertainties of changing political administration, the relatively insignificant rôle played by the Bureau in the conduct of national affairs, together with its lack of patronage, has made it easy for the party in power to display but little partisanship in the matter of education. Throughout its history Congress has held the "Office of Education" to a very minor position, with very limited functions and very meager support. While the Federal Government, as has been seen, has undertaken many important scientific and educational services, Congress has from the first carefully contrived that almost nothing originated under the direction of the Bureau of Education.

Organization and support. The staff of the Bureau, in addition to the Commissioner, who is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, is provided for in the annual Congressional act making appropriations for the sundry civil expenses of the Government, and has always been small. In 1925 there was a total of but 102 persons employed,[1] not counting the Alaskan service, and the total cost of the Bureau for 1926–27, including printing, was only $235,100. This disinclination of Congress to provide funds for a sufficient number of competent assistants to enable the Commissioner to carry on the statutory work of the Bureau has always been a real obstacle to its serviceability to the educational interests of the country. A comparison of the annual appropriations for the Department of Agriculture with those for the Bureau of Education (*Source Book*, pp. 124–25) furnishes a good measure of the relative valuations placed by Congress and by the American people upon these different functions, undertaken as they were about the same time. There have always been votes for Congressmen who spent national funds in eliminating hog and chicken cholera, cattle tick and bovine tuberculosis, or in increasing yields from any animal or crop, as well as in "saving the people's money" by not spending it for education and child

[1] These 102 persons were distributed and the Bureau was organized as follows: Commissioner (1), Secretary and Assistants (3), Editorial Division (8), Statistical Division (15), Library (9), Home Education (2), Alaska Division (11), City Schools Division (8), Higher Education (6), Rural Education (10), Industrial Education (1), Foreign School Systems (3), School Hygiene (6), Commercial Education (2), School Legislation (1), Home Economics (2), Mails and Files (3), Stenographers (7), and Messengers (3).

welfare. Since 1917 the *Annual Reports*, which under Harris, Brown, and Claxton had become exceedingly valuable, have been reduced to a *Biennial Survey*, and this publication now appears from three to four years after the last year which it covers. Still more, while the Commissioner has made the best of the situation, the preparation of other reports and statistical summaries has been so reduced and delayed, by reason of the totally inadequate appropriations made by Congress for support, that the efficiency and effectiveness of the Bureau has in recent years been very seriously impaired.[1]

Services. The chief purpose of the Bureau, as defined in the organic Act, was to provide an active center of educational influence for the whole country, but with special emphasis on the collecting and diffusing of information relative to education. In the fulfillment of this purpose the Bureau collects statistics and other information relating to state and city school systems, and all classes of educational institutions in the United States, as well as information regarding the educational systems and educational progress of foreign countries. This has in the past been disseminated through the *Annual Reports of the Commissioner*, and through other special publications[2] dealing with matters of current educational interest.

Both classes of publications have served to make available to the States of the Union, until recently,[3] current statistical facts and significant experiences relating to many phases of education throughout the world. The undoubted result of these publications has been a wider appreciation of education as a matter of civic concern, and a unification of educational practice throughout the entire country. As a natural consequence of its strategic position as the only federal agency dealing exclusively with edu-

[1] In 1926, largely in an effort to prevent the Education Bill from receiving favorable action, a bill (Senate Bill 3533) was introduced to enlarge the work of the Bureau to cover main proposals of the Education Bill, and to increase the annual appropriation to $250,000.

[2] The principal existing series of these special publications is the *Bulletin*, authorized by an Act approved May 28, 1896. In recent years between forty and fifty different bulletins have been issued annually, though both their size and importance have steadily decreased during recent years.

[3] The last *Annual Report* was for 1917. A new series, a *Biennial Survey of Education* was begun to replace the *Annual Reports*, the first issue, covering the years 1916–18, appeared in 4 vols. in 1921; the second, covering 1918–20, appeared in 2 vols. in 1924; and the third, covering 1920–22, also in 2 vols., in 1926. In consequence, statistical summaries have been condensed and greatly delayed in publication. What appears is good, but it is too brief and too long delayed. For this, Congress, and not the Bureau, is to blame.

cation, the Bureau through correspondence complies with a vast number of requests from state legislators, school officers, communities, and individuals for information and advice upon particular matters of educational importance.

Since 1885, the Commissioner of Education has also been charged, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, with the general supervision of the education of the Eskimos and Indians of Alaska. A Division of the Bureau has charge of the schools for the Alaskan natives, and of the government reindeer in Alaska. While this apparent unimportant responsibility came to the Bureau through delegation from the Secretary of the Interior, the successive Commissioners, in the face of many obstacles, have succeeded in bringing to the natives of Alaska a type of education well adapted to their peculiar needs.

A number of minor ministerial duties are also performed by the Commissioner of Education. The National Education Association of the United States is required, by its charter, to report annually to the Commissioner. The Reports of the General Education Board; those portions of the reports of the Governors of the several Territories which relate to education; and the reports of the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts as to the utilization of the federal funds granted to these institutions under the second Morrill Act of 1890, and the so-called Nelson Amendment of 1907, are also referred by the Secretary of the Interior to the Commissioner of Education.

Reorganization proposals. The proposal to create an executive Department of Education, with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet, together with money grants to the States in aid of certain features of public education, as expressed in the Smith-Towner, the Sterling-Towner, and the Sterling-Reed bills (page 66) has been described in Chapter III. The widely varied character of the educational institutions and agencies of the Federal Government, evidencing no plan in their creation and development, has been set forth at the beginning of this chapter and must be realized from the descriptions given. In the *Report of the Joint Commission on Reorganization of Government Departments*,[1] made to the President, February 13, 1923, it was recommended that a new Department of Education and Welfare be created, with a Secretary in the Cabinet, and with four major subdivisions — Education, Health, Social Service, and Veterans'

[1] *Senate Document 302, 67th Congress, Fourth Session* (1923).

Relief — each in charge of an Assistant Secretary. There were then to be transferred to this new Department a number of existing Bureaus and Offices now scattered among the various Departments at Washington, with a view to a more rational organization of the educational activities of the Federal Government. The new Department of Education and Welfare would then be organized as follows:

Secretary of Education and Welfare.
  Executive Offices.
Assistant Secretary for Education:
  General Education —
    Bureau of Education (Interior).
      Indian Schools (Interior).
    Howard University (Interior).
    Columbia Institution for the Deaf (independent).
    Smithsonian Institution (independent).
      National Museum.
      National Gallery of Art.
      International Exchange Service.
      Bureau of American Ethnology.
      Astrophysical Observatory.
      National Zoölogical Park.
      International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.
    Physical Education (new).
    Vocational Education (Federal Board for Vocational Education)
      Section of Vocational Rehabilitation.
Assistant Secretary for Public Health:
  Public Health Service.
  Quarantine and Sanitation.
  Hospitalization:
    National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers (independent).
    Soldiers' Home (War).
    St. Elizabeth's Hospital (Interior).
    Freedman's Hospital (Interior).
  Research.
Assistant Secretary for Social Service:
  Women's Bureau (Labor — part).
  Children's Bureau (Labor — part).
  Superintendent of Prisons (Justice).
Assistant Secretary for Veteran Relief:
  Veteran's Bureau (independent).
  Bureau of Pensions (Interior)
Solicitor.

5. EDUCATION OF THE INDIANS

The Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Indian tribes were early recognized to be the wards of the Federal Government. Up to

1824 all relations with the Indians were conducted through the War Department, but in that year the separate Office of Indian Affairs was created, and in 1832 Indian education was placed on its present footing by the creation of the Office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs. On the organization of the Department of the Interior, in 1849, this Office was made a Bureau in the new Department. The Joint Commission on Reorganization of Government Departments (1923) recommended that this Bureau be transferred to the new Department of Education and Welfare which it recommended should be created.

The beginnings of Indian education were made in a law of 1819, which authorized the President to employ capable persons to instruct Indians in agriculture, and to educate their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic. For this purpose an appropriation of $10,000 was made. The year following the President was authorized to use the money for the aid of societies and individuals engaged in the education of the Indians. For the next half-century Indian education was developed by missionary bodies, representing various religious denominations, and subsidized by scanty governmental grants. In 1876 a new policy was adopted, viz., that of providing for the education of the Indians under strictly governmental auspices, and with this change in policy the real development of Indian education began. In 1877 the appropriation therefor was but $20,000; in 1921–22 it was $4,447,881; and the appropriation for 1926–27 was $5,865,000. In 1896 the bill appropriating funds for Indian schools declared it to be "a settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriations whatever in any sectarian school."

Classes of schools. The present plan for Indian education provides for four classes of schools, as follows:

1. *Day Schools*, located in Indian villages or near Indian camps or settlements, and offering simple elementary instruction, with special emphasis on agriculture and domestic science.

2. *Reservation Boarding Schools*, located within the territory reserved for some tribe or tribes, and providing the social and educative influences of home life along with the usual course of elementary instruction.

3. *Non-Reservation Boarding Schools*, of which there are a number in different parts of the country, offering more advanced instruction.

4. *Contract Schools* of two types. One type is the mission school, the Bureau of Indian Affairs making contracts with missionary organizations for the education of Indian children. The other form is the public day school.

It is now the settled policy of the Government to secure the attendance of Indian children at public schools wherever this is possible. The success of this policy may be judged from the fact that there are now more Indian pupils in the public day schools than in all the Indian schools under the control of the Government. The schools of the five civilized tribes in Oklahoma are administered as a part of the Indian educational system.

The education of the Eskimos and Indians of Alaska, while also under the general supervision of the Department of the Interior, has been placed, since 1885, under the immediate supervision of the Bureau of Education. Since that time a type of education adapted to the peculiar needs of these people has been created and carried on with marked success. In 1891, a new system of industrial education for them was begun through the introduction of domestic reindeer into Alaska, and the instruction of the Eskimos and the Indians in herding, harnessing, driving, and the preparation of these animals for food. This has since developed a new industry of large proportions in the Territory. The appropriation for the education of the natives in Alaska, for 1926–27, was $437,075.

6. EDUCATION IN TERRITORIES AND INSULAR POSSESSIONS

Territories. Under the Constitution, Congress possesses jurisdiction over all territory not belonging within the boundaries of any of the States. The Ordinance of 1787, framed for the first of the national and non-state regions — the Northwest Territory — has, in general, been the model for the government of the several Territories later organized within the continental area of the United States. Upon the theory that a Territory was to develop into a State of the Union, Congress, in each of the organic acts for the Territories, has laid the governmental foundations for a State. These foundations have always included, among other things, provisions for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools. The National Government, therefore, may be regarded as the real founder of the public educational systems of the States. Moreover, the right to annul any act of a Territorial Government, and to approve its constitution as a State, always reserved by Congress, has provided a Federal guarantee for the educational welfare of the people of the Territories and of the new States.

With the admission of Oklahoma (1909), New Mexico (1911), and Arizona (1912) as States, the system of territorial government (excepting the District of Columbia) within the contiguous continental area of the United States came to an end. Alaska and Hawaii are constituted as Territories and governed by organic acts of Congress, which provide for a system of government and of education very similar in form to that of the States. The Annual Reports of the Governors of these two Territories are made to the Secretary of the Interior.[1]

Insular possessions. The outcome of the war with Spain, in 1898, confronted the United States with the new national problem of the government of a colonial population of more than twelve millions, and largely of different racial stock. In the solution of this problem the underlying social principles of American education were put to a severe and an unforeseen test. American history does not contain more striking testimony to the preeminence and potency of education in our civilization than that furnished by the treatment which has been accorded the alien and largely undeveloped peoples of the new insular dependencies. Whether or not the Constitution followed the flag might be a national question permitting of prolonged political controversy; whether or not the flag should float over schoolless regions was not a matter of debate. Almost simultaneously with military occupation came the foundation of schools and the creation of broad and numerous educational opportunities. Even without the carefully devised plans and tested administrative machinery that come from experience, the Federal Government, first directly through the War Department, and later through the established civil governments, became sponsor for the several comprehensive systems of education which have been set up in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines, and elsewhere.

Cuba. The affairs of Cuba were administered by the United States through a military Governor, from January 1, 1899, to May 20, 1902, when the independence of the island was granted. During that time a complete system of public schools was set up, the principal features of which have been preserved in the existing organization.[2]

[1] The Commissioner of Education publishes, annually, a statement as to education in Alaska, usually in the form of a Bulletin, which see.

[2] The *Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education*, beginning with 1899, contain accounts of the historical development and organization of the Cuban school system. Official reports relating to the establishment and progress of schools during the period of military occupation are to be found in the annual re-

Porto Rico. As in the case of Cuba, the present educational system of Porto Rico had its beginnings during the period of military jurisdiction by the United States, in 1898. A military order of May 1, 1899, promulgated a school law and established an Insular Bureau of Education. For this Bureau there was substituted, a few months later, an insular governing board. In 1900 (April 12), Congress provided for a civil government of the island.[1] This organic act is, with minor amendments, still in force.

The chief executive authority is vested in an Executive Council, consisting of a Governor, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor, a Commissioner of Interior, and a Commissioner of Education, together with five other persons. The members of the Executive Council, including the Governor, are appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate. The Commissioner of Education superintends all public instruction, and submits an annual report through the Governor for transmission to the Secretary of War. The legislature of 1909 passed a school code, and since then there has been developed a school system modeled after the American state form, but with a much more centralized (county-unit type) administration. This system, including rural, graded, continuation, high, industrial, and special schools, is under the direct control of the Commissioner of Education.[2]

The funds for the support of the school system are derived from insular and local taxation.

Philippine Islands. The existing civil government of the Philippines is under the administrative control of the War Department, acting through the Bureau of Insular Affairs. Its organization is determined by the provisions of the so-called "Philippine Act," passed by Congress in 1902. In form it is the result of a gradual development from the military régime that followed the American occupation and acquisition of the Islands. The chief executive authority is vested in a Governor-General, appointed by the President of the United States. The Governor-General is president of the Philippine Commission, a legislative and advisory council composed of nine members, also appointed by the President. This Commission constitutes the upper

ports of the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department. On account of an insurrection, a second American administration of Cuban affairs took place, September, 1906, to January, 1909. See also Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education* for a general history and statement as to the Cuban educational system.

[1] See *Education in Porto Rico*, Senate Document 363, 56th Congress, 1st Session, 1900. See also Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education* for a further statement, and *Biennial Survey of Education*, 1916–18, vol. 1, pp. 683–707, for a still more recent article on by Paul G. Millar.

[2] This officer (*a*) has full power of appointment over all subordinates with the exception of certain classes of teachers; (*b*) is empowered to promulgate all courses of study, approves all disbursements for educational purposes; (*c*) is in charge of the examination and certification of teachers and must approve all plans for public school buildings; and (*d*) is *ex-officio* president of the board of trustees and chancellor of the University of Porto Rico (established in 1903, and includes the normal school and the college of agriculture and mechanic arts), and president of the board of trustees of the insular library.

branch of the Philippine legislature, and four members of the body serve as secretaries of the four executive departments — Interior, Commerce and Police, Finance and Justice, and Public Instruction.

The Department of Public Instruction was first established by the Philippine Commission, in 1901.[1] This Department includes the following Bureaus: Education, Printing, Prisons, Agriculture and Supply, the Philippine Library, and the University of the Philippines.

The Philippine educational system stands as a distinct social and administrative achievement for American education. Inaugurated under the stress of an imperative need, this system has grown and expanded so as to include (1925) primary schools enrolling 899,759 pupils, intermediate schools enrolling 178,420 pupils, and secondary schools enrolling 51,210 pupils, school shops, provincial and manual training schools, a school of household industries, a school of commerce, a school for deaf and blind, an insular trade school, a normal school, and a completely organized university with 3535 students enrolled. An undertaking of such proportions evidences the vitality of a democratic ideal which conceives self-government to be based upon general education.

Minor possessions. By its possession and government of the Island of Guam, the Island of Tutuila and certain other islands of the Samoan group, the Panama Canal Zone,[2] and the Virgin Islands, the American Government has directly assumed responsibility for providing schools and other educational facilities in these places. The *Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education* give data and descriptions of the school systems maintained in these Insular Possessions of the United States.

7. EXTRA-GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

Typical quasi-Federal educational agencies. In addition to the scientific and educational institutions just described, which are maintained under the authority of the Federal Government, there are numerous institutions and associations of national scope and influence that have some Federal relationships, and to a limited degree are subject to regulation by the Federal Government. These are of many kinds, and only a brief mention of a few that are typical need be made here. They are often spoken of as *quasi-federal* agencies.

Typical illustrations of such agencies, organized for some spe-

[1] A good brief account of the Philippine educational organization, by a former Director of Education there, may be found in Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*. A much more detailed account is to be found in the recent (1925) *Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands*.

[2] For an interesting article on the educational work of the United States in the Panama Canal Zone, see Lang, A. R., "Our Government Schools in the Canal Zone"; in *Educational Review*, vol. 65, pp. 299–304. (May, 1923.)

cific purpose and operating under incorporation acts of Congress, are:

The National Academy of Sciences (1863), which by the incorporation act is required to investigate and report upon scientific questions whenever called upon to do so by any Department of the Federal Government.

The American Historical Association (1889), which is required to "report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America."

The National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution (1896), required to report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

The General Education Board (1903), chartered for "the promotion of education within the United States of America, without distinction of race, sex, or creed"; and required to report annually on its work and finances to the Secretary of the Interior.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington (1904), an institution resembling the Smithsonian Institution in purpose, and chartered to "encourage, in the broadest and most liberal manner, investigation, research, and discovery, and the application of knowledge to the improvement of mankind."

The American Academy in Rome (1905), chartered to maintain an institution "to promote the study and practice of the fine arts and to aid and stimulate the education and training of architects, painters, sculptors, and other artists."

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1906), chartered to provide a system of retiring allowances to teachers in universities, colleges, and technical schools in the United States and Canada, and since diverted to a coöperative and non-profit-sharing life and disability insurance for the same types of teachers.

The National Education Association of the United States (1906), which must submit an annual report to the United States Commissioner of Education, who is made *ex-officio* a member of its board of directors.

The National Institute of Art and Science (1913), organized "for the furtherance of literature and the fine arts."

For some of these chartered associations the requirement of an annual report to some governmental Department means the printing of the same at the Government Printing Office, and thus is virtually a government subsidy in the matter of its printing and mailing.

The Pan-American Union (until 1910, the Bureau of American Republics), while not a governmental Bureau is nevertheless subject to some measure of general oversight by the Secretary of State. This permanent international organization, supported by the twenty-one Republics of the western hemisphere, has become a powerful means for the better communication and mutual understanding of the peoples of North and South America.

Another interesting and generally overlooked national contribution to education is to be found in the permanent annual appropriation of $10,000 which has been made, since 1879, to the American Printing House for the Blind, at Louisville, Kentucky, for the manufacturing and furnishing of embossed books for the blind, and for tangible apparatus for their instruction. The trustees of this institution are required to make an annual report to the Secretary of the Treasury. The Federal Government has also given the franking privilege for mailing books for the blind to state institutions, generally, which is a virtual subsidy in the matter of postage costs.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What suggestions would you make for an improvement in the organization of the school system in the District of Columbia? (Read article on organization of same, in Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education.*)
2. Show the large national service of the different scientific Departments and Bureaus and Institutions maintained by the Government at Washington.
3. Point out the scope of the collections and libraries and laboratories available at Washington for graduate research work.
4. Can you explain, on any rational basis, the persistent Congressional attitude in opposition to advancing education and human welfare, while so easily interested in plant, fish, hog, and cattle welfare.
5. Read the articles on education in Cuba or the Philippines, in Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, and then characterize the work of the United States in developing their school systems as it did.
6. Read the article by Lang on education in the Canal Zone (*Educational Review*, May, 1923), and characterize the educational work done there.
7. Summarize the arguments advanced by Garfield for the establishment of the Bureau of Education.

PROBLEMS

1. Using the Department of Agriculture as an example of service and a model, draw up a plan for a Department of Education that would render somewhat analogous service, and estimate its personnel and its annual cost.
2. Prepare a diagram showing the various educational relations between the Federal Government and your own State.

PROBLEMS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. The vocational training work of the United States Army for enlisted men.
2. The vocational training work of the United States Navy for enlisted men.
3. The work of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps in your institution.
4. What type of instruction is given at West Point, or Annapolis?
5. Tabulate the annual Federal expenditures for work of a scientific and educational nature, as given in this chapter, for approximate total cost.
6. The collections, scope, and coöperative service of the Library of Congress, and its influence on library work throughout the United States.
7. The work of the Smithsonian Institution and the Carnegie Institution compared, as to objects and accomplishments.
8. The work of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
9. The educational work of the Public Health Service.
10. The work of the Bureau in the education of the natives in Alaska.
11. The organization of and the instruction provided in the Porto Rico school system.
12. The organization of and the instruction provided in the school system of the Philippine Islands.

SELECTED REFERENCES

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Outlines of plan for training soldiers as inaugurated. See *Annual Reports of Secretary of War* for more recent information.

Draper, A. S. "Need of System in Federal Education"; in his *American Education*, pp. 107–16.

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Dunbar, M. M. "Functions and Organization of the Bureau of Education"; in *School and Society*, vol. 6, pp. 661–68. (December 8, 1917.)

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Guerrier, Edith. *The Federal Executive Departments as Sources of Information for Libraries*. 204 pp. Bulletin 74, 1919. U.S. Bureau of Education.

Tells what each has to offer.

Hamilton, Wm. "Work of the Bureau of Education for the Natives of Alaska"; in *Biennial Surveys of Education*, U.S. Bureau of Education. Published biennially since 1916.

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Selvidge, R. W. "Teaching a Trade in the Army"; in *Manual Training Magazine*, vol. 22, pp. 246–59. (January, 1921.)

Describes the essential features of the plan.

Smith, D. H. *The Bureau of Education: Its History, Activities, and Organiza-*

tion. pp. xix + 158. Service Monographs of the United States Government, no. 14. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1923.

In reading this monograph one is impressed with what little power and authority the Bureau has.

Taft, Wm. H. "American Education in the Philippines; a Contrast to English and Dutch Colonial Policies"; in *Educational Review*, vol. 29, pp. 264–85. (March, 1905.)

——— *The Work of the War Department.* 42 pp. Washington, 1924.

Describes the organization and work of the Department.

——— *Sixth Annual Report of the Federal Board for Vocational Education*, 1922.

Gives a review of five years' activity under the Smith-Hughes Law. Most important official source of information concerning the early organization of vocational education.

——— *Biennial Survey of Education*, 1916–18, vol. 1, chap. xxv.

A series of articles on the status of education in the Territories and dependencies of the United States. Also see later issues for more recent information.

——— *A Federal University for the People.* 35 pp. Issued by the Interior Department, Washington, 1926.

Describes the educational work done under the Department of the Interior. *School Life* for June, 1924 (vol. 9, no. 10) contained somewhat similar material.

The current annual and other official Reports of the several Executive Departments, Bureaus, and independent Offices of the United States Government should be consulted for material relating to the changing organization and administration of the different Federal educational activities. On account of the number and varied character of these publications it is impossible to present any satisfactory brief bibliography relating to the whole of this chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE STATE THE UNIT FOR EDUCATION

Congressional dealings with the States. From the previous chapters it will have been seen how education came to be left to the States to handle as they saw fit, and how there arose and gradually developed — in its beginnings largely the result of a combination of interest in education on the part of a few New Englanders and the desire of the new Federal Government to secure an income from the sale of the Western lands donated to it — a land-grant policy in aid of public schools and colleges in the new States. The earlier chapters explain, too, how this land-grant policy was gradually expanded to include money grants, and how in recent years it has led to the subsidizing of a number of desirable new educational undertakings in the States.

Throughout all the history of the relations of the Federal Government to the States in the matter of education, however, Congress, since 1789, has dealt entirely with the governments of the States. Only in the first large sales of land, in 1787 and 1788 (page 19), and in the Enabling Act of 1802 for Ohio, did Congress seem undecided as to the control of the 16th section lands. The townships granted for a college were from the first placed definitely under the control of the legislature of the future State. In 1803 (*Source Book*, p. 24), however, Congress definitely settled the character of the future school system in the new State by vesting the control of the township school lands in the legislature of the State, in trust for the purposes for which they were originally granted. This position Congress has never since departed from, and in all subsequent legislation Congress has dealt with the States as units. This attitude has been carefully maintained also in all the subsequent land-grant college legislation, as well as in the numerous money grants made to the States for educational purposes since 1900. All details as to the appropriation and expenditure of the grants have been left by Congress to the States, so long as the general purposes for which any grant was made were properly cared for and carried out.[1] The State, acting through its

[1] There have been numerous suits in the States, in which colleges have sued the state officers for withholding land-grant funds, as directed by the legislature of the

legislature and elected officials, or, in the later grants, acting through its state board of education or other special state boards, has been placed by Congress in the position of the executor of a trust, and the courts have stood guard both to see that the executor is given necessary freedom of action in carrying out the conditions of the trust, and that the trust funds are not diverted by the State to any other purposes. Having left the whole matter of education to the States, the National Government has almost never interfered with the management of schools by the States,[1] poor as this management has sometimes been. There has been, moreover, practically no national legislation relating to education in the States, aside from such education as is maintained by the Federal Government itself on reservations or in government schools. This attitude on the part of Congress and the Supreme Court of the United States has done much to establish definitely our school systems as state school systems, rather than as a national school system on the one hand or as a series of largely independent local school systems on the other.

The Supreme Court of the United States has been appealed to for final decision by the States in only a limited number of cases involving educational questions. These few cases, however, aside from questions relating to the confiscation of property or the fulfillment of contracts, bear reference almost entirely to two questions for which the National Government in a way stood sponsor. One of these has been the carrying-out by the States of the trusts created by the national land grants. In all cases of

State. A number of these suits have reached the United States Supreme Court. The decision of this Court, as well as of the state supreme courts below, has been uniformly that the money has been granted to the State for a particular purpose, and that the state legislature can direct its expenditure only so long as the State keeps faith with Congress and uses the money for the purposes stated in the land-grant college acts making the appropriations to the States. See especially the following cases: Cornell University *vs.* Fiske, 136 U.S., 152, 203; Haire *vs.* Rice, 204 U.S., 291; Wyoming Agricultural College *vs.* Irvine, 206 U.S., 278; Massachusetts Agricultural College *vs.* George A. Marden, 156 Mass., 150.

[1] An interesting question came up in connection with the so-called Japanese school question in San Francisco, in 1907, when President Roosevelt called the school board and the superintendent of schools to Washington for a conference over a controversy which had arisen from an attempted segregation into separate schools of a few overage Japanese pupils. The Japanese claimed that their treaty rights were being interfered with by one of the States, and the board contended that education was a distinctly state affair which the nation could not regulate, treaties to the contrary notwithstanding. The matter was compromised and never reached a test. See an article by Hershey, A. S., on "The Japanese School Question and the Treaty-Making Power," in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 1, pp. 393–417 (May, 1907). He held that the Nation cannot interfere with a State in the control of its school system.

this type the Court has held the States strictly to their agreements with Congress, made at the time of their admission to the Union.[1] Most of the decisions of this type came before 1860, and the safeguarding of these endowments may now be regarded as a settled policy of the States. The other question has been the guaranteeing of the rights of the children of the colored race to an equal opportunity for an education in the schools of the States, under the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, known as the Civil Rights Clause.[2] While allowing the States much freedom as to arrangements and procedure, the Court has been insistent that the obligations of the above amendment shall be carried out by the States.

The State the unit. If one pauses to consider how local government has arisen within the different States, it is hard to see how Congress could have dealt with the States on any other basis. While different forms of local governmental organization existed within the original States before the formation of the Union, it was the States which ratified the Federal Constitution and entered the Union, and not the cities or counties or towns within the States. Still more, if we go back to colonial times, it was the Colony which was chartered, and not the towns or the townships or the counties, and it was the towns and townships and counties which continually appealed to the colonial legislatures for desired new legislation or for relief from enacted legislation, and not the colonial governments to the towns or townships or counties.

The subdivisions of any State are clearly its creations and wards; the State is in no sense the creation of its subdivisions. During colonial times, as well as ever since our States began

[1] See especially Board of Trustees for Vincennes University *vs.* State of Indiana, Supreme Court of the United States, 1852, 14 Howard, 268. The State, having confiscated the seminary-township grant, previously awarded to Vincennes University, was forced to reimburse it for the lands taken.

Another case in point is that of the State *vs.* Springfield Township, 6 Indiana, 83; and Davis *vs.* Indiana, 94 United States, 792. The State having consolidated the 16th section fund with other state funds, was forced to segregate and maintain it as a separate trust fund.

[2] See especially Bertonneau *vs.* Directors, etc., 3 Woods, 177. The Court here expressly recognized the right and duty of the States to provide for and manage their schools, but declared that the Federal authority would interfere to ensure equal advantages to both races. Separate schools might be provided, such classification being a matter for the States, so long as the schools for colored children were as good as those for whites.

In Claybrook *vs.* Owenboro, 23 Fed. Rep., 634, the Court forbade apportionments of funds based on white and colored taxes being used to maintain separate schools proportionately, as providing unequal facilities.

their national existence, it has been the State which has created the governmental subdivisions and endowed them with their powers and functions as governing units. Still more, the State has both made and unmade governmental subdivisions, arranged them into groups and later rearranged them, endowed them with new powers and taken away from them powers which they had previously exercised, and in many other ways, within the limits of the original state constitution, the legislature has asserted the supremacy of the State, even to the extent of completely altering the form of local government by abolishing one type of organization and substituting another type in its stead.

Throughout all this process of organization, subordination, and reorganization, the State has been the unit for action. The power to direct the reorganization, extension, and improvement of the education provided by communities has clearly been a power of the State, and the fact that schools arose with us largely as community undertakings, at first without state permission and later under the provisions of permissive laws, in no way has altered the fundamental principle that the State, and not the locality, is the ultimate source of authority and the unit for legislative action. It is the people of the State as a whole who are supreme, and not portions of them here and there. The school district, town, township, city, supervisory district, and county are all subordinate divisions and creations of the State, and as such derive all their powers from the State.

The State thus stands in the matter of education as an expression of the combined will of all the people, and not a part of the people, and in consequence the expressed opinion of all must be superior to the expressed opinion of a part. It was but natural, then, that the Federal Government should have consistently dealt with the States, as units, in all matters relating to public education within the States.

State constitutional directions. Each State was thus left, by the Tenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, to organize its educational system as it saw fit, modified only by the conditions stipulated in the land grants for schools laid down by Congress in the enabling or endowment acts, and it was natural that a number of types of educational organization should arise within the different States. In attitude toward education itself we find faithfully reflected in the original States, and in the new States

which were early settled by migration from them, the three type attitudes toward education described in Chapter I. These attitudes are well shown in the map printed below. The same type attitudes found expression in the original constitutions of the different States (*Source Book*, pp. 12–17) and in the early laws relating to education, as was also pointed out in Chapter I. These expressions varied all the way from no mention whatever (New Jersey), a provision for pauper schools only (Pennsylvania), provision for low-priced schools (North Carolina), to a strong, firm mandate directing the legislature to encourage schools and knowledge (Massachusetts).

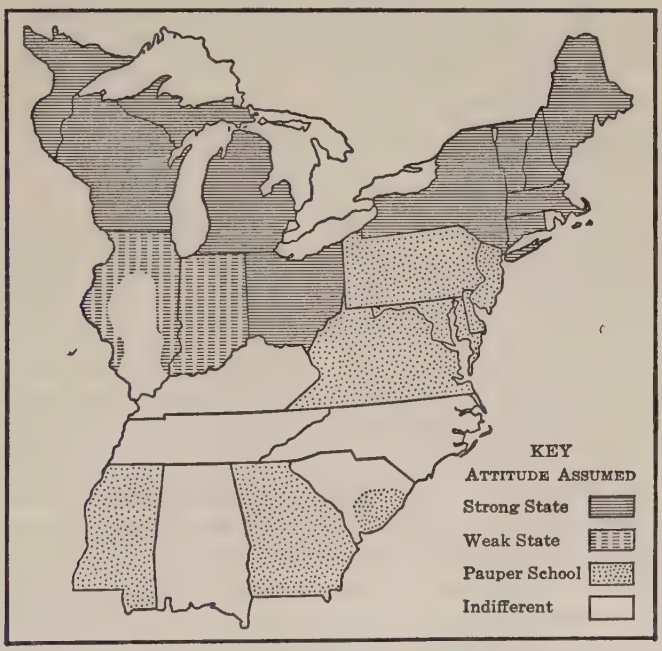

FIG. 19. EARLY ATTITUDES TOWARD PUBLIC EDUCATION
Assumed by the original States, and the States carved from the ceded national domain.

In drawing up the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory (1787; *Source Book*, p. 20), the Continental Congress framed what it declared to be a "compact" between the old States and the new States which were "to be carved later on from this Territory, and which was to remain forever unalterable,

unless by common consent." One of the clauses of this compact was the celebrated mandate relating to schools, which read:

> Art. 3rd. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

With the admission of Ohio (1802), the first State to be formed from this Territory, a new attitude toward education as a state interest finds expression in the provisions relating to education inserted in the constitution of this State. In the new constitutions of Indiana (1816), Alabama (1819), Missouri (1821), and Tennessee (1835), in particular, we find similar evidence of new conceptions and influences in the more detailed constitutional provisions relating to education, and the firmer tone of the mandate to the legislature directing it to carry out in law the educational provisions inserted.[1] Illinois alone of the new States admitted before 1835 made no mention of education in its constitution.

In all these States the constitution decreed that the school lands granted by Congress were to be protected, freedom of learning and worship were enjoined, the legislature was instructed to encourage schools and the means of learning, and in Indiana there was added this significant provision:

> Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of the general Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all.

The same change in attitude toward education as a state interest also finds expression, as time passes, in the different revisions of the constitutions of a number of the older States. With each revision of the state constitution the article relating to education becomes longer and more detailed. The different revisions of the constitutions of Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Illinois represent well this change in state attitude.

After about 1835, the state constitutions begin to increase materially in length, and governmental powers and functions are now defined with more fullness and particularity. What would

[1] See "Documents Illustrative of American Educational History," by B. A. Hinsdale, in *Report U.S. Commissioner of Education*, for 1892–93, vol. II, pp. 1319, 1321, and 1323, for the first constitutions of these new States. The educational provisions of the first Ohio and Indiana constitutions may also be found in Cubberley, E. P., *Readings in the History of Education*, pp. 423–25.

have been left to the judgment of the legislature in the earlier period of our history is now set down in the fundamental law as explicit direction to the legislature. Michigan (1837), Iowa (1846), Wisconsin (1848), and California (1850) are good examples of these more detailed constitutional provisions. The new state constitutions framed for the Southern States during the period of reconstruction were still more detailed, while the constitutions of the more recently admitted States are even more detailed in the provisions they have made for safeguarding the school funds and promoting education as an important interest of the State. The constitution of Colorado (1876), either of the Dakotas (1889), the new Virginia constitution (1901), the constitution framed by Oklahoma (1906), or the constitution of the State of Osceola (1914), represent well the later tendencies in constitution making.

The article on education. In reading the article on education in any of the recently formed state constitutions one can have no doubt that education has now become an important state interest, or that the State is the real unit in educational affairs. There is usually a "mandate" at the beginning, directing the legislature "to provide by law for a general and a uniform system of public instruction, wherein tuition shall be free, and which shall be equally open to all." This order is commonly followed by a definition of what units or divisions or schools shall constitute the state educational system; the types of school corporations, and a classification of them for organization and control frequently follows; a state executive officer for the system, and a state board of education are nearly always provided for, and the main powers and duties of each are stated; the items that go to form the state school fund are enumerated; the sale and lease of the state school-lands are provided for; the protection of the state school fund from legislative diversion is made; what shall constitute the state school tax and fund, and the basis for the apportionment of the proceeds of the same are laid down; aid for sectarian schools is prohibited; a system of state school textbooks, and how they shall be obtained, is sometimes included; the minimum school term allowed is stated; the certification of teachers is provided for; and the form of government for the normal schools and the state university is defined, and often the support of these institutions is made mandatory upon the legislature. An examination of the articles on education in the different state consti-

tutions reveals a number of other provisions as well, some of which are not good, a few of which are positively harmful, and others, while not bad in themselves, are undesirable as constitutional requirements, but the above general outline of contents represents the main provisions relating to the state school system as usually found in the article on education in recent constitutional documents.

Throughout all the above-enumerated provisions the authority of the State is clearly implied or asserted, and the directions given the legislature and the governmental subdivisions of the State are often mandatory in character. While state legislatures cannot be compelled to enact laws to carry out constitutional provisions relating to education, the state courts have been watchful to prevent any diversion of school funds or the enactment of legislation not in accord with constitutional requirements.

The school code and the state system. An examination of the *School Law* of an American State will reveal still further the state character of the school system which has been provided. Although the management and control of the schools of any district or town or city may be placed by law in the hands of locally elected officials; although much liberty of action may be granted locally by the state school code; and although the large burden for the support of the schools may fall on local sources of taxation; the schools nevertheless exist to carry out a state purpose, as expressed in the state constitution and the state school law, and the local governing authorities act as agents for the State and can do only those things which the school law permits of being done.

Powers not enumerated in the law are usually held by the courts as not existing; schools not conducted in conformity with the state school law may have state aid withheld; and local failure to comply with the mandates of the school law may result in court action to compel compliance, or even in the state school authorities stepping in and assuming control of the schools[1] that the educational rights of the children of the community may be protected.

State Supreme Court decisions. An examination of the state

[1] One of the most noteworthy cases of the assumption of control of a local school system by the state authorities occurred, some years ago, at Watervliet, New York, when the head of the state school system sent one of his deputies to Watervliet to employ teachers and open the schools, acting in the name of the State, and without explicit directions in the law for such action. The action was, however, fully upheld by the courts. See Hutchinson *et al. vs.* Skinner *et al.*, 49 N.Y. Supp. 360; 21 Misc. Rep. 729. This decision may be found in the *Source Book*, pp. 156–63.

supreme court decisions on educational questions in any American State will reveal the same attitude toward education as a state function. There is scarcely a phase of our state school legal organization upon which the supreme courts of some of our States have not at some time been called upon to rule. In addition to upholding the authority of the State as the ultimate unit for administrative control, these courts have been insistent that the constitutional provisions requiring a uniform school system shall be carried out by the subordinate school units within the State. A common constitutional provision is one requiring the Legislature of the State to "provide by law for a general and uniform school system, in which tuition shall be free and which shall be equally open to all," and upon this point the courts have frequently ruled. Sometimes they have been unnecessarily technical in the interpretation of such a provision, though more frequently a rather liberal interpretation has been made.[1]

The insistence as to uniformity, after all, has not been so much on the details of procedure as on the more fundamental matters of equality in the obligation of contributing to the maintenance of the system, and equality in the right to enjoy that which has been provided. The road to learning has been declared, both by the laws of our States and by the decisions of our courts, to be the common property of all the people, towards the maintenance of which all must contribute in proportion to their ability and which all may enjoy in proportion to their need, and without reference to any distinction based on rank, station in life, creed, or political faith. Only in the matter of races have any distinctions been drawn, and this not by all the States. Otherwise the legal obligations of every parent and the legal rights of every child are fixed and inviolable.[2]

The state supreme court decisions on educational questions, however, have covered a much wider range, including decisions on many such questions as the rights and powers of local school

[1] A typical decision is that of Robinson *vs.* Schenk, 102 Ind., 307, in which the court held that "a system that secures to all the various subdivisions of the State equal and uniform rights and privileges, leaving only to the local authorities the right, under the law, to govern the local school affairs, is a general and uniform system, and a law providing such a system is a general law within the meaning of the constitution."

[2] A good decision along this line is that of Ward *vs.* Flood, 48 California, 36, where the Court declared: "Where state statute has, in accordance with the state constitution, provided a free school system for the children of the State, the child has a vested and a positive right under the constitution and his right is guaranteed to him as a possessor."

officers; questions of debt and taxation; contracts with teachers and contractors; the power of control over school children; compulsory attendance; discipline; the location of school buildings; the regulatory powers of city charters; the independence of school districts from the town or city with which they may be coterminous; health regulations; textbooks; required instruction; the extension of educational advantages;[1] the consolidation of schools and transportation of pupils; high-school advantages; high-school fraternities; sectarian instruction — these represent something of the range[2] of school-law decisions that the supreme courts of our States have been called upon to render.[3]

The trend of these decisions. Throughout the decisions on all such questions there runs a fairly uniform type, viz., that the schools are state schools, established by authority of the State to carry out a state purpose; that the Legislature of a State, having tried or permitted one method or form of administration, is not to be restrained from trying another; that the educational rights of the children are paramount; that the state school law is supreme, and cannot be superseded by any city or county charter regulation or school board by-law or rule; that the child passes from the control of the parent when he starts to school, and remains under the control of the school until he reaches home again after the school has closed; that the rights of the parent over his child

[1] The Supreme Court of Oklahoma, in 1924, rendered an important decision along this line. The Legislature had appropriated $650,000 to be used in aiding weak districts to maintain an eight months' term. The Act was attacked as unconstitutional because the State was assuming the debt of political subdivisions, which was forbidden. The Court decided that the Act was general and dismissed the assumption of indebtedness contention. For a note on the decision see *School Life* for November, 1924, or *The Elementary School Journal* for January, 1925 (pp. 322–23).

[2] A group of 289 Supreme Court decisions, taken from Kerr's *California Digest*, gives the following distribution of school-law cases decided, involving questions of:

Taxation and support	31	Contracts	10
Powers of city boards	30	Pupils	10
Boundary and organization	22	Superintendent	10
Powers and duties of boards	21	Bond issues	6
Teachers	21	Salaries	6
The school corporation	19	Health regulations	5
Public officers defined	15	Race problems	4
School elections	14	Textbooks	4
City charter provisions	14	Municipality state agent	4
School funds	13	School lands	4
Holdover of officer	12	*De facto* district	2

[3] For an easily accessible collection of Supreme Court decisions on a number of these questions, see a collection of new laws and court decisions compiled by Edward C. Elliott, and published as bulletins by the U.S. Bureau of Education, under the title of *State School Systems*, I, II, and III. (Bulletins No. 3, 1906; No. 7, 1908; and No. 2, 1910.)

are limited, and cannot be exercised if in conflict with what the State has determined by law to be the rights of the child or the larger needs of the State; that the officers of the school system, from state superintendent down to teacher, exist in part to guarantee the educational rights of the child, and in so doing act in the name of the State; that there shall be equality of educational opportunity provided; that the wealth of the State must educate the children of the State; that the scope of the school system to be provided is as determined by the Legislature; and that it is the right and the duty of the State to establish minimum standards below which communities shall not be allowed to go.

This in harmony with our historical development. Any other attitude toward the position of our school systems would not be in accord with the historical development of education in the United States. While education everywhere, in the early days of our history, arose locally and was organized from the community outward and upward as a state school system developed, it arose, nevertheless, in conformity with permissive laws enacted by the State. The first district schools formed and the first district taxes levied were originally permitted by the enactment of permissive state school laws. When the State changed permission to obligation, compulsory taxation for education was provided for, and when the State began to grant aid to the districts for school support the basis for state school supervision was laid. When the State decided that the school must be free and equally open to all, it put an end to the rate-bill and the pauper-school idea. When the State decided that the school must be free from denominational influences, it ended the giving of any form of public aid to denominational schools and eliminated sectarian control. When the State enacted permissive legislation for the establishment of high schools, it decided that opportunity must be provided, at public expense, for more than elementary school training. When the State established normal schools, it paved the way for the eventual training, at public expense, of all who are to teach in our schools. In compulsory school-attendance legislation the State superseded the home in estimating the importance of the education provided. In the elimination of the district system of school control, in the curtailing of various educational abuses, in the insistence on educational standards and an adequate school term, in ordering the provision of attendance officers, in reinstating teachers illegally dismissed, in formulating a state

school-building code, and in many other ways the State has asserted its authority and recovered from local administrative subdivisions the authority it had once permitted them to use, in its name.

Throughout all our educational history it has been the voice of the State that has ordered children educated, advantages extended, standards raised, and taxation for education increased. Whenever a majority of the people have become convinced that educational advances should be made, the Legislature of the State has registered such a conviction in the form of a new law, and the gradual creation of a series of free, common, non-sectarian school systems has been one of the notable achievements of our democratic States. The State has been throughout our history the unit in all legislative progress in school control.

The real nature of the State. This statement as to the primacy and rights and power and work of the State may possibly be, to some, suggestive of a despotism that does not really exist. With us in America, the State, though we may begin the spelling of the word with a capital letter, and may personify the term in our speech, has never been other than an expression of the will of the people who comprise it. No German pre-war conception of the State as a super-being, over and above and apart from the citizenship, has ever taken hold of any considerable number of the American people. Ours has always been a representative government, and the legislators we elect to represent us in enacting laws, as well as the state and local officials we elect or appoint to enforce them, are after all just ordinary members of the body of plain people who together constitute the State. As a result of such a conception, we have always reserved to ourselves the right to change the laws our representatives enact if we do not like them, and to condemn the incompetency and inefficiency of those we elect to govern us if they do not govern to suit us. When we clothe a fellow citizen, for a time, with authority to govern over us in the name of the State, we still remember, and we want him to remember also, that we are the State, and that the only power we have endowed him with is a delegated power to conduct our public business for us — quietly, expeditiously, economically, and efficiently — and whenever he fails to do this we reserve to ourselves the right to recall the authority over us with which we entrusted him and to put another in his place.

With the tendency everywhere manifest toward a centralization

of control in the interests of efficiency, a tendency that is inevitable with the growth in size of the Nation and the increasing demand for the institution of modern business methods in the conduct of all forms of public business, we in educational work could make few more serious mistakes than to allow to settle into our consciousness any German-type conception of the State, or to hesitate to question the action or to criticize our state and local school officials if we think they are acting unwisely or unwarrantably, or encumbering school administration with unnecessary regulations of the red-tape variety.[1] Governors, members of state boards of education, state superintendents of public instruction, commissioners of education, county and city superintendents of schools, and school trustees, while they act for us and in the name of the State, are after all just ordinary citizens, and their election or appointment to a public office in no way endows them with any wisdom they did not possess before their election. While we respect the officers of the State and uphold their authority when they act in the name of the law, or in accordance with carefully formulated state policy, we nevertheless owe it as a duty to our work to oppose any tendency on their part to complicate public business by the introduction of unnecessary red-tape procedures, or to assume authority over us not clearly sanctioned by the laws we have enacted for their guidance. The State, then, in America, represents the mature judgment of the people, as embodied in law and formulated in public policy, and our public officials are members of the body politic, chosen and paid to execute the laws the people have made or approved. In so far as our public officials are able to lead the way in new directions, their leadership must come from wider knowledge and deeper insight than the people as a mass possess. There is no other sound basis for leadership in a democracy.

Delegation of the authority of the State. Ultimate state control in the sense of the supremacy of the State in matters of legislation, though, does not of necessity involve immediate direction or control by the State in everything, or in anything. For purposes of local administration each State has subdivided itself into a number of smaller administrative units, and usually these have been further subdivided in turn. To these smaller sub-

[1] See a very good article on state and federal interference and red tape, taken from the *New York Evening Post*, and reproduced in *School and Society*, vol. IV, pp. 672–73.

divisions the State may delegate any or all of its powers of control, as has already been pointed out, and may at any time withdraw or change the previous delegation, withdrawal, or transfer. In the early period of our history the process was largely one of the delegation of the authority of the State, through permissive legislation, to the smaller administrative units of the State. This seemed a necessity to secure the establishment of schools at all, and often this delegation of the authority, as in the case of New York (*Source Book*, pp. 143–53) and Indiana (*Source Book*, pp. 178–84), went almost to the point of destroying the public-school idea.[1]

Beginning about 1840 to 1850, but not becoming prominent for a generation later, the States began the process of regaining their original sovereignty by recalling the authority which had previously been delegated. Within the past three decades this process of recall has become marked, and now, for the first time, we may be said to be about to realize in the United States the goal of a series of real state school systems. Under the new conditions the States are withdrawing from the subordinate units what these units cannot do to the best advantage for themselves or for the State, and are in turn giving to these subordinate units new powers and duties which they can exercise to better advantage than can the State. The process is one of subordination, centralization, reorganization, and redelegation, with a view to producing a unified series of public schools better calculated to meet modern educational conditions and needs. To point out the more important steps in this process is one of the chief purposes of the chapters which follow.

The smaller administrative units. Among the pressing and partly unsettled questions in state educational organization and administration at present are:

1. What are the best local units to employ for educational organization, administration, and supervision?
2. What relation should the State bear to the different subordinate administrative units it has created within itself?
3. Just what functions and powers should the State withdraw from and delegate to each subordinate unit?

[1] The articles by Fairlie and Rawles, in the *Source Book* (pp. 143–53, and 178–84), on the decentralization which took place in New York and Indiana, are to the point. The rise and spread of the district system, as described in the following chapter, is also an excellent illustration of the harmful results arising from this early process of decentralization.

Before these questions can be answered satisfactorily we need to know something concerning the origin, history, and possibilities for usefulness of each of the administrative units now employed by our American States. As each of the smaller administrative subdivisions of the States has had, with us, a long historical evolution which has served well to bring out its points of strength and weakness for use under modern conditions, a study of this historical evolution and of these points of strength and weakness is of importance to one who would see the problems of state and local school administration in their proper setting. Still more, since schools arose with us as community undertakings, and since these community undertakings were only gradually consolidated into state systems of schools, the problem can be grasped better if we follow in our study the course of historical development from the community school systems of an earlier period to the state school systems of to-day, and see what light such a study can throw on the solution of the educational problems of the present and the future. Accordingly in the chapters of the next main division of this volume we shall follow such historical evolution, and in the following order:

1. Origin and development of the forms and units for local control. (Chapter VI.)
2. The school district as a unit for school organization and control. (Chapter VII.)
3. The New England town, the western township, and the community as possible administrative units. (Chapter VIII.)
4. The county as a unit for school control. (Chapter IX.)
5. The peculiar problems of rural and village schools, which call for larger units of organization and control. (Chapter X.)
6. The State as a unit, and types of state administrative organization and control. (Chapter XI.)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Mention a number of important interests now under state control, due to the provisions of the Tenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which did not exist at the time of its adoption.
2. Mention other important interests now under or passing from state control to national control.
3. How do you explain the fact that the educational provisions of the constitutions of the original States, north of Maryland, have been changed so little during the past century and a quarter, when the tendency everywhere to the South and West has been to strengthen and expand these provisions?
4. What does the article by Rawles (*Source Book*, pp. 178–84) show as to the condition of education in Indiana, before the adoption of the Constitution of 1851?

5. What does the article by Fairlie (*Source Book*, pp. 143–53) show as to the condition of education in New York, before the adoption of the Free School Act of 1849?
6. What is the essential difference between education as a community affair, and local control of streets, pavements, street-lighting, or sewers?
7. What is the essential difference between state control of education and state control of (*a*) health; (*b*) railways; (*c*) public utilities; and (*d*) charities and corrections?
8. Account for the unity in spirit of American education, with as many different systems as we have States, and enumerate some of the forces which have brought about this unity.
9. Has the ideal of equality of opportunity as yet been reached in your State?
10. What points in state control of education are illustrated by the decision, Hutchinson *v.* Skinner (*Source Book*, pp. 156–63)?
11. What do you understand is meant by the reciprocal responsibility of the State, in the matter of educational control?
12. Does your State draw distinctions in the ability to attend school on the basis of color? If so, have the colored pupils been provided with equivalent opportunities suited to their educational needs?
13. About where would your State stand in the matter of centralization of authority and responsibility?
14. What does the Report of the Connecticut Educational Commission (*Source Book*, pp. 163–72) reveal as to the conception of State *vs.* a series of local school systems in Connecticut. What are its significant points in respect to the assertion of the unity of the educational system of the State?
15. What does the decision, Interstate Consolidated Street Railway Company *v.* Commonwealth of Massachusetts (*Source Book*, pp. 8–11) show as to state control of matters affecting education? Might the fundamental principle in this decision be right, without the decision itself being just?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Compare the articles on education in the different state constitutions of (*a*) Pennsylvania, (*b*) Ohio, (*c*) Georgia, and (*d*) Illinois, to show the progressive strengthening of the article on education with each revision.
2. Compare the articles on education in the present constitutions of (*a*) Ohio and Oklahoma; (*b*) New York and New Mexico; (*c*) Massachusetts and Montana; (*d*) Connecticut and California; and (*e*) Osceola and any American State.
3. Enumerate and describe the different attitudes toward education that a State may assume, arrange these in order of merit, and place your State in the series.
4. What constitutional provisions exist in your State as to a uniform state school system, and in what spirit has the provision been interpreted by the courts, the legislature, and by those in authority?
5. What has been the historical evolution, with reference to units of control, in your State?
6. What important educational functions have been transferred from the townships or districts to the county, or from the county to the State, within the past quarter-century, in your State?
7. On the contrary, what functions have been or are being transferred from

the State to the county, or other subdivisions, in the interests of greater local efficiency?

8. Compare the Mandate of Section 1 of Article IX of the Osceola constitution with that of a half-dozen other States, and state the differences. Why is the provision that the schools shall "provide equal opportunities for all" superior to the usual one of "be equally open to all"?
9. Digest and report on any important supreme court decisions in your State which establish the supremacy of the State in the matter of education.

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DIVISION II
STATE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER VI

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITS AND FORMS FOR LOCAL SCHOOL CONTROL

The order of evolution. Though we have thus in the United States, as shown in Chapter V, gradually evolved a series of more or less perfectly organized state school systems, as opposed to a single national system on the one hand and to a series of largely unrelated local school systems on the other, this evolution has been slow, and in most of our States it has as yet been only imperfectly worked out.

The creation of a state school system, except in the newer States to the west of the Mississippi River, and in part even there, has been accomplished largely by slowly uniting the existing community school systems under larger units of organization; by the gradual transference of powers which had once been given to the smaller local administrative units to larger units of administration; and by the slow and gradual development among our people of a state conception of and interest in education to replace the purely local conception and interest which characterized the earlier period of our educational history. Historically, with us, development in all the older States has been from the community outward, and for that reason we shall first consider the units and forms for local governmental control as they have evolved and now exist, before passing to a consideration of state educational organization and control.

Different administrative units. Different units for local government are found in the different States and in different parts of the United States. The town[1] in New England is the natural administrative unit of the people, while the county is of but minor importance. In governmental matters the people think in terms of either the town or the State. In the South and the West, on the other hand, the term "town" means a different thing, the designation "township" is almost unused, and the county is the natural governmental unit of the people. It is easy for the people

[1] *Town* in the North Atlantic group of States means about the same as *township* in the Central and Western States, while in those States the term *town* is applied to a village, or small incorporated place, and does not include adjacent farms, as in the North Atlantic States.

here to think and act in terms of the county. In the States of the North Central division the township and the county are both natural governmental units, and the people think in terms of both. In most States a still smaller unit, the school district, exists and is used for school purposes.

These different units are largely historical, and to a certain degree accidental in their origin. Still more, they were adopted and applied to meet the needs of local government under early American conditions, and without thought of the possible future needs of a developing educational system or a larger governmental business. In consequence it not infrequently happens that forms which were well suited to early, isolated, and somewhat primitive social and business conditions, and among a homogeneous people, are poorly suited to modern business and educational needs and among a cosmopolitan people.

In their main outlines the township and the county were developed in England, and brought to this country by the early colonists. The town system, and later the district system, on the contrary, were developed in New England to meet the peculiar needs of the people there, while the county system rather than the town was developed to meet the peculiar needs of the people of the Southern Colonies. Through the migrations of people and the work of legislative committees and commissions these systems have spread. The agricultural conditions in the South, the sparse population, and the Southern distrust of local suffrage have done much to develop the county-unit system there. The large migrations of New England people to the States of the Northwest Territory, during the first half of the nineteenth century, did much to make the township the unit in these States, though the Southern element which also entered forced the introduction of the county as well. In the Western States the large areas, scattered population, and uneven topography made the township impracticable and developed instead the district and the county, while the newer conceptions of the functions of government which had arisen by the time these States were settled led to the material strengthening of the powers of the State and the county at the expense of the local subdivisions.

Because of the fundamental importance for educational administration of a clear understanding of these different administrative systems, and because so many movements for the improvement of rural schools and county educational organization

to-day hinge around the form of administrative organization to be employed, we shall first devote a chapter to tracing the historical evolution and spread of these different forms for administrative organization and control.

I. THE TOWN AND THE DISTRICT SYSTEMS

1. *The evolution and spread of the district system*

The original New England town. The early settlement of New England, as was stated in Chapter I, was by religious congregations, and on arriving they selected some suitable place where they might erect their church and surround it with their homes. These little settlements they called towns, or townships, and the town at once became the unit for both church and local government. The name and the form alike came from England, where a small irregular area which furnished members to a single church was known as an ecclesiastical parish, and usually coincided with the still older civil township, or town. The first New England towns were located near the coast, but gradually new towns were established inland, sometimes by the arrival of new congregations from England, but often by a migration from one of the older towns. How the southern portion of New England came in time to be dotted with these little self-governing republics, very loosely bound together in the colony federations, is well shown by the map on page 5.

FIG. 20. THE ORIGINAL TOWN SETTLEMENT — 1650

Emigrating in congregations, the people were closely bound together by many common ties. Having come to America primarily for the perpetuation of certain religious principles, they naturally admitted to membership in the congregations only those who were in the fullest sympathy with them. Religious faith became at once the great social tie which bound the people together, and at first to the exclusion of all other interests. The ministers were the leaders of this primitive society, the town church was the center of its existence, and each church congregation formed a little self-governing democracy.

At the center of each town an open grazing ground, or town

common, was provided for, and about this the meeting house, and later the town hall and the town school, were erected. About these public buildings the residences were built, and early laws required every one to live within half a mile of the town church. Beyond the settlement lay the tillage and pasture lands, and still further beyond were the unbroken woods. Towns, or settlements, were separated from one another by hills, streams, or broad bands of forest, with more or less well-defined paths connecting the settlements, and naturally possessed no regularity of form or size.

The town form of government. Each town had at first but one church, and the inhabitants of the civil town and the congregation of the church were one and the same. When they met to transact church business it was a parish meeting; when they met to transact civil business, such as related to roads, bridges, schools, or defense, it was as a town meeting. The church building was at first used alike for both forms of meeting, and was known as the meeting house; in later times, after the rise of the civic as distinct from the religious spirit, the church was used only for religious purposes, and a town hall, or town-house, was erected for the transaction of the civil business.

The town (or township) form of government which developed in New England was thus a natural outgrowth of the character of the early settlers, of the purpose of their coming to America, and of the climatic and agricultural resources and necessities of New England. The town meeting took the place of the English parish meeting, and town officers — clerk, treasurer, constables, surveyors of highways, etc. — took the place of similar parish officers at home. In addition to these the town meeting elected a board of town selectmen, who corresponded to the vestrymen of the old English parish, and to whom was given the general management of the business of the town. Later a town school committee was added to look after the town school, or schools. In the annual and special town meetings measures were discussed, policies decided upon, taxes voted, and the reports of the town's officers received.

The town meeting also became something of a legislative body, through its power to enact town laws (town by-laws), and it also became the unit of representation in the general court (legislature) of the colonial governments, just as in England the township had been the unit for representation in the shire-moots. These

towns, at first centers for the religious life, soon became centers for the discussion of all forms of public questions and schools for the training of the people in the principles of government and of parliamentary procedure. In the stormy times preceding the Revolution the town meeting reached its greatest importance, and during the war the results of this training were manifest in the large initiative and practical sagacity of the masses of the people.

To perpetuate the faith for which these people had come to America education was a necessity, and the founding of schools and colleges a religious duty, and so close was the connection between the religious parish and the civil town that the school was established as a civil, instead of as an ecclesiastical institution. Taxes were voted and collected for church and school alike, and the ecclesiastical body became as well the civil organization for the maintenance of schools in the town, or parish. The interests of one were the interests of both, and, since they were the same in constituency and territorial limits, there was no occasion for friction or fear. From this religious beginning the American civil school and the civil school-township were later evolved.

Disintegration of the New England town. By the close of the seventeenth century many of the forces, which at first required a compact form of town settlement, and towns in close proximity to each other, had begun to lose their hold. Religious fervor and intolerance had been greatly weakened, and the Church was beginning to lose ground; the need of a close union for coöperation and defense was not so necessary as at first; the interests of individuals rather than the interests of the community, and the economic interests of the towns rather than the religious, were now receiving increasing attention; and the increase of population within each town made new demands for grazing and farming lands. As a result of these different influences new settlements arose at different places within the different towns. Laws requiring all dwellings to be within half a mile of the parish church, and all

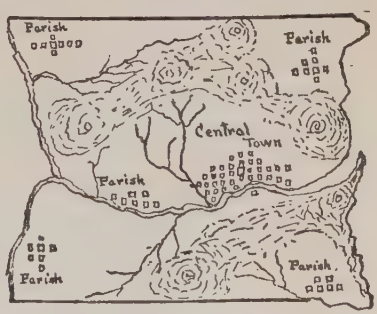


FIG. 21. PARISHES WITHIN THE TOWN — 1710

residents to attend worship regularly, naturally had to be repealed. The decline in force of the old ecclesiasticism; the admission of new sects to the colonies; the rise of new personal and business interests; and the gradual rise of a civil, as opposed to a religious form of government, all helped along the disintegration of the early, compact town, with its single town and parish organization and its central church and school. By the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century the population of the towns had been scattered over much of the town's area, and small settlements, set off from that of the central town by hills, streams, forests, or mere distance, had been formed here and there in most of the towns.

Subdivision of the towns. The tendency now became marked to subdivide the town into small local units, and the difficulties of communication, the hard life of the time, and the lack of common interests other than the weakening religious interest, tended toward the virtual isolation of these new town settlements. To attend the town meeting now became something of an undertaking; to attend the central church regularly was at certain seasons very difficult; and for the children to attend the central town school in winter was now impossible. The result was a marked decline both in church enthusiasm and in zeal for education, and the rise of a local and a democratic spirit which ultimately demanded and obtained local rights and local schools.

The first demand made by the new settlements was for a minister of their own, or at least for separate services, and as a result parishes within the town were created. By 1700 as many as twenty separate parishes had been created within the eighty towns then existing, and the number increased rapidly within the next half-century. Each parish was allowed to establish full civil machinery for carrying out the religious purpose (the parish meeting, clerk, constable, and assessors), and the parish meeting soon became what it had not originally been — a center for the discussion of parish interests, other than those of the Church, and for the rise of democracy and the assertion of parish rights. This greatly accelerated the movement toward decentralization, and toward the evolution of the district as opposed to the town school.

Rise of a district consciousness. The rising democratic spirit in this new land now manifested itself, among other ways, in a desire for full local control of everything, and for maximum local benefits from all taxes paid. This in turn led to other demands.

The division of the town into districts for the repair of highways, with surveyors for each, soon came about, and after 1725 definite surveyor-districts existed generally in the towns. Some towns were also divided into districts for recruiting the militia, and constables and assessors came to be elected from different parts of the town. All of these decentralizing influences tended toward the growth of a district consciousness, as opposed to town consciousness, and to the development of a civil and democratic consciousness as opposed to the earlier religious form of town government.

The rise of the dame school in these district parishes in the summer, which had become an established institution in New England by 1700, and the presence of private tuition-schools taught by a master in the winter, naturally provided a more convenient means of instruction than the central and distant town school afforded. As the town schools were in most cases supported in part by the rate-bill (a tax levied on the parents of those children attending, and *pro rata*) or by tuition fees, this local support of dame and private schools tended materially to reduce the available funds for the maintenance of the central town school. As the laws of the Colonies required the towns to maintain schools, and as the courts were insistent [1] that the provisions of the laws should be carried out and as the fines [2] for failure to do so were almost sufficient to pay a master, it became necessary for the towns to decrease, and finally to abolish entirely the tuition charge, and to maintain the town school wholly by a general tax, levied on all of the property of the town.

The moving town school. This was the opportunity of the newly formed parishes, or districts, and the price now demanded by the outer parishes for consent to the levying of a general town-

[1] See the author's *Readings in the History of Education*, pp. 299–300, for a Massachusetts court order of 1668, to be served on the town of Topsfield for failure to carry out the provisions of the Massachusetts Law of 1642, requiring instruction of the children of the town.

See also *Source Book*, pp. 173–78, for a Massachusetts court decision of as late as 1818, enforcing the old colonial law — Commonwealth *vs.* The Inhabitants of Dedham, 16 Mass. 141.

[2] In Massachusetts the penalty for failure to comply with the provisions of the Law of 1647, with reference to the maintenance of town schools, was increased from £5 to £10 in 1692, and to £20 in 1701. The same law prevailed in New Hampshire. In Connecticut the laws of 1650 and 1678 had likewise required schools in every town, and the Grand Juries and the General Court were watchful to see that the law was obeyed. In 1700 a general school tax of two mills was levied in Connecticut, but to be apportioned only to the towns which had maintained their schools according to law.

rate was the division of the central town school. The Yankee shrewdness of these democratic parish meetings now asserted itself, and the moving town school, by which the central town school was moved about to all parts of the town, in rotation, or the establishment by the town of additional town schools in the parishes, or both, was the result secured. The people had paid their taxes and they demanded and obtained their share of the benefits, though the share was ofttimes very small and very poor.

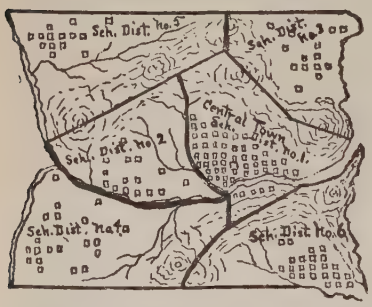


FIG. 22. TOWN DIVIDED INTO SCHOOL DISTRICTS — 1764

The date for the attainment of this state in the evolution of the district school may be placed as in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and from this time on until the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the district form of organization was authorized by law (1789) and given full legal standing, the evolution of the district school out of the moving town school was going on. The evolution took different lines in different towns, but the result was much the same in all.

In some towns the location of the school was changed each year, schoolhouses to accommodate it were built in the parishes, and school centers, or districts, were thus gradually established. In other towns the school moved about each year, being held in each parish an arbitrary number of weeks at first, and later for a number of weeks proportionate to the amount of school tax paid by the parish.[1] In still other towns the central town school was maintained intact during the winter term, but dame schools were provided in each of the parishes during the summer term.[2]

[1] In the town of Scituate, Massachusetts, the town school in 1704 was ordered kept one third of the time at each end of the town and one third at the middle; in Amesbury (1711) four months each at three places; and in Yarmouth, a few years later, in five places for times varying from four weeks to four months. In Gloucester the grammar school was made a moving school in 1751, in the same manner as the elementary school, and was sent to seven places, during three-year periods, for 9, 4½, 3, 1½, 7, 5½, and 5½ months respectively. — Martin, *Evolution of the Mass. Public School System*, p. 75.

[2] Vestiges of the moving school still remain in some of our Western States, where provisions in the laws require that if a school must be held at two or more places in a school district it must be held an equal time in each. Few such schools, however, now exist.

Full evolution of the district school. It was now only a step for the towns to divide up the school tax among the parishes, in proportion to the amount paid in by each, and then to allow them to maintain their own schools. Schoolhouses were now built where needed in the parishes, and the parish or district form of school organization thus became fixed.

Thus the parish, section, road-district, or militia-district gradually evolved into the school district as well, and school district officers, to take charge of the new district school, were added to the other parish officers. What began as a social convenience and for a religious purpose was thus gradually changed into an important political institution.

Up to this point, however, the new school districts derived all their powers, as did the parishes and the road districts, from the central town body. The district was not as yet an independent body, with corporate existence. "It could initiate nothing; it levied no taxes; it changed no laws." Having secured nominal independence, the districts now began a struggle for complete independence and full corporate powers, and the evolution of the completed district school system may be traced in the laws.

Legalization of the preceding evolution. In Connecticut the parishes were authorized to subdivide into school districts as early as 1766; in 1794 the separate existence of the school districts was recognized, and they were permitted to locate schoolhouses, levy taxes, and appoint collectors; in 1799 the school districts were permitted to choose clerks and treasurers; and in 1839 the culmination of the process came when these new school districts were recognized as bodies corporate and endowed with full power to manage their schools.

In Rhode Island the district form of school organization was begun shortly after it was in Connecticut. The districts were known as "squadrons," and district authorities were soon given entire control of their schools, schoolhouses, school lands, the employment of teachers, and the management of schools.

In Massachusetts the first school law under the State organization, in 1789, recognized and legalized the district system as it had gradually developed within the State during the preceding one hundred years;[1] in 1800, the districts were given full power to levy local taxes for schools; in 1817, they were given full corporate

[1] Horace Mann declared this to have been "the most unfortunate law on the subject of common schools ever enacted in the State." — *Tenth Annual Report*, p. 37.

powers; and in 1827 the full culmination of the district system was attained by laws which required the selection of prudential committeemen (district trustees), permitted the towns to delegate their selection to the districts, and gave the districts the right to determine their textbooks and certificate their own teachers. "The year 1727," says Mr. Martin,[1] "marks the utmost limits to the subdivision of American sovereignty — the high-water mark of American democracy, and the low-water mark of the Massachusetts school system."

In Vermont the first school law, of 1782, empowered the towns to form districts and to elect trustees, who were to hold property, establish schools, and build schoolhouses. The towns were still permitted to alter district boundary lines and to create new districts, but otherwise the districts were practically independent of the towns.

In New Hampshire the towns were empowered, in 1807, to subdivide into school districts; in 1827, district committees of one were directed to be appointed for each district, by the towns; and in 1829 the power to appoint was delegated to the districts, committees of three were authorized, and these district committees were given power to select teachers, provide board and fuel, and to supervise the schools.

Maine did not separate from Massachusetts until 1820, but the first school law of the new State definitely adopted the Massachusetts district system.

The first New York school law, of 1795, provided for town organization, with the supervision and direction of the schools of the town under a board of town school commissioners, but it also permitted the people of the districts within the towns to elect two or more district trustees, who were to confer and advise with the town school commissioners. This law expired by limitation in 1800, and on the reëstablishment of a school system, in 1812, the district form of organization, with three school trustees elected by the people of each district, was definitely established in the State, and to these trustees was given the care and the supervision of the schools.

Spread of the district system. The laws by which these early States had split their sovereignty up into minute fragments were closely in harmony with the spirit of the time, which demanded "local self-government" and "local rights" wherever possible.

[1] Martin, Geo. H. *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*, p. 92.

In New England it was a time of a rising distrust of authority in all lines, and of a belief in full and unrestricted manhood suffrage. The district system was in harmony with these beliefs, and its evil effects were not confined to Massachusetts or to New England. Spreading from New England to New York, and thence westward, settlers moving to what was then "The West" carried the district system with them, and before the objectionable features of the system had been fully revealed in Massachusetts the system had become firmly established in the new States to the westward.

Though Congress, in the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787 (*Source Book*, pp. 19–21), had paved the way for the township (town) system in the Northwest Territory, and though the earliest school laws in Indiana (*Source Book*, p. 178) and Michigan had provided for a township form of organization, the district system was soon adopted instead as better suited to the needs and conditions of the time. Ohio definitely adopted the district system, in 1821; Illinois, in 1825; Tennessee, in 1830; Indiana, in 1833; Michigan, in 1837; Kentucky and Iowa, in 1838; North Carolina, in 1839; Virginia in its optional law of 1846; and Wisconsin, in 1849. The system gradually extended beyond the Mississippi and into the South. Though it has since been abandoned in whole or in part by a number of States, it still remains to-day as at once the smallest and the most common unit for local school administration.

General features of the district form of organization. The general features of the district system were almost everywhere the same. The people of any little area, where half a dozen families lived, might unite to form a local school district. The legal proceedings were simple and easy. The district then elected three school trustees, or school directors, and at once the school district became a body corporate, with power to build a schoolhouse, employ a teacher, purchase supplies, adopt textbooks, designate the subjects of instruction, levy taxes, adopt rules and regulations, and conduct and supervise a school. In the days when there were no county school authorities, and often no state school authorities either; no developed body of school law; no common plan of procedure; no broad conception of the need or purpose of education; and almost no support for education other than district taxation, rate bills, and fees — the district system rendered its most valuable service. The simplicity and the democracy of

the system, and its effectiveness under primitive conditions, made it the natural system of the time. Once established it has

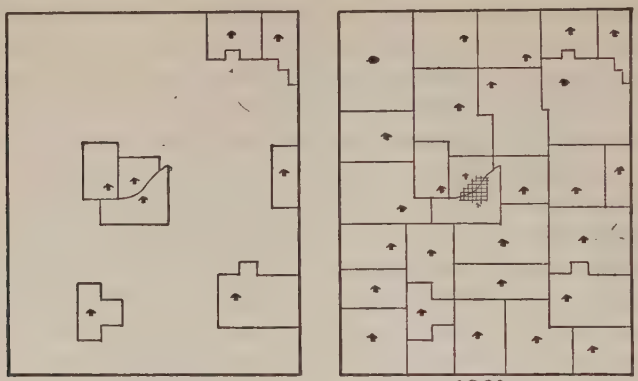


FIG. 23. HOW THE DISTRICT SYSTEM ORGANIZED A COUNTY

become firmly rooted, and has been changed only after much effort, though almost all the conditions which gave rise to it have since passed away.

2. *The struggle against the district system*

Abolition of the system in New England. The struggle to control and subordinate the district system has been a long and a bitter one. To some it has seemed that its curtailment or abolition meant the curtailment or abolition of all local liberties, and much platform eloquence has been poured forth in defense of the system. Natural centralizing tendencies, due to the changing conditions in our national life, have been pictured as striking at the very foundations of American liberty. Attempts at consolidation have awakened intense jealousy of the larger central districts, and there has been, to quote Mr. Martin[1] again, "an absurd conception of the school district as the palladium of popular liberty, to be defended to the last."

The serious defects of the district system early became apparent in Massachusetts. The creation of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, in 1837, was partly because of these abuses, and its first secretary, Horace Mann, did much to point them out. It was not until 1853, however, that the first legislation in the

[1] Martin, Geo. H. *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*, p. 206.

direction of their abolition was secured. In that year town school committees were empowered to abolish districts and to restore the old town system, but in 1857 this law was repealed. In 1859 the district system was abolished throughout the State, but in the autumn of the same year a special session of the Legislature repealed this law. Ten years later the district system was again abolished, but in 1870 any town, by a two-thirds vote, was permitted to return to the system. In 1882, after all of the larger towns and all but forty-five of the smaller ones had voluntarily adopted the town system of school management, legislation was finally secured which permanently abolished the district system throughout the State.

Connecticut began the process, in 1865, by granting permission to towns to abolish districts and restore the old town system, but the process there was not completed until 1909. In 1887, and again in 1889, bills to abolish the district system were introduced into the Legislature, and much argument was advanced in their favor,[1] but a majority could not be won over. At that time twenty-two towns had voluntarily accepted the town system, and the number was afterwards increased to ninety, while seventy-seven towns still clung to the old district plan. In 1907, the Legislature appointed an educational commission, and in its *Report*, in 1909 (*Source Book*, pp. 163–72; especially p. 168) it made the abolition of the district system its first recommendation. Acting on this recommendation the Legislature of 1909 made the town system compulsory for the State. Even before this the districts had been shorn of nearly all their powers.

Rhode Island began the process at about the same time as Connecticut, and finally abolished the district system in 1893. New Hampshire granted permission to the towns to return to the town system in 1870, and in 1885 entirely abolished the district system in the State. Maine granted similar permission in 1870; in 1884 all towns were required to vote on the question; and in 1892 the district system was abolished except in the case of a few specially incorporated town districts. Vermont made a return to the town system optional in 1870, and compulsory in 1892.

Abolition to the westward. In Indiana the district system, begun in 1824 and established in 1833, had been carried so far as to almost destroy the schools (*Source Book*, pp. 178–84). In

[1] See *Reports of the State Board of Education, Connecticut*, 1888, pp. 89–101; and 1890, pp. 141–66.

1836, and again in 1837, laws were passed permitting householders to make contracts with teachers to teach their children, and in 1841 the requirement of any form of a teacher's certificate was made optional with the district trustees. In 1849, an optional county school law made the beginnings of control of the district system, and in 1852, following the new constitution of 1851, the district system was abolished and the township system, displaced in 1833, was reëstablished in its stead. In 1859 the number of township trustees was reduced from three to one, a most fortunate change, and in this form the system has since remained. One reason for the marked progress in organization which has been made in Indiana, during the past three decades, is that the State early got rid of the incubus of the district system and left but one trustee to a township.

Ohio abolished the district system and substituted the township system, in 1892; and in 1894 New Jersey did the same. In 1906, both Kentucky and Tennessee abolished the district system for a form of the county system, with a county board of education in control, and later further strengthened this county system. In Iowa the district system was abolished, in 1858, and the township system substituted,[1] but almost immediately afterward the organization of special and independent districts was allowed, and these have so increased in numbers, largely because of the lack of any adequate financial system, that they, coupled with the subdistrict system in vogue there, largely destroyed the township system in the State. The township system was made optional in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan in 1891, and for the Lower Peninsula in 1909. Dakota Territory ordered the township system substituted for the district system wherever possible, in 1883, and in 1911 North Dakota ordered its general use. At that time the district system was still in use in five of the forty-six counties of North Dakota, and eleven of the fifty-seven counties of South Dakota. In Wisconsin the township system was made optional in 1869, but it made so little progress against the district system that the attempt to introduce it was finally abandoned, in 1911.

[1] This action was based on the report of an educational commission, appointed by the State, and consisting of Horace Mann of Massachusetts, and Amos Dean, chancellor of the state university.

2. THE COUNTY-TOWNSHIP SYSTEM

Origin and development of the county-township forms

The town system unsuited to the South. The town system of local government reached and has retained its maximum importance in New England. Elsewhere to the westward, where the town system originally existed or has been carried, it has been more or less modified by the larger county unit of government which first developed in the Southern Colonies, and in its simplest form in Virginia. Just as the town form of government was the natural expression of the political and religious life of New England, so the county form of government was the natural form of expression of the political and commercial life of the Southern Colonies, where conditions were in marked contrast with those in New England.

The climate, entirely different, was unsuited alike to the labor of Englishmen or to the growing of English crops. The staple crops came to be tobacco in Virginia and rice in the Carolinas. Agriculture of necessity became extensive, rather than intensive, and plantations of large extent under proprietors took the place of the small acreage-grants made to each citizen in the New England towns. The land, too, was granted in large amounts to individual owners who held the estates intact, instead of to town companies in which each person had an individual share. The class of citizens and owners was alike in both cases, both having been drawn from English country squires and yeomen, but with the fundamental difference that in New England they were dissenters from the English Church and came to America because of religious convictions, while in the Southern Colonies they retained their English Church connection and came to America for gain.

Social conditions created. To work the plantations cheap labor was needed, and criminals from the English jails and paupers from the English workhouses, known as "indentured white servants," were at first sent over in numbers. By 1700 these had been replaced on the plantations by negro slaves, and these non-land-owning whites later became the "poor whites" of Virginia and the Carolinas, many of whom migrated to the West when the great migration, following the close of the Revolutionary War, had begun.

These conditions naturally developed an aristocracy, just as

the absence of a lower class in New England had developed a democracy. The English parish with its church was reproduced in Virginia, as in the New England towns, but the parishes were larger and the form of government different. The churchwardens, parish clerk, and vestry were created, but the vestry, at first elected by all, soon became a representative body, elected to represent different parts of the parish, and still later the vestry was allowed to fill the vacancies in its own membership and thus became a self-perpetuating body. The best citizens were appointed, the government was good, and strong and capable leaders and executives were trained in time under this system. This scheme was very different, however, from the Massachusetts plan.

The evolution of county government in the South. As in Massachusetts, counties for the administration of justice were also created in Virginia, but they were much smaller than the Massachusetts counties.[1] Because of their smaller size, the nature of plantation life, and the more representative character of the government, the county in Virginia was from the first made the unit of representation in the colonial legislature, instead of the parish as in New England. Just as the large number of small freeholders and the Congregational church system of New England demanded complete democracy, and tended to emphasize the parish and to develop the town form of government at the expense of the county, so the landed estates, the Episcopal church system, and the representative form of parish government of Virginia tended to develop the county form of government at the expense of the parishes.

As a unit for government the small counties of the Southern Colonies were better adapted to the sparse and scattered population and to plantation life than was the more compact form of town government developed in New England. In time, therefore, these counties became the unit for local government as well as for representation, while the parishes gradually lost their political significance and finally retained only their ecclesiastical functions. Thus was county government evolved in the South. In New England the civil-town merely evolved out of the ecclesiastical town-parish, but without evolving a larger county unit.

The intermediate plan of the Middle Colonies. In the States

[1] The average size of Massachusetts counties is 574 square miles, while the average size of Virginia counties is 402 square miles. (See map, chapter IX, figure 36.)

between New England and the Southern Colonies a mixed form of local government developed, most like New England in New York, and most like Virginia in Pennsylvania. When New York became an English colony, the early Dutch town form of government was changed into the English township form, with a town meeting, and later full sets of town officers were evolved. In 1683, English counties were also created for the colony, and county government was established. In 1703, a connection between the two was created in the form of a county board of taxation and accounting, composed of one representative from each of the towns, and known as the board of supervisors. New York thus forms a connecting link between the two forms of local government — the town and the county.

Irregular towns, or townships, had been formed early in Pennsylvania, but town government had made but little headway there. In 1682 the English county system was definitely introduced, with county officers and a board of county commissioners (supervisors), the latter elected from the county at large, however, instead of being formed by representation from the towns. Pennsylvania is thus nearer Virginia than New York, and the Pennsylvania plan of combined town and county government became a model for many of the new States to the westward.[1]

3. SPREAD OF THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS TO THE WESTWARD

The New England migration. Immediately after the close of the Revolutionary War settlers from the different States, as we have previously seen in Chapter II, began to move to the new Territory to the westward. To the North, a great movement of New England people began into central New York and northern Pennsylvania, and from then until 1820, when the tide of migration had turned distinctly to the westward, the history of New York and northern Pennsylvania is in large part a history of the westward expansion of New England. By 1820 more than one half of New York, one third of Pennsylvania, portions of New Jersey, and the Western Reserve in Ohio had been settled by

[1] The New York plan has been followed in New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, and most of the counties of Illinois; the Pennsylvania plan by Maryland, Ohio, South Dakota; while elsewhere in the North Central States, and generally in the West, a compromise between the two has been adopted. The Pennsylvania plan makes the county the unit with a small board, while the New York plan produces a large and unwieldy board composed of town representatives. The compromise plan has been to divide the counties into supervisorial districts, commonly five in number, and then to elect members from these.

New England people. After 1810 the tide of migration of New England people set in strong to the new States to the west of New York, following the northern route, and by 1850 half of the settled portions of the old Northwest Territory had been populated by New England stock, while many settlements had been founded beyond the Mississippi River.

The history of these migrations often repeated the old story of the Puritan migrations to New England. Congregations, with

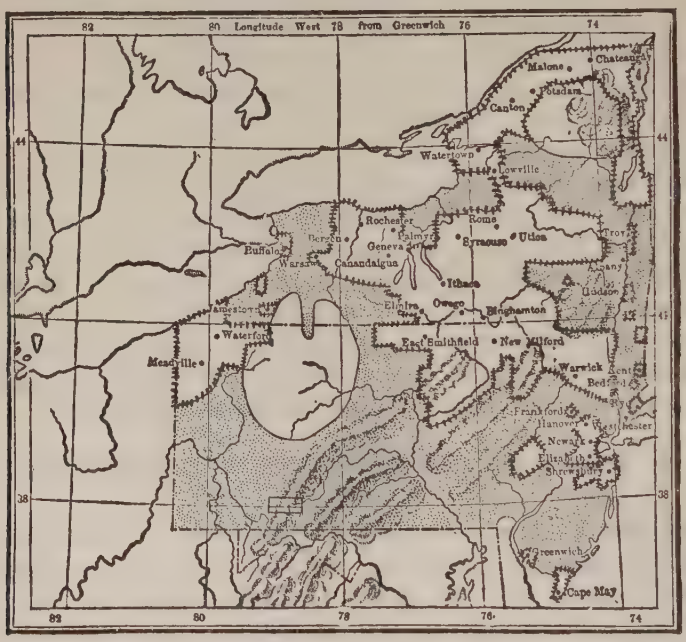


FIG. 24. THE WESTWARD EXPANSION OF NEW ENGLAND, BY 1810
(From L. K. Mathews's *The Expansion of New England*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910. By permission.)

their ministers, frequently migrated to "The West" in bodies. A new Providence, or Plymouth, or Granville, or Greenwich in the wilderness was a child of the old town of that name in New England. An almost ceaseless train of wagons poured into the wilderness, and the frontier was soon pushed beyond the Mississippi. Wherever the New Englander went he invariably took his New England institutions with him. Congregational churches were established; new Yales and Dartmouths were founded; common schools were created and the Massachusetts district school-

system introduced, and both soon firmly established in the laws; and the town form of government and the town meeting were introduced into the new townships of the west. The congressional townships, commonly six miles square, into which the Northwest Territory had been laid off (see Fig. 4, page 18), and on the basis of which survey land had been sold to the settlers, was a ready-made unit which the New Englander found readily adaptable to his ideas of town government.

FIG. 25. EXPANSION OF NEW ENGLAND INTO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY, BY 1840

(From L. K. Mathews's *The Expansion of New England*. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910. By permission.)

The Southern migration. Into the new States and Territories to the westward also came other settlers, along the southern route, with different political, religious, and educational training. Those from Pennsylvania came from where town government was weak and county government strong, where public free schools had not been developed, and where the charity conception of education had for long prevailed. Settlers from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina, commonly the descendants

of the "poor whites" who had not been able to secure land or property there, came from States where town government had not been developed, where the county was the natural governmental unit, where slavery and plantation life prevailed, where religion was by no means a vital matter, and where free schools were almost unknown.

The result in the Northwest. The two maps reproduced above (Figs. 24 and 25) show the areas settled by these two classes of people as they moved into the West, and the character of the political, social, religious, and educational institutions since developed in the Upper Mississippi Valley has been in large part determined by the preponderance of one or the other of these peoples, or the blending and compromise between the two. Where the New England people predominated the governmental forms are most like New England, and the zeal for education, religion, and local control have been most marked; where the Southern people predominated the result has been the opposite; and where the two mingled on somewhat even conditions we find a compromise between the two. The opening of Missouri to slavery, in 1820, deflected the tide of Southern migration from Indiana and Illinois to that State, and gave the New England element a chance to extend its influence over almost all of the Northwest Territory States. From the Northwest Territory States the New England conception of education has been carried to the West and Southwest by a later fan-like migration of people of New England stock.

At first the Southern county system had the advantage in the new States to the westward, because of its earlier organization and the scarcity of population, as well as the preponderance of the Southern element in large portions of many of these States. The new States were organized into counties first, but township organization followed before long. The Pennsylvania plan of county-township organization was adopted by Ohio, in 1802; Michigan provided for the organization of township government, in 1825; and Illinois adopted a county-option law, in 1848, under which the township-county system has slowly but gradually almost displaced the earlier Southern county system. Wisconsin permitted township organization first, in 1838; gave the districts complete control in 1846; and provided for county organization, in 1861. In the States beyond the Mississippi the county was everywhere organized first.

Having now traced the evolution of our forms and units for local governmental control, and shown how they were spread from the places of their origin, we next turn to a consideration of the usefulness of these units for school organization and administration. We shall begin with the district system.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Suppose that the early New England schools had been established as religious, instead of civil, institutions; what probable difference would it have made in their future development?
2. What fundamental principles are embodied in the decision Commonwealth *vs.* The Inhabitants of Dedham (*Source Book*, pp. 173–78)?
3. What is the clear historical lesson to be drawn from a reading of the article by Rawles, on the struggle to establish the township system in Indiana (*Source Book*, pp. 178–84)?
4. How do you explain the liberal independence, in educational matters, allowed communities in Iowa?
5. Why should we expect Kentucky and Tennessee to arrive at a county unit for school administration ahead of Ohio and Michigan?
6. How do you explain the tenacity with which the older generation of to-day holds on to the district system?
7. What forces operated, in the early history of the Massachusetts towns, in the direction of decentralization which to-day are operating toward centralization?
8. What might have been the educational effect on Indiana and Illinois if Missouri had been admitted as a free State, in 1820?
9. Why is the Pennsylvania plan for constituting the county board of supervisors superior to the New York plan?

SELECTED REFERENCES

Much material bearing on the development sketched in this chapter is to be found scattered here and there in the *State School Reports* and *Histories of Education* of these early States. Of the different state articles in Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education* each contains a historical introduction. Some supplemental material may also be found in Cubberley's *Public Education in the United States*.

Four books bearing on the historical development sketched which are worthy of special mention are:

Martin, Geo. H. *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System.* (New York, 1894.)
Lectures II and III.

Mathews, Lois K. *The Expansion of New England.* (Boston, 1909.)

Suzzallo, Henry. *The Rise of Local School Supervision in Massachusetts.* Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 3. (New York, 1906.)

Updegraff, Harlan. *The Origin of the Moving School in Massachusetts.* Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 17. (New York, 1908.)

CHAPTER VII

THE DISTRICT UNIT AND THE DISTRICT SYSTEM

I. THE SMALL RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICT

In the preceding chapter we traced the origin, spread, and efforts to control the district system of school organization and administration; in this chapter we shall be concerned only with the present status, merits, and defects of the system as it exists to-day in the States which still continue to use it.

Essential features. The essential features of the district system for school organization and administration, as we have it, are about as follows:

By the gradual process of organization of community schools, as shown in Figure 23, page 150, a series of small school districts has finally been organized to include all the area of a township or a county. At first the district areas were rather large, but in time, as families moved in and the process of subdivision went on, there came to be schoolhouses every two or three miles all over the county and the State.[1] Figure 23 shows the process in the beginning, and Figure 26, page 161, the final results in two types of counties, after the process of subdivision has reached its logical conclusion.

These school districts are irregular in shape and vary in size from two or three square miles, in well-settled areas, to hundreds of square miles in the more sparsely populated portions of some of our Western States. The boundary lines follow section and quarter-section lines, roads, streams, farm lines, hills, mountain ranges, and the boundary lines of other civil subdivisions, and accurate maps of the districts are on file at the county offices. New districts may be created by the subdivision of existing districts, under conditions specified in the school law,[2] and existing

[1] In the State of Illinois, for example, there are approximately 12,000 school districts and a land area of 56,000 square miles, which gives an area of 4⅔ square miles per district, when averaged over the entire State, city areas included.

[2] "The limitation in the formation of new districts out of territory previously organized as one district, applies to each district. Neither must contain less than ten families. Both are, in fact, new districts, although, as a matter of convenience, for purposes of description in designating the duties of officers and providing for the disposition of property or funds, one may be denominated the old or original district, and the other a new district." Chessire *vs.* The People, 116 Illinois, 493.

FIG. 26. TWO DISTRICT-SYSTEM COUNTIES

86 rural districts, 2 towns, and 1 county-seat city. Flat level country; district lines follow section and quarter-section lines.

74 rural districts, 1 town, and 1 county-seat city. Rolling coast country; irregular district lines.

districts may be consolidated to form a larger district. Boundaries are determined and changed, as the necessities demand, by some county officer or board, such as the board of county supervisors, or county board of education. Different States follow various plans in changing boundary lines (*Source Book*, p. 185), though action by the county board of supervisors, on recommendation of the county superintendent of schools, based on a properly prepared petition presented by those interested and a public hearing, is the common procedure in the West, as is action by the county board of education, or county commissioners, on recommendation by the county superintendent of schools, in county-unit States and in the South. In general, although the laws have been improved in the past twenty-five years, action by the county authorities in altering district lines and in consolidating districts is still too closely limited, and a far too great sensitiveness to district feelings and prejudices is still manifest.[1]

As population increases, the tendency to create new districts by subdividing those already existing is strong, and new ones frequently are created when the best interests of the schools are opposed to the further division of the district. So anxious have

[1] See the decision State *ex rel.* School District No. 1 *vs.* Andrae *et al.* (116 S.W., 561), as reprinted in Bulletin No. 2, 1910, of the U.S. Bureau of Education (*State School Systems*, III, Elliott), pp. 267–74, for a good illustration of the involved relations and slow and difficult proceedings still required in some States. This case arose under the laws of Missouri, in 1905, over a petition to change a boundary line, and was decided by the Supreme Court, in 1909.

we been to provide schools for all the children, and so strong has been the conception of local rights and privileges, that the premium has been placed in the law almost entirely on this side. In States where each district pays all or almost all its school expenses by local taxation, the laws usually oppose little resistance either to the division of districts and the multiplication of as many small and costly and inefficient schools as the people seem to desire, or to their retention after organization, although their attendance be small indeed. In some of our States no legal provision has been made for the abandonment of small and unnecessary districts, once created. Although in States where there are relatively large state or county funds granted the districts for school maintenance, the laws usually interpose more objections to the creation of new districts by subdivision, nowhere is it very difficult to form new districts. A requirement that new schools shall be created only during certain months of the year, that there must be fifteen to twenty children of school age living more than three miles by the nearest traveled road, and that the petition must be approved of the county superintendent of schools, represent about the maximum opposition imposed by the laws of the Northern and Western States. Even such restrictions are relatively recent.

Corporate existence, and officers. Each school district, township, town, or city is generally created a body politic and corporate,[1] with a certain name or number, and possesses the right to sue and be sued; to purchase, hold, and sell real and personal property; and to enter into such obligations as are permitted for it under the law. As a corporation it has usually been held by the courts to be separate and distinct from any civil township, town, city, or district, formed for other purposes, with which its boundaries may be coterminous, and as such acts as an agent for the State in carrying out a special state purpose,[2] namely, the establishment and maintenance of such schools as have been made mandatory by the constitution or by the statutes of the State.

District school trustees (in many States known as school directors), almost universally three in number, must be selected for

[1] "The law provides for the election, in each school district, of three persons as school directors. When elected and qualified, they become a corporation, and have perpetual succession. Their duties are plainly defined by the law, and may be performed by a majority of its members." Glidden *vs.* Hopkins, 47 Illinois, 525.

[2] "The school township, and not the civil township, must build the schoolhouse; and a note given by the civil township for the cost of constructing a schoolhouse is void." Wingate *vs.* Harrison School Township, 59 Indiana, 520.

each district, when it is created, from among the residents, parents, or taxpayers of the district, and by the people of the district, in all Northern and Western States (*Source Book*, pp. 186–87). The trustees are usually so classified at first that the term of one expires each year, and their successors are elected thereafter for three-year terms.[1] The county superintendent of schools commonly fills vacancies by appointment if the people fail to elect at election time,[2] although in some States a new election must be called. Appointment by the county board of education, without any election being held, is common in the Southern States. Each board usually elects its own officers — president, clerk, treasurer — but in a few States, especially if there is a treasurer who handles the district funds (*Source Book*, p. 211), the people elect the members to their office as well as to membership on the board.

Number of trustees required. The large number of trustees required by the system is one of its serious defects. To expect to find three competent persons in every little rural-school district of four or five to fifteen or twenty families, interested and capable of conducting a school along intelligent and modern lines, is to expect what is seldom found. A district that continually has one good, intelligent, interested, and progressive trustee on its board is to-day the exception rather than the rule, while in many of our States, since the great influx of foreign peoples into the rural districts as farm tenants, there are many school districts in which it is difficult to find trustees of native birth.

From 150 to 500 citizens — an absurdly large number — are necessary under the district system to manage the schools of an average county.[3] For such a State as Illinois, approximately 36,000 school directors and 1882 township trustees are required to conduct the school business of the rural schools of the State (*Source Book*, pp. 205–08), employing approximately 12,000 teachers, and costing for maintenance approximately $15,000,000

[1] Fifty years ago it was the common practice to elect entire boards each year at the annual school district meeting, but the common practice now is to elect but one trustee each year, and for a three-year term, and to do this by ballot at a time uniform throughout the State. This plan gives some chance for better selections, and for a continuing educational policy.

[2] In some of our Western States the county superintendent of schools regularly appoints from a fourth to two thirds of the trustees each year, the people being so little interested in the election that they refuse to go to the polls to vote.

[3] For the two counties shown in Figure 26, page 161, 264 school trustees would be required in one and 225 in the other, not counting the board of education in the county-seat city.

a year. On the other hand the schools of the city of Chicago, which employ approximately 12,000 teachers, and spend for maintenance about $40,000,000 a year, are controlled by one board of education of eleven members. Similar conditions are found in other district system States, as for example Michigan

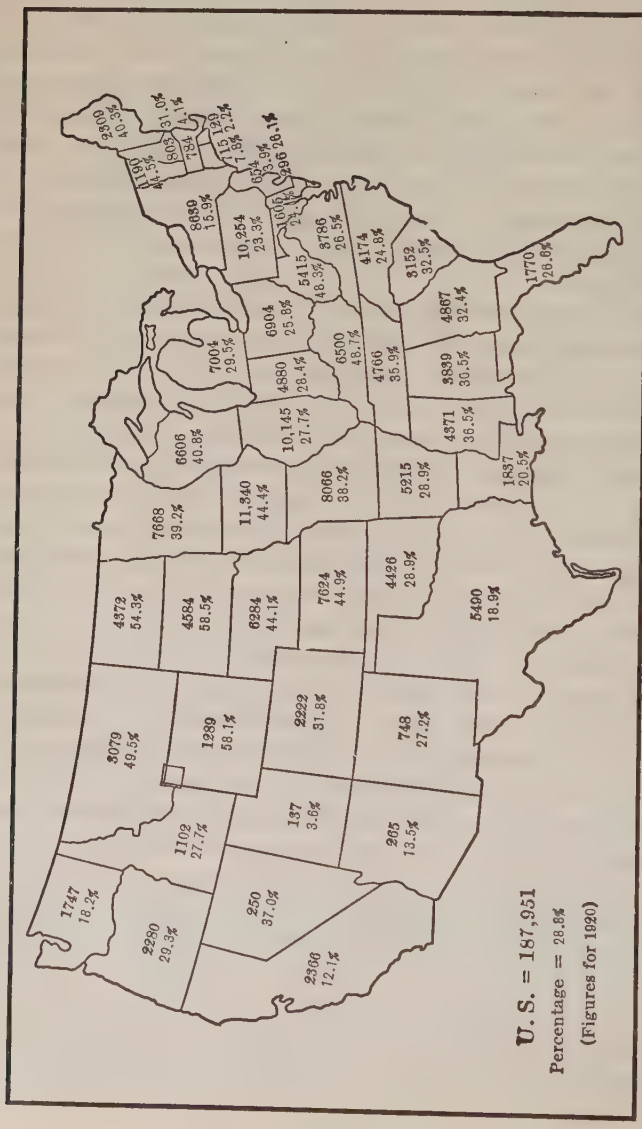


FIG. 27. NUMBER OF ONE-ROOM SCHOOLS, BY STATES

Data from Bulletin 29, 1922, U.S. Bureau of Education. Compare this map with Fig. 28, showing form of administration in use.

(*Source Book*, pp. 211–12), Kansas (*Source Book*, pp. 208–10), and Missouri.

In an article which did much to secure the substitution of the county-unit for the district system in Kentucky (*Source Book*, pp. 196–200), the writer said that the district system was "democracy gone to seed" and showed that there were, at that time (1905), 8330 school districts in Kentucky, with 24,900 school trustees "with no unity of purpose and no proper conception of the aim and scope of popular education," whereas a rational county system would reduce the school districts to 119 and the number of school officials to about 500, a number plenty large enough. (See *Source Book*, pp. 205–10, for article on waste due to so many trustees.)

There is no educational or economic need to-day for the large number of school officials which the district system demands. To have a fully organized school board in every little school district in the county is closely analogous to the district school boards which many of our older cities once maintained to manage their city schools.[1] One man for each district could look after the school, as far as a rural school should be looked after by inexpert local authority, better than three, and there is little business in a rural district which could not be transacted in a better and more expeditious manner, and at less cost, if it were all centralized under the county school authorities, as almost every other form of public business has been centralized. Both the educational and the business unit is too small for either efficiency or economy under present conditions. The office, too, yearly becomes more unattractive; any action — good, bad, or indifferent — is likely to provoke unintelligent criticism and bring petty jealousies to the surface; in many cases it is hard to induce any one to become a candidate for the office; few voters take the trouble to attend the annual school meeting or to go to the school elections to vote, unless there is a fight on; the man who renders disinterested service can seldom be induced to accept a second election;[2] and frequently the election goes by default and the

[1] Chicago once managed its schools under the district system, but abandoned it for a city unit, in 1853, when the number of districts had risen to seven, with 34 teachers employed.

[2] "The evils of the district system as now organized are not alone in matters of taxation. The present district has no adequate machinery for the consideration of policies and for the adoption of progressive plans. The present district is governed by the school meeting and by the trustees. The survey secured as many reports as possible from school meetings held last May, and it has canvassed, by means of

county superintendent is called upon to fill the vacancy by appointment.

Powers of the trustees. In some States larger powers are still retained by these district boards than in others. Ordinarily they are given power to manage the school on behalf of the district, and for the State; to employ teachers, and to fix their compensation; to contract for necessary supplies and equipment; to admit and to suspend pupils; to levy local taxes, or at least to propose them to the district for a vote; sometimes to receive, and to manage (or mismanage — *Source Book*, pp. 200–04) the district funds; to enforce, and in some States to prescribe, the course of study; to keep the schoolhouse in repair; to visit the school, and to examine into its condition, management, and the quality of its instruction; to take, or have taken, an annual school census; to make an annual report to the proper county authorities; to prosecute litigation in which the district may be involved; and, if desired, to call a district meeting for instruction and advice. (See *Source Book*, pp. 187–95, for illustration of powers in two States.) The position of any State in the matter of the evolution of an effective system of school control, as will be pointed out more in detail later on, is to be in large part determined by the nature of the powers and duties still entrusted to the boards of district school trustees and to the people assembled in school district meeting. In a few States, notably New York and the older States of the Upper Mississippi Valley, the powers so entrusted still are so large as to interfere seriously with proper school management and progress, and in many States these boards of district trustees possess powers that are greater than those given by law to county superintendents of schools or to state educational authorities (*Source Book*, pp. 210–11).

Limitations which have been imposed. In the States where the district system is still retained, and especially to the westward, various limitations of its powers have been imposed. Only in a few States does the district system still flourish with anything

question blanks and by observation, the activities of trustees. The school meeting is commonly attended by only a very small fraction of the taxpayers of the district. The only occasion when the attendance is likely to be large is when there is a controversy on. In general, the meeting is not supplied with any report of what was accomplished the year before, nor with any well-worked-out plans for the future. As for the trustee, he very often received the election because it was understood that he would keep the taxes down. Not infrequently he is a man who was not at the meeting. He does not desire the office; he has often had no experience in such an office; and is now very sure that he will never again accept it." *New York Rural School Survey; Summary Volume*, p. 194. (1922.)

approaching its old-time vigor. These limitations have been in the direction of curtailing or abandoning the district meeting, and the transference of powers from the district trustees to boards or officers of larger jurisdiction. In many of our States the school district meeting has been so shorn of powers that it has virtually ceased to exist.[1] Even in the States where the district meeting retains something of its old powers, the meeting itself has declined in importance,[2] and a marked tendency to delegate its functions is observable in the laws.

The power of the district meeting to select the teachers, or even to instruct the trustees as to whom they shall select, has almost wholly disappeared. Trustees, once they are elected to represent the people, are now supposed to act as free agents. So also has gone the power to examine and certificate the teacher, once common, but now almost everywhere transferred to some county or state educational authority. The outlining of courses of instruction, the selection of textbooks to be used, and the handling of school funds [3] have also usually been taken from both the district meeting and the district board. In States operating under a strong county-unit system (Chapter IX), the employment and dismissal of the teacher, and the fixing and paying of salaries, have also been taken from any district authorities that may still survive. In many other matters, such as minimum length of term to be held, approval of teachers selected, minimum wages to be paid, sanitary conditions which must be maintained, minimum rates of taxation, purposes for which money may be spent, and the nature of contracts which may be entered into, general state laws have specified when and how the district trustees may

[1] A general election for school officers, by ballot, and held on a day uniform throughout the State, and the supervision of accounts by the county authorities, have taken from the district meeting the chief grist upon which it used to grind. Only when the district is involved in litigation, or new school facilities are needed, is a district meeting likely to be called.

[2] Partly because of the presence of continental Europeans, who are unfamiliar with the English form of town meeting; partly because of a tendency to caucus in advance, thus making the meeting "cut and dried"; and partly because of the substitution of new interests and larger things, which now absorb the attention of the people.

[3] There is little reason, other than custom, why district trustees should ever actually handle funds. School taxes, like other taxes, should be levied and collected by the town, township, or county, and be retained there in the treasury, subject to a school order, or warrant, drawn by the proper school authorities. This requirement obviates the necessity of having district treasurers, the giving of bonds by them, the muddling of accounts, and the difficulty of securing financial reports. (See *Source Book*, pp. 200–04, for a good description of what district treasurerships lead to.) In the West the finances are generally handled through the county, even though the county there is very large and the population sparse.

or may not act, and the interpretations of the courts have been that the districts and the district authorities may do only those things which the law specifically permits them to do.[1]

Present use of the district system. The present use of the district system of school organization and administration may be seen from the map on the opposite page, showing the units for school organization in use in the different American States. In every State still retaining the district system some form of township or county school supervision, or both, have been superimposed on the districts to limit somewhat their freedom of action.[2] In a few States the district system is found in combination with the township system, as in the Dakotas[3] and in Michigan.[4] In all the Western States there is a form of county-unit control, strong in some States and weak in others, while in the Southern States the county system is seen to be the prevailing one.

It will be apparent from the map how strong has been the tendency to abolish the district system, during the past half-century, and to substitute for it a larger administrative unit. Gradually we are coming to see that it is better for the people of the districts and better for their schools as well if most of the questions of finance, policy, and educational procedure, upon which they used to spend so much of their energy, and frequently

[1] For example: "A district cannot raise money by taxation for purposes beyond the scope of its powers, even though approved by a majority of its voters, and this section limits the purposes to those specified in it." 60 *Connecticut*, 234.

"The statute prescribes the duties, and defines the powers of a board of school directors, in terms clear and explicit, and that body can exercise no other powers than those expressly granted, or such as may be necessary to carry into effect a granted power." School Directors *vs.* Wright, 43 Illinois, Ap. 270.

"The duties of school directors are derived exclusively from the statute, are specifically defined, and if they exercise powers and functions not conferred upon them, the statute has made them responsible for all losses that may ensue." Adams *vs.* State of Illinois, 82 Illinois, 132; Sharp *vs.* Smith, 32 Illinois, Ap. 336.

[2] Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, and Missouri are examples of States in which the districts still have very large powers; California is a type of a State in which the district meeting has practically ceased to exist, and where the district trustees have had their powers greatly reduced by the transference of duties and functions to higher educational authorities. Texas is an example of a State in which much power and discretion is allowed the district trustees, but where the power of regulation is clearly given to the state and county educational authorities; and Georgia and Alabama are types of States in which the district authorities are very closely limited, and where the district system has been all but extinguished by the superimposed strong county system.

[3] In North Dakota, 3 of the 53 counties; in South Dakota, 5 of the 68 counties; in Montana, 7 of the 46 counties; and in Nebraska, 29 of the 93 counties use the district system.

[4] The township system is the common plan in the northern peninsula, and the district system in the southern.

their pugnacity as well, are removed from them entirely and either placed in the hands of constituted educational authorities of larger jurisdiction for determination, or determined for all alike by uniform state law. To have good schools in the rural districts by no means implies district organization, management, or control. As we as a people come to drop our narrow provincialisms, to think in broader terms, to develop better business methods, and to evolve an administrative machinery and supervisory officers capable of doing business effectively on a larger scale, we shall doubtless witness a still further limitation and

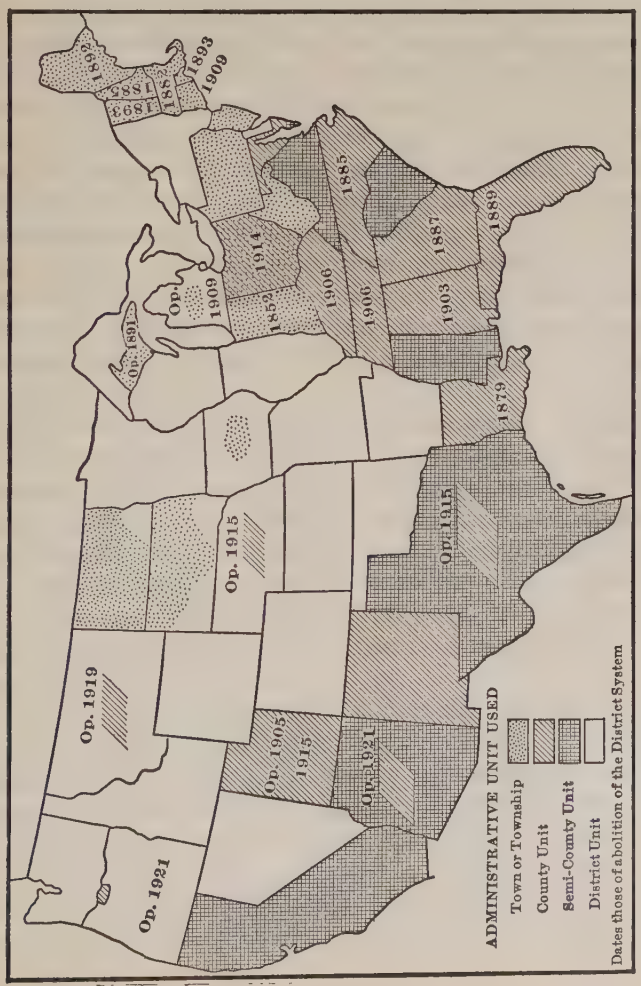


FIG. 28. FORMS FOR SCHOOL ORGANIZATION IN USE IN THE UNITED STATES

Op. means optional organization under a larger unit, at date given. Nevada and Delaware combine a state unit with district organization, without any intermediate administrative control.

finally the almost complete abolition of the district system of school organization and administration. As a system it was suited to a time of isolation, limited vision, and to the day of small things and petty interests, but it is not adapted to the educational or economic needs of the present and the future.

Merits of the district system. As a quick means for providing rural districts with a school the district system has rendered, and in parts of some of our Western States is still rendering, useful service. As a system of school administration it was much better suited, however, to the earlier conditions in the North Atlantic States and in the rapidly developing "West" than was the town or township system; indeed it is still of importance in regions where population is sparse, intercourse limited, communication difficult, supervision practically absent, and isolation the rule. It was also well suited to the needs and conditions of early rural life, amid an agricultural population with a somewhat even distribution of wealth, and dependent largely on local taxation for school support, and it resulted in the establishment of schools adapted to the thoughts and wants of the country people. The schools often were and often still are wretchedly poor schools, but the country people have been so satisfied with them that they have commonly resisted most of the efforts made to improve them.

The district system was also well adapted to the earlier ideas as to the nature and purpose of education. Schools were then purely local affairs, and complex state relationships had not then been evolved. In a time when the school of practical experience was more important than the school of books; when the ability to read and write and cipher distinguished the educated from the uneducated man, and when it was believed that the ability to discipline was the main part of the art of teaching, it naturally followed that every district felt itself competent to select and examine teachers, determine methods and textbooks, lay down the course of instruction, supervise and criticize the teacher, and to determine all such matters as wages, boarding-around arrangements, tax-rate, and length of term. The three district trustees, with the guidance of the people in the school district meetings, exercised very important functions, and to many a man in the districts the office of school trustee was the most important office within the gift of the American people to which he might ever hope to aspire.

Perhaps one of the chief merits of the early district system, and one for which it has been greatly extolled, as well as one which did much to endear the system to the people, was that the district meeting served as a forensic center for the developing democratic life of the time. The school district has been and still is the smallest unit of local self-government in our political system, and the only small unit to which much power is now given. It corresponds to the parish in the management of the Church under the old régime. As a unit of local government it has doubtless done much in the past to educate the people in civic spirit and patriotism. In training the people in the simple forms of parliamentary procedure; in the ability to speak and defend their rights; and in awakening a conception in the minds of the common people of the needs and benefits of education, and this at a time when general education at public expense hung in the balance — the district system doubtless rendered a very valuable service.

The system deep-rooted. The people at least have believed in the system, have been willing to devote time and labor and take abuse for the system, and everywhere they have relinquished the power they once held only after a long and often bitter struggle. Proposals for the consolidation of schools have awakened violent hostility. The system, too, has become hallowed by age and endeared by sentiment, and these are powerful motives with country people. In some States few men living there have known any other system, and it is difficult to make the people understand how much better schools they might have, often with the same money, through the introduction of a better form of school organization. The joint committee which recently compiled a survey of the rural schools of New York State, well expressed the situation when it said: [1]

> The rural people of New York State are in a great many cases — one might say the majority of cases — opposed to consolidation of schools and even to the re-defining of district lines. To be sure, the farmer knows that the little schoolhouse cannot carry his child very far on the road to knowledge; it certainly cannot give the child a high-school education. He knows that a little school with small attendance is very expensive per pupil. He knows that the equipment is meager, and the teacher usually less qualified for his or her work than the teachers in the schools of the neighboring towns. But the farmer will

[1] *Rural School Survey of New York State; Summary Volume*, p. 192.

resist to the bitter end any movement on the part of the district (county) superintendent or of the State to set up a well-equipped, graded school through compulsory consolidation. . . . In most communities the people are not in an attitude of mind to consider the question (of consolidation) as applied to their community on its merits.

Such phrases, too, as "the American district school," "the little red schoolhouse," and "the schools at the country cross-roads are the real fortresses of our Republic," which have been uttered and declaimed for generations, have made an indelible impression on the minds of the older generation; while the feeling of sentiment behind these phrases, and often the recollections of local battles — real or imaginary — in which these were rallying cries, make it difficult to secure real reform and better organization for the rural schools of to-day. The fact that the district system is in no way essential to the maintenance of schools in the districts is something country people and legislators seem to have the greatest difficulty in understanding.

Defects of the district system. On the other hand, the school district meeting frequently became a storm-center of semi-political activity, of narrow and petty local interest, and of a dog-in-the-manger spirit. What Guizot has so well termed "the energy of local liberty" was a common manifestation. Despite its value in educating the people along certain lines, the system was and is opposed to any broad and generous public spirit, either in education or other public policy. An exaggerated idea of district rights and district importance; an idea as to district perfection, which rendered it impervious to criticism; district jealousies, and especially jealousy of larger, more central, more populous, and more prosperous districts; frequently a banding together to prevent others from enjoying what the smaller and poorer ones could not enjoy; and frequently persistent and bitter opposition to any attempt at reform — these were and still are some of the most glaring evil results of the district system.[1]

As a means of school administration the district system is inefficient, inconsistent, and unprogressive;[2] many fierce ani-

[1] *See* Cassidy, M. A. "Some Needed Legislation in Kentucky"; in *Source Book*, pp. 196–200.

[2] A good illustration was cited in the *Report of the Public School Commission of Delaware* (1919), p. 34, as follows:

"Under the district system the amount of effort necessary to carry a reform of even the simplest character is prohibitive. Recent attempts to improve the heating of the one-room schools furnishes a case in point. . . . There is no question as to the

mosities are engendered over matters too trifling to warrant calling people together to consider; and the efficiency and usefulness of the schools are seriously impaired by these factional disturbances. As an institution the decline of the district system set in many years ago, and efficient rural-school administration has been promoted in proportion as the States have subordinated or abolished the system.

Mr. Martin's description of the workings of the district system in Massachusetts,[1] before its abolition there (1882), could be matched by descriptions from almost any of the older States. He says:

> Questions involving the fate of nations have been decided with less expenditure of time, less stirring of passions, less vociferation of declamation and denunciation, than the location of a 15 x 20 schoolhouse. I have known such a question to call for ten district meetings, scattered over two years, bringing down from mountain farms three miles away men who had no children to be schooled, and who had not taken the trouble to vote in the presidential election in the period.
>
> Again, when a teacher has given dissatisfaction to a part of the district, possibly to a single family, a contest has arisen over the choice of prudential committeeman (trustee). Into the discussion have been brought questions the most remote; old family feuds have been revived and new ones created; all the petty jealousies, masculine and feminine, have been brought to the surface, until the whole district is by the ears. The poor little teacher, who was the innocent cause of the disturbance, has been forgotten, and a social war rages with all the bitterness of a Kentucky vendetta and the protraction of an English suit in chancery. . . .
>
> Absolute equality of privilege was the standard aimed at. This was the right for which the embattled hosts were marshalled in the district meetings. The district was surveyed and measured; often the exact distance of every house from the proposed location of the school was determined, that as nearly as possible perfect equipoise should be secured — each two-mile family on one side having a two-mile family on the opposite side to balance it.
>
> If this ideal condition was not reached — if, as sometimes happened, the rights of individuals were overborne for the convenience of the

superiority of the modern heater over the open stove; yet, to introduce heaters into all the one-room schools of Delaware, it would be necessary not only to convince 325 different boards of district school committees, but also to convince a majority of the voters in each district, for the purchase of a heater has to be submitted to the annual district meeting. Faced with this impossible task, it is not surprising that the county superintendents have labored for years to introduce heaters into the rural districts, with only partial success. Under centralized control, it would be necessary to convince only a single board, and heaters would be promptly introduced."

[1] Martin, Geo. H. *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System*, pp. 92–93.

majority — a rankling sense of injustice remained; smouldering embers ready to kindle into flame; an old score waiting to be paid off, maybe in town meeting, perhaps in the election to the General Court, possibly in a church quarrel. Within a dozen years I have discovered more than one such ancient grudge not yet fed fat enough.

That the local boards of school trustees, as is so frequently urged, represent well the feelings and wishes of their districts is undoubtedly true. The argument for them that they are close to the people is in most cases a strong one. This is, however, both their strength and their weakness, and they exhibit well both the merits and the defects of government by the people. The very important distinction between "keeping the schools close to the people" and "keeping the people close to the schools" is one which advocates of district control because of its democracy usually fail to comprehend. The needs of present-day education are generally such as to demand that the schools take a position somewhat in advance of the people, and their ability to do so is often very seriously impaired by unintelligent district school control. The districts which need improvement most are almost invariably the ones which oppose improvement most vigorously.

The system generally condemned. The system of district management has been condemned generally by educational officials for more than fifty years;[1] it is expensive, ultra-conservative, and educationally inefficient; with the increasingly unequal distribution of wealth the system leads to great inequalities in schools, teachers, terms, and the means of education, and to an unwise distribution of schools;[2] in imposing on poor, ignorant, and improvident districts the maintenance and management of their schools it tends to a stratification of society; it tends to prevent high-school organization for country children; trustees frequently assume authority over matters of which they are relatively ignorant; the schools they maintain frequently are a

[1] See the *New Jersey State School Report for 1894*, Appendix, pp. xiii-lv, for many letters and extracts from reports dealing with the district question, the abolition of which was at that time up for consideration. Also see the *Source Book*, pp. 205-12.

[2] A good illustration of the wastefulness of the district system was revealed by Sargent, in his survey of district school conditions in Colorado. In one county he found 107 districts, and 321 school directors. One district had not for seven years reported a child, yet had "kept its organization, elected its school board each year, levied no taxes, and spent no money for education." In another county he found a three-teacher and a two-teacher school just one mile apart, on a level road, "with the only impassable barrier between them an imaginary line forming the district boundaries. Furthermore, the teachers passed each other twice a day in going to and from their schools."

disgrace;[1] because they hold the purse-strings in so many States it is necessary to improve the changing trustee before much headway can be made in improving the schools; and most of the progress in rural-school administration has been made without the support and often against the opposition of the district school authorities.

In a bulletin[2] issued by the Illinois Educational Commission the arguments for and against the district system were well summed up in the following words:

> The chief argument in favor of the district system is its democratic nature. The district system has been called "probably the most communistic as well as democratic feature of our political institutions." . . . Now there can be no question as to the democratic nature of district organization. It is, in appearance at least, "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Under the system the people have an immediate voice in the management of their schools. And such interest as the people have taken in this matter, and the expression of their will in the district meeting, have been a valuable means in the development of free institutions. The district has been, so to speak, a kind of school of civil government. It has been the area upon which has been worked out some of the most important questions of our democracy.
>
> But in the development of a democracy there always comes a time when efficiency requires the surrender of immediate action to representative action, and nowhere in the growth of a democracy is that point reached sooner than in the management of schools. When county and state government are instituted both of these larger units, as the history of the country has shown, will exercise a certain control

[1] A rural-school survey recently made in Missouri, a strong district system State, revealed the following facts as to the rural schools of the State:

95% of the schoolrooms have cross lights;
31% " " " " " no window shades;
42% " " " " " panes out;
82% of the schools have unsatisfactory heating;
54% " " " " no fresh-air intakes;
20% " " " " open foundations;
16% " " " " no boys' toilets;
11% " " " " no girls' toilets;
9% " " " " no toilets for either sex;
58% of the toilets were not cleaned out;
84% " " " use no disinfectants;
81% " " " are unscreened;
37% of the schools have surface drainage into the source of the drinking water;
70% of the wells were not cleaned out;
58% of the schools have seats too large or too small for their pupils;
56% of the schools have no maps;
92% " " " " no musical instrument.

[2] Bulletin No. 4, Illinois Educational Commission. *A Tentative Plan for Making the Township the Unit of School Organization.* (Springfield, 1908.) Also in *Final Report of Commission*, pp. 106–09.

over the schools because both recognize that education is a county and a state function as well as a district function.

The abolishment of the district system would involve the surrender of no democratic principles, unless the preservation of a few minor offices is a matter of principle. Few would contend for the primacy of the district in matters political, in the assessment of property, the construction of roads and bridges, or the care of the poor. Why, then, should it be essential in school organization? Democracy does not imply complete local autonomy in anything.

Another argument in favor of the district system is that great results have been achieved under it. This is the universal and inevitable argument of conservatism. When a change in any form of institution of long standing is suggested the conservative always magnifies the benefits derived from the old form, and argues from these the necessity of its continuance. It therefore happens that a powerful argument for any old institution is that it exists. An established institution or custom seems to gain strength every day that it is continued and, no matter how irrational or inconvenient it is, the influence of time seems to raise the presumption of its superiority. This to most minds is a sufficient justification of the existence of the district system and a sufficient reason for its continuance. The fallacy is in failing to recognize the superior benefits which might be derived from another system.

The community, like the individual, does not exist for itself alone. It is a part of a larger whole, and the interests of the larger whole should be the essential consideration so far as educational affairs are concerned. It is not a matter of indifference to one community that another community has schools of a low grade. For the good of all, all schools must be good. For this reason, if for no other, a highly developed school system is practically impossible under district organization. Whatever may be said, then, for that form of organization in regard to its past benefits and adaptation, it is no longer justified either on political or social grounds, and certainly it is to be condemned from the standpoint of almost every pedagogical principle. It must, therefore, in the different States, gradually but surely give way to a more effective scheme of authoritative and administrative school organization, and one that will more nearly equalize the educational opportunities of the State. The Constitution of Illinois declares that "the General Assembly shall provide a thorough and efficient system of free schools, whereby all children in this State may receive a good common school education." Under the district system, as it usually operates, this is practically impossible.

Future of the district system. The general tendency, as we have pointed out, is both to limit the powers of the district school authorities and to abandon the system. In a few of our States the movement has made but little progress as yet, while in others which still retain the system the movement to abandon it is well under way.

No State which has abandoned the district system has ever permanently returned to it, and no State within recent years has

abandoned any higher system to take up the district system. In the more thickly populated portions of the upper Mississippi Valley, where both the township and the county units of government are in constant use, the substitution of either for the school district would be an educational and an administrative gain, although the larger county unit, as we shall point out more in detail as we proceed, has many decided advantages over the township unit and is the one to be preferred. In the Southern States, where the counties are small and the county is the general unit of government, the county-unit system would seem to be the natural one for effective educational organization. In the Western States, where the sparse population and the uneven topography make the use of the township unit for any purpose almost impossible, the lines for future development lie in strengthening the authority of the county educational officer at the expense of the districts, in the institution of a county board of education to manage the school affairs of the county as a unit, and in the gradual subordination and consolidation of the districts into a series of community-center school systems. The ultimate end of the process is that the school district shall cease to be "a body politic and corporate"; that many of the small districts will be combined to form a much smaller number of educational units of greater size, to be known as attendance subdistricts; and that the boards of trustees or directors will be reduced from three members to one, and that the duties of this remaining official will be materially decreased by taking from him all of his educational functions, leaving him only such perfectly proper and harmless duties as looking after the school property, assisting in enforcing attendance and maintaining discipline, and serving as a means of communication between the people of the attendance subdistrict and the central governing body. Although the district boundary lines might be retained for the purpose of regulating school attendance, they would be capable of easy change, as the necessities of the schools might at any time seem to require, and after much the same simple plan by which district lines are changed in city school districts by superintendents or boards of education.

2. LARGE DISTRICTS; THE MUNICIPALITY: INDEPENDENT DISTRICTS

Large districts. All that has been said so far with reference to the defects of the district system has referred to the small community district, and to the district system as a general form of

state educational organization. It must be recognized, however, that there are districts of larger size and different type to which the same conclusions do not apply. When a school district increases in population and comes to employ five or six teachers, and has a community of some hundreds of people surrounding and helping to support it, it passes from the rank of a rural school to that of a village or town graded school, and a board of three trustees is now not only easier to obtain than in the smaller rural district, but will render more effective service as well. Some form of separate legal classification may now seem desirable, and separate provision for such graded schools is commonly made in the laws of the North Central States. In a few of the western States the school districts are classified with reference to size, and larger powers are accorded to those of village or city character.

The municipality. When the population of the community increases to the point when a town becomes a city, with graded schools, high school, and a superintendent of schools employed, the district evolves into a municipality and comes to have a still different type of educational conditions and problems. A board of five to seven trustees (board of education) may now be very desirable. It is here that the municipality, with its peculiar problems, branches off, and the field of *City School Administration* opens up. While many of the general principles of proper state administrative control apply equally to the city school district, such districts also have many special problems which require special treatment and which cannot be given here.[1] This much, however, should be said with reference to the city school district.

In theory, the large city school district is, in the eyes of the law, on the same footing as the town or the small rural district, in that each is a single administrative unit, each acts as an agent for the State in carrying out a state purpose, and each reports to and draws its share of state money from the same authorities. In most of our States both the law and courts have so regarded it,[2]

[1] This the present author has done in two other volumes in this series of textbooks, *Public School Administration*, and *The Principal and his School*, which see.

[2] See especially the following state supreme court decisions:

1. Gunnison *vs.* The Board of Education of the City of New York, 176 New York, 13.
2. Ridenour *vs.* The Board of Education of the City of Brooklyn, 15 New York Misc. 418.
3. State *ex rel.* Clark *et al. vs.* Haworth, 122 Indiana, 462.
4. Speight *vs.* The People, 87 Illinois, 595.
5. Kennedy *vs.* Miller, 97 California, 429.

The gist of the decision in each of these five cases is given in the author's *Public School Administration*, pp. 16–18.

even though additional powers have usually been granted to the municipal district. Among these special powers are the right to select its own textbooks and outline its own course of study; not infrequently the right to examine and certificate its own teachers; power to levy and handle its own school funds; and power to elect supervisory officers and to maintain special and additional types of schools.

Working principles. It is perfectly right and proper that additional powers and larger authority should be granted to city school systems, since their problems are larger and more difficult, the number and nature of such additional powers to be determined by the kind of standards maintained by the state school system as a whole. The great educational progress made by our cities in the United States during the past fifty years has been possible chiefly by reason of their freedom to undertake new things. In no case, though, should these larger districts be allowed to escape their just share of the educational burdens of the State, county, township, or towns, or be granted powers which will enable them to do less than is demanded of school districts not so organized. Special powers should be in the direction of enabling such districts to exceed the minimum demands of the State, without at the same time decreasing the ability of other districts to meet these same demands.

Whenever city school systems can conform to general state standards without injury to the prime purpose for which the schools exist, as for example in the matter of the certification of teachers, uniform reports, uniform financial statistics, or uniform attendance laws, it is well that they should do so. If they wish to go further in the matter of requirements than the state school law demands, they should be permitted to do so by building upon the general standards set by law for all. The large special powers granted city school organizations in a number of our States has, unfortunately, not been granted because of these considerations, but rather because of the low educational standards maintained by the State in its general school law.

Special and independent districts. In some of our States the school law has gone much further and has permitted cities, towns, and even little villages,[1] to organize themselves as special or in-

[1] See *Iowa School Law*, Sec. 2794, for a good case in point. The Ohio school laws offer another. In Iowa there must be at least 100 residents in the proposed independent school district, while in Ohio the district must have an assessed valuation of $100,000 or over to be eligible for independent status.

dependent districts and to segregate themselves, financially as well as educationally, from the town, township, or county of which they form a part. The result of such freedom, while usually to the advantage of the special district, is almost always opposed to the best interests of education in the county and State as a whole, and should not be allowed.

Since the reasons for such segregation are almost wholly financial, such special districts are usually found in States where, from the point of view of taxation at least, a state system of public education is almost entirely lacking. In States where general education is in a very backward condition, and the creation of special and independent districts is the only means of allowing communities desiring to make progress to do so, the use of the plan for a time is perhaps defensible, but even in such cases a wise policy, in the administration of the school affairs of the State, would be to eliminate such special districts as rapidly as can be done by raising the general requirements for all. The introduction of a wise and equitable system of taxation and apportionment, as we shall point out later in Chapters XVII and XVIII, would largely remove the reasons for the organization of such special districts.

In California the absence of distinctions between districts of whatever size, except in the matter of the formation and number of members of the governing boards, has for long been one of the points of strength of the school system,[1] while the presence of a large and increasing number of such specially organized districts, educationally and financially independent of the township organization, has been perhaps the weakest single feature of the school system of Iowa.[2] Similarly, the absence of such specially incorporated districts has been one of the points of strength in the town school system of Massachusetts, while their presence did much to defeat the object of the town-organization law in Vermont and New Hampshire by enabling the larger districts to escape their just share of the town's educational burdens. Simi-

[1] What is true of California is true of most of the Western States — States where the conception of a state school system, as opposed to a series of county, town, township, or city systems, is much further advanced than in the case of the States to the East.

[2] First permitted in 1858, the number had reached 334 by 1870, and 3766 by 1905. The situation has been pointed out from time to time, but little or nothing is done about it. The plan is too profitable to the large and wealthy centers, and probably will not be remedied until large state and county taxation for education removes the cause.

larly, again, the absence of all such special or independent districts is one of the points of strength of the county-unit school systems of Georgia and Utah, while their presence in the townships of the North Central States is one of the most serious defects of the township system there.

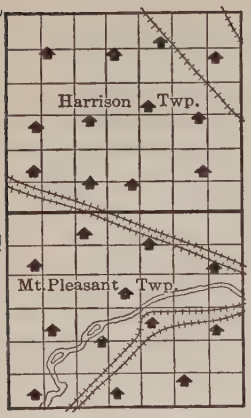
QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why do we find more resistance in the laws to the subdivision of districts in States where the schools are supported largely from county and state funds?
2. What is the value of the common argument for the school district — that it is the most democratic of our units of government, and has been very valuable in training our citizenship in the institutions of democracy?
3. Is the case of the Delaware heater, given in footnote 2, page 172, a case of "training for citizenship"?
4. What is the value of the common argument that the abolition of the district system would tend to make the people lose interest in their schools?
5. What would you suggest as a solution of such a situation as that described on page 171, in the quotation as to New York?
6. If the district system has been condemned generally for so long a time by educational authorities, and does not provide good schools, explain why the people fight so to retain it.
7. Why was it natural to find the district system in the cities during our earlier educational history?
8. Try to picture the results if any large city should attempt to conduct its schools to-day on the district system plan.
9. In a number of States an attempt has been made recently to educate trustees as to their duties by an annual trustees' institute. About what value would you place on this expedient?
10. Why has the movement for the consolidation of schools made but little headway, and why is it likely to make little headway in the future, in the strong district-system States?
11. Is there any need for or reason why boards of district trustees should to-day have a treasurer, who holds and pays out the funds?
12. Is there any educational reason for allowing specially organized and independent school districts, enjoying greater powers and privileges than those regularly organized and of nearly the same size?
13. Assuming that the chief reason for the formation of special and independent school districts has been the financial one, why is its continuance unwise? How might the stimulus to segregation be eliminated?
14. What are desirable and legitimate powers for boards of school district trustees to retain, assuming that the district system remains in force in any State?
15. Trustees are usually forbidden by law from profiting from any contract or work done. California (*School Law*, Sec. 1876) permits an exception to this, in the case of small schools, for work in repairs and furnishing fuel. Is this wise?
16. What legal limitations would you propose for the formation of new school districts?
17. In the Indiana Educational Commission Report (*Public Education in*

Indiana, pp. 210–13) a series of definite standards for independent districts is set up. Read these, and state your opinion of each. Would you add any others?

PROBLEMS

1. The adjacent drawing of two townships in a district-system State shows 24 one-room schools in the two townships, 12 in each. Assume the data given below for these schools, numbering them from left to right and from top to bottom of map. Each district received $3.00 per census pupil from the State, and raised all other money by local taxation.



From the following table, pick out the most notable inequalities in burden carried: (*a*) in tax rate; (*b*) in her pupil costs.

From the map, estimate the maximum, minimum, and average distance between schools.

If all twelve schools in Harrison township were consolidated at the center of the township, and all schools in Mt. Pleasant township in the village between the two railroads (no. 8), and all wagon roads ran north and south or east and west, what would be the maximum distance for transportation, counting from the corners of the townships?

What need is there for so many schools in these townships?

	District	Census	Enrollment	Average Daily Attendance	Raised Locally	Tax Rate
Harrison Township Assessed valuation $5,176,240	1	24	19	16	$312.	.21
	2	21	15	12	308.	.20
	3	15	11	8	270.	.40
	4	30	24	17	396.	.26
	5	31	26	20	412.	.18
	6	35	26	21	490.	.38
	7	26	17	14	470.	.41
	8	17	13	10	216.	.49
	9	24	17	13	290.	.32
	10	19	12	9	215.	.22
	11	12	9	7	420.	.61
	12	29	22	17	550.	.43
Mt. Pleasant Township Assessed valuation $6,560,000	1	18	14	12	$310.	.56
	2	36	29	24	460.	.12
	3	46	38	32	302.	.18
	4	33	26	21	665.	.21
	5	19	14	11	310.	.47
	6	10	8	6	210.	.63
	7	13	11	9	241.	.58
	8	63	47	36	926.	.11
	9	24	19	16	212.	.14
	10	10	7	5	216.	.65
	11	14	10	9	298.	.47
	12	27	20	17	315.	.51

2. Sargent, in his survey of Colorado district schools, reports that "in one county, a four-mile radius would include all the habitable parts of seven separate and independent school districts, having a total of five hundred children of school age (6–21), twelve teachers, and property with an assessable value of over $1,000,000."

Assuming the assessed value at $1,000,000, the present cost of the schools at $900 a teacher, and fair roads, draw a map, work out a consolidated plan, and show results.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Investigate, compare, and report on the different type plans now in use for the formation of school districts and the change of district lines, arranging the plans in the form of a graded list.
2. Do the same for the district meeting, its organization, work, and powers.
3. Analyze the powers and duties of school district trustees, in a number of selected district-system States.
4. The sub-district system, extent of use, and powers of officers under it.
5. Laws relating to the closing of small schools.
6. Compare conditions in any other district-system State with the cases cited in the text, as to number of school officers required, and calculate the number of trustees and percentage of the rural population required for school officers. Compare the result with conditions existing in the largest city of the State.
7. Some States pay members of school boards, or at least one member of each board, for services. Look up the extent of the practice, and calculate its cost for a State. What results are obtained from paying members?
8. The independent district system.
9. As a means for improving schools some States, working under the district system, have set up standards for approval for what are known as standard schools, or approved rural schools (see *Source Book*, pp. 250–53, for an illustration). To what extent is this practiced, of what value are the standards set up, and of what real value is the idea as a means for improving the district system?

SELECTED REFERENCES

1. *Important older documents*

Connecticut, *Reports of the State Board of Education;*
Report for 1886, pp. 92–101, arguments.
Report for 1890, pp. 141–*166, speeches in favor of abolishing the district system, and many facts.
Report for 1894, Appendix, pp. xxi–lv.

New Jersey, *Reports of the State Board of Education;*
Report for 1894, Appendix, pp. iii–xi.
Report by state superintendent on advantages of township system. Same, pp. xiii–lv.
Extracts from school reports bearing on district system, and opinions of school officers.

New Hampshire, *State School Report*, 1886, pp. 266–76.
History of town and district systems in the State.

Vermont, *State School Report*, 1894, pp. 60–70. Adoption of town system, and results.

Bibliography, with extracts, relating to the history of the district system in each State, with citations to articles and pages in the reports of state school officers, and the U.S. Commissioner of Education; in 1894 *School Report of New Jersey*, Appendix, pp. xxi–lv. A very valuable historical document.

2. *Reports of educational commissions*

Almost any state school survey or report of a state educational commission, for a district-system State, contains a chapter at least on the working of the district system, but the following survey reports are especially useful:

Delaware, *Public Education in Delaware.*

Chapter V describes briefly the workings of the district system in Delaware.

Illinois Educational Commission. *Final Report*, pp. 99–109. Reprinted in *Illinois State School Report*, 1908–10, pp. 329–36.

States the advantages and the disadvantages of the district unit.

New York, Rural School Survey of; volume on *Administration and Supervision*, part I, chaps. I–VI.

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3. *General articles*

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Showalter, N. D. *Handbook for Rural School Officers.* Boston, 1920.

A manual of duties and functions.

Swift, Fletcher H. "Financing Schools under the District System"; in *Journal Educational Research*, vol. 7, pp. 289–96. (April, 1923.)

Data taken from the school systems of Oklahoma, Minnesota, and Arkansas to show that the district form of school financing produces financial and educational equalities and injustices.

Webster, W. C. *Recent Centralizing Tendencies in Education.* New York, 1897. Chapter IV.

CHAPTER VIII.

TOWN, TOWNSHIP, AND COMMUNITY UNITS

When we pass upward from the school district to the next larger units for school organization and control, we pass from the small and outgrown rural community district of an earlier period to a unit large enough to embrace many of the community activities of people under modern conditions of living, trade, transportation, and methods of carrying on business. The three units which we shall consider in this chapter are the New England town, the middle-western township, and the so-called community district which it has recently been proposed to create for purposes of school organization and administration. We shall consider the three in order.

I. THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN

The town a natural governmental unit. Everywhere in New England, except in certain specially organized districts in the three northern States, the process of regaining the original sovereignty of the towns is complete, and the town system of government now prevails in school management, as in other forms of governmental activity. The dates for the final reëstablishment of the town form of government in school affairs are given for the different States on the map shown on page 169.

The New England towns are small in size,[1] and irregular in shape.[2] Not infrequently they are bounded in part by some natural geographic feature, such as a river, a line of hills, or low-lying ground. These same characteristics hold for the towns of New York, and for the so-called townships of New Jersey and boroughs of Pennsylvania. Excepting the city towns, their population usually ranges from 200 to 600 up to 5000 to 8000, with 2000 to 4000 inhabitants a very common size. Except where the earlier homogeneity of the towns has been disturbed by rapid growths in population and modern industrial developments, each

[1] They usually contain from twenty to forty square miles. In Massachusetts the towns average 23⅔ square miles, while in Connecticut the average is 29⅞ square miles.

[2] In northern Maine, and somewhat in Vermont also, the rectangular form of survey has been followed, but this exception has been introduced in more recent times.

New England town, by reason of its small size and natural geographic boundaries, forms a small community unit for purposes of local government. The same may be said to be true of the so-called townships of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The villages and the rural parts of the town are alike under town control. Functions elsewhere exercised by county governments here belong to the towns, or groups of towns. Villages within towns in New England have no separate government. The town controls, and among its most important functions are roads, drains, sewers, schools, poor-relief, public utilities, parks, libraries, hospitals,[1] and taxation. In many ways the towns also act as agents for the State, much as do western counties.

The schools under town control. Under the town system of school management the educational affairs of each town are managed by a central body, elected by the people, and generally known as the town school committee.[2] In most matters the powers and duties of this committee are regulated by general state laws (*Source Book*, pp. 213–15), and the minimum requirements which each town must meet have been rather fully stated. Over the towns there is a state school officer and a state board of education. It is a part of the work of these officers and boards to see that the towns and the town school committees obey the school laws, and meet the minimum requirements set for the state schools.

The schools of the central village and those of the outlying territory are alike managed by the town school committee, and all schools within the town are operated as a single financial and administrative group. Each town thus forms a single school district, and the one school committee for the town has superseded the district school boards which formerly existed within the town. District lines are still retained in some of the towns, but only as they exist to-day in cities for purposes of classification and attendance of pupils.

The drawing given opposite compares school administration in a New England town with that in a typical western township, and is illustrative of conditions which exist. If the western township

[1] In the exercise of many of these functions, however, the towns have been found too small for effective control, and unions of towns have been authorized and have become common.

[2] This is an old term, and goes back to the days before separate school boards were created, when the schools were looked after by a committee of the town board of selectmen. In a few cases, in each State, large city towns have been recently reorganized and the schools placed under city boards of education.

were in New England it would be called a town, and the suburban as well as the town schools would be under town control, with a single school committee managing and financing all the schools of

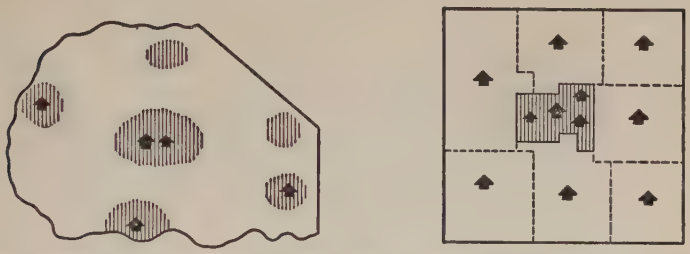


FIG. 29. A NEW ENGLAND TOWN AND A WESTERN TOWNSHIP COMPARED

A Massachusetts Town

Central small city, with high school. Five villages in town, but schools maintained in but three. All schools under one board and superintendent.

A Western Township

Central segregated small city, with high school and separate school board. Seven rural elementary schools in township, each with a subdistrict director, under township school board.

the township as a unit, just as roads, bridges, and poor-relief are cared for, instead of a township board, subdistrict directors, and a different board of school trustees for the schools of the central town. In Illinois, which has a combined district and township system, there would be in addition a separate board of three school directors for each rural school district.

The school committee of each town (*Source Book*, pp. 213–15) must provide sufficient school facilities for all the children, and the types of schools required to be maintained by the state school law; may close unnecessary schools and provide transportation; must care for the school property; makes all contracts; employs, fixes the salary, and pays all teachers for the schools of the town; and may do such other things, not contrary to law, as may be necessary for the proper conduct of the schools of the town.

Advantages of the town unit. The effect of the town system of school organization and control is a pooling of effort by the people of the entire town, for the common good of all. It results in an equalization of both tax rates and educational advantages throughout the entire town. All pay the same tax rate, and all share in the same educational advantages. Other beneficial results are an equally long school term for all children; better teachers, and at better wages; better and more sanitary school buildings; a uniform course of instruction for all the schools of

the town, with high school advantages for all; free transportation to and free tuition in the central high school; special instruction (music, drawing, manual and domestic arts, etc.) for the outlying schools as well as for the central town school; good professional supervision for all the schools; and a systematic organization of the town's educational resources under a single small board, responsible to the people for results.

A few quotations taken from school documents will show something as to the advantages and the results obtained by the change to the town system of school management in New England:

Probably no legislation ever contributed more for the improvement of schools in Vermont than the act to establish the town system. Many towns under this system have made remarkable progress. It made possible much needed improvement, and has gone far to equalize the burdens of support and the advantages of the schools. . . .

Perhaps the greatest transformation that has resulted is the improvement in the character and appearance of the school buildings. The real-estate legacy left to the present system by the previous one was a multitude of decrepit, repulsive school buildings. No change more palpably marks the new era inaugurated than the renovation of old and the erection of new schoolhouses. — SUPERINTENDENT RANGER, of Vermont.

As a result, taking the average district, the town system shows in this State very much better schools, so far as instruction is concerned, as well as more efficient administration. As to the cost of the two systems, it must always be said that the two cannot be justly compared. When towns enter upon the town system they are likely to increase expenses, if their previous expenses have been stingy and inadequate. On the contrary, if under the district system they have been liberal, the economy which the town system permits will enable them to reduce their expenses.

Those who wish to give the method a bad name say that town control is "centralization." But there is no centralization like that of an irresponsible and incompetent trustee. If the schools are managed in a small and narrow way, there is a despotism under which the children suffer. The town system is a relief and escape from centralization; it imposes duties on a body of men capable of performing them. . . .

Schools managed as town institutions are of sufficient importance to secure interested care. . . . Schools, because remote, do not escape notice, and because small are not treated with contempt. They cannot become the schools of the committee or of the teacher, the football year after year, of petty and unworthy interests. . . . The town system tends to give life to every part of the school work. A standard of excellence can be set up and maintained. . . . A body of teachers can be organized whose competency is certain, and who work with ambition

because they feel the stimulus of a high standard and a wise oversight. — SECRETARY HINE, of Connecticut.

A return to the district system now would require something more than a mere majority vote in town meeting. Such a vote would simply restore the old district lines and re-create some five hundred little, useless, worse than worthless schools which have disappeared under the town system. This would decrease the average length of term of the schools of the State some four weeks. . . . Either this must happen or the towns must consent to increase their taxes so as to maintain five hundred schoolhouses, five hundred teachers, and all of the attendant expenses, not demanded by any interest of education. — SUPERINTENDENT PATTERSON, of New Hampshire.

A larger unit than the towns needed. With the development of modern methods of transacting business and modern means of transportation, as well as modern educational needs, the demand for some larger unit than the town has made itself felt in many ways, and has in part been answered. Despite the many advantages of the town over the district, the town is in turn to-day too small for administrative purposes, and as the need for a larger unit has come to be felt the tendency has been, either to unite the towns into unions for special purposes, or, the State being small, to pass at once to the State as the next administrative unit. The county as a unit for school administration, being unsuited to New England needs, has nowhere been revived.[1] Figure 30, given on the following page, shows how the needs of modern public service have forced unions of the towns of the Boston district for a number of purposes, and these same needs have been felt elsewhere in a number of ways.

For school affairs, however, the towns have tended to remain separate and distinct. In the matter of school supervision, though, the State has insisted that each town must either employ

[1] Although counties were created as judicial districts in Massachusetts, as early as 1649, and some small additions have been made to the functions of the counties since that time, the whole of the early New England life tended to develop the town, rather than the county, and the county there has never attained any prominence as an administrative unit. In the early period of our history the individualism of the towns was too strong to permit of county supervision, and even state control was weak. Vermont created the office of county superintendent of schools in 1845, but abolished it in 1849; New Hampshire created the office of county commissioner of schools in 1850, but abolished it in 1867; and Maine did the same in 1869, but discontinued the office in 1872. The office of county superintendent of schools does not exist to-day in New England, and the county there has almost no educational significance. Only for a few such purposes as the maintenance of county schools of agriculture, or county training schools for habitual truants and school offenders, do we find the county used as a unit for educational purposes in the New England States.

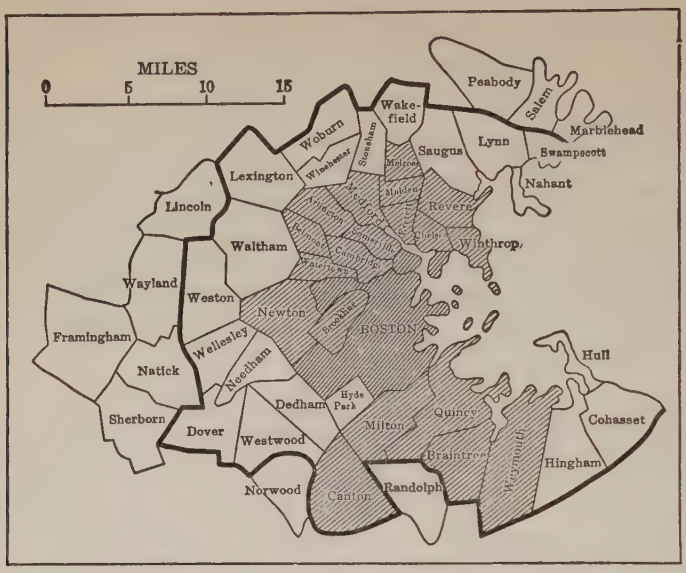


FIG. 30. SHOWING TOWNS FORMING THE BOSTON DISTRICT

All of the towns shown, except the three south-coast towns of Hull, Cohasset, and Hingham, comprise the Boston Industrial District.

All of the towns included within the heavy black line are a part of the Boston Metropolitan Park, Water, and Sewer Districts.

The towns which are shaded comprise the Boston Postal District.

Each town, though, is a separate school district, although a few of the smaller outlying towns have recently been united for supervision only.

a superintendent of schools itself, or unite with one or more towns in so doing. This requirement has resulted in the formation of a number of superintendency unions,[1] mostly of contiguous towns, but sometimes of towns that are not contiguous. In various other matters of school control, such as the certification of teachers and the defining of standards, the tendency has been to pass directly from the towns to the State.

Defects of the town system. While the town in New England, especially the larger town, forms a satisfactory community unit for local school organization and administration, the unit is after all too small for many educational purposes. It is often too small

[1] The State of Massachusetts is composed of 14 counties, divided into 355 cities and towns. Of these 355 cities and towns, 107 employ a superintendent of schools without union with any other city or town, and the remaining 248 are grouped into 77 superintendency unions, with from 20 to 55 teachers under each union superintendent. The maximum number of teachers for a supervisory union is supposed to be 50, and the unions usually contain from 2 to 4 towns, the average being 3+ towns per union.

for high school maintenance, although this weakness has been remedied in part by requiring every town not maintaining a high school to send its children to some neighboring high school and pay for their tuition there. In school supervision it has been relieved by the requirement of supervisory unions. It is in matters of taxation for education that the most conspicuous failure of the town system is seen. The inequalities in wealth behind each pupil to be educated or each teacher to be maintained in the different towns are very large. There are several "rich towns" in each State, and many very poor ones. The situation for the poor towns, too, is gradually growing worse, with no prospect of

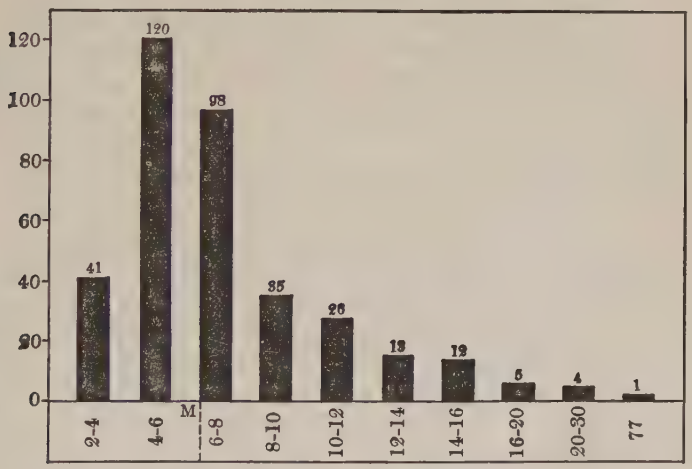


FIG. 31. INEQUALITIES IN WEALTH IN MASSACHUSETTS CITIES AND TOWNS

Showing, for 355 Massachusetts cities and towns, the distribution of wealth behind each child in average daily attendance in the schools. The extremes ranged from $2000 to $77,000 per child, with the median at $6250. (Data from Swift's study.)

ever improving.[1] Still the system does have the merit, not usually possessed by the township system to the westward, of equalizing taxation for common advantages within the town and of providing common educational advantages there.

[1] In nearly every New England State one can find poor towns which have virtually taxed themselves to death in an effort to maintain schools and government. The unit for taxation being so small, the wealth has been able to move away, and has done so.

2. THE TOWNSHIP SYSTEM

The township as a school unit. When we pass from the consideration of the New England town system of school administration to the township system, as found in the north central group of States, we find some interesting contrasts. As was said in an earlier chapter, the western Congressional township was a unit which the New Englander, moving to the Northwest Territory, at once adapted to his form of government. One of the adaptations he made, early in our educational history, was to engraft the Massachusetts district school system upon it. This addition the people of these States have since found themselves very loath to give up, though almost every condition that once made the district system desirable has now passed away. In consequence, in many cases the so-called township system is usually a mixture of township and district system and not a simple single administrative system at all, as is the town system of New England.

Not all the States which employ the township as a unit for some form of civil government, such as road repairs, election precincts, or judicial districts, use the township also as a unit for school organization and control. In fact, only a few States use the township as a unit for school control, as may be seen from the map on the opposite page. Except in the level regions to the north of the terminal glacial moraine, the rectangular congressional township as a unit for school purposes has made no headway. Bearing as it does no relation to geographic features or natural community boundaries, this rectangular form of township has militated against its adoption as a unit elsewhere,[1] and somewhat even in the States north of the terminal moraine where its use has at some time been made optional or required. The tendency to-day is to abandon it as a unit for school administration.[2]

[1] Northern men going to the South, after the Civil War, attempted to provide for township government in the reconstructed Southern States, but the result was unsatisfactory and the Southern people soon got rid of it and returned to the county as their unit of government. The township system was introduced in the organization of West Virginia, in 1863; in the reorganization of Maryland, in 1864; North Carolina and Alabama, in 1868; and Virginia, in 1870; but by 1874 it had been abolished in Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia. It is but little used in North Carolina, and has been abolished in Alabama.

[2] The so-called townships of New Jersey and Pennsylvania are not rectangular in shape, but irregular, like a New England town, and represent a form of the town system of school administration. New York also has irregular-shaped towns, as in Massachusetts, but efforts to substitute the town system for the district system there have so far proved unsuccessful.

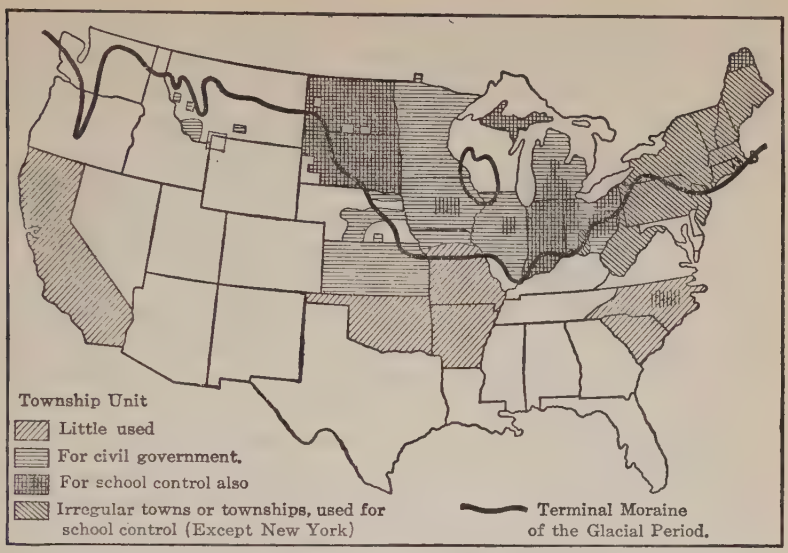

Township Unit
Little used
For civil government.
For school control also
Irregular towns or townships, used for school control (Except New York)
Terminal Moraine of the Glacial Period.

FIG. 32. USE OF THE TOWNSHIP SYSTEM FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The township system in its pure form, like the town system of New England, makes the township the unit for administration in school affairs. In place of the many district boards of school trustees, or directors, a single board of township trustees, or one trustee, manages the school affairs of the entire township. There are, however, relatively few examples of the pure form of township control in the States to the westward, due to survivals of the district system in these States. One finds the best examples of township control in Indiana, where the one township trustee, who looks after roads, bridges, and poor-relief, also is in charge of the schools. Excepting in the case of incorporated cities and towns having a separate organization, of which there are many, he alone manages the educational affairs of the entire township, acting, for school purposes, both as clerk and as treasurer of the school township. As school trustee he builds and repairs schoolhouses, consolidates schools, employs teachers, pays all bills and salaries, has control of any 16th Section lands, and in general manages the schools of his township much as a town school committee would handle the affairs of a New England town. One finds permissive clauses in the laws of some of the district-system States in the Upper Mississippi Valley authorizing township consolidation, but few cases in any State where the districts have been abolished and

a pure township form of school control has been substituted in their stead. Even in the township and borough school systems of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, where the so-called townships are irregular in size and outline, like a New England town, the township organization is often not a pure township control.

Differences from the New England town. One marked difference between western township organization and the New England town organization is the survival to the westward of the district system within the township. In Illinois the district system continues in strength, though a form of township boundary and financial control has been superimposed over it.[1] Although the township system was instituted by Iowa in 1854, it has been so broken down by the creation of subdistricts within the township, with subdistrict directors, that this State has practically returned to the ranks of a district-system State. The worst features of the old ward system in city school administration are to be found in the Iowa type of township school control.[2] In some of the other States the township control is only a tax-certifying, district-boundary, and school-reporting control, while the district system flourishes beneath it.

A second difference, and a very important one at that, is that everywhere to the westward one finds independent and segregated districts within the township organization. Under this plan villages, towns, and cities segregate themselves from the township organization, both educationally and financially, leaving the rural portions of the township to provide such schools as they can by taxing only the rural property. The reasons for such segregation, as we shall point out later on (Chapter XVI), are largely financial, and the institution of an adequate system of school finance would do much to eliminate the desire for such independ-

[1] Illinois represents the merest beginnings of a township system, where a very mild form of township control has been placed over the district system. This State is divided into 102 counties, and these in turn into 1882 townships. The people there elect 102 county superintendents of schools, 1882 township treasurers, and a township schoolboard of three members (5646 in all), to help the district trustees manage the schools in the approximately 12,000 school districts into which the State is divided. The boards of district school directors, of three members each, still retain large powers and virtually control the schools. The township treasurer handles the moneys, and keeps the accounts of all districts in the township. The boards of school trustees for the townships elect the treasurer, and are largely a district boundary board, with a few other powers.

[2] In Iowa the township school board is composed of the subdistrict directors, on the New York representative plan, and the township board may, and usually does, delegate to each subdistrict director the power to select a teacher for his school and to buy supplies for it. This form of Senatorial courtesy virtually produces a district system in the townships.

ence. The result, however, is to destroy township unity at its most vital point. In Iowa, for example, the independent district system has been carried to a great extreme.

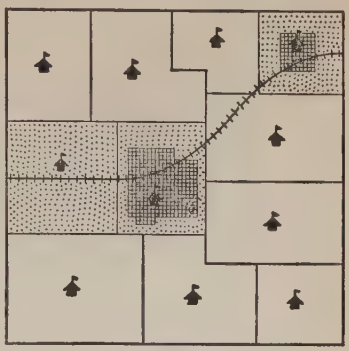


FIG. 33. INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Common in all township-system States, but especially typical of Iowa. A town, a village, and a rural subdistrict, all having a railroad to tax, and hence the necessary valuation, have here been permitted to segregate themselves and withdraw from the township organization.

Another difference between the western form of township control and the New England town system is the presence everywhere to the westward of a County Superintendent of Schools, who also exercises some small control over both the townships and the districts. To him the law has in time passed upward a number of functions, such as the examining and certificating of teachers, the approval of purchases, and the supervision of instruction — all of which used to be exercised by the district authorities. We thus find, in a number of States, a district or subdistrict organization, a township organization, and a county school officer, all working at the same problem, and with an unnecessary multiplication of school offices, clerical service, waste, inefficiency, and lack of ability to concentrate energies and make proper progress as the natural result. All that is done by so many working at the same problem could be done more easily, better, cheaper, and faster if the officials required were greatly reduced in number and their powers and duties given to the officers of larger administrative units. Such a change, though, seems very hard to secure.[1]

Concerning the matter of inefficient administration and duplication of effort, the Indiana Educational Commission recently said:[2]

What does Indiana pay for its inefficient (township) trustee system?

[1] The Illinois Educational Commission, in 1909, recommended the abolition of the district system and a transfer of the powers and duties of the district directors to the township board or to the county superintendent of schools, but eighty-five years of use of the district system had created enough of the "inertia of conservatism" that the change was not approved by the Legislature. (See *Final Report Illinois Educational Commission*, p. 142.) The Indiana Educational Commission, of 1921–22, similarly recommended a change from the township to the county unit, but the Legislature the following winter refused to approve the change.

[2] *Public Education in Indiana*, pp. 142–43, 148. Report of the Educational Survey Commission, 1923.

The total annual direct cost, including the salaries of trustees, clerk hire, traveling, and other expenses, is about $1,000,000. On the basis of the relation between school expenditures and all other township expenditures, $850,000 of this annual direct expense should be charged against the schools.

What the indirect money cost of the township trustee system is cannot be precisely determined, but it must be large. In considering the indirect cost of the trustee system, it must be remembered that every four years Indiana turns over practically one half of its rural schools, and within an eight-year period all of them, to men inexperienced in school affairs. These 1017 trustees, mostly unfamiliar with modern schoolhouse requirements, controlled the expenditure of $2,420,222 (1920-21) on new buildings and permanent improvements. They built new consolidated schools costing in some cases as much as $150,000 or more. Yet the law forbids these selfsame men to build a bridge or a culvert costing over $100!

In 1920–21 the 1017 trustees bought, necessarily in small lots, about $6,000,000 worth of school equipment, supplies, and fuel. At what extra cost this large sum was expended on small-lot purchases no one can tell.

But the greatest indirect cost of the township trustee system is not waste on new buildings and permanent improvements, nor waste on school equipment and supplies, but waste in the employment of teachers. In the expenditure of $9,566,048 (1920–21) for teachers, the personal bias and the political ambitions of 1017 trustees find play. Rural school principals and teachers are frequently employed and their salaries fixed without regard to their preparation, or to the service they render. Thousands of ill-prepared and inexperienced teachers are annually paid more than they are worth.

The only way to correct the defects of the township trustee system is to abolish the township as the local unit. It is too small a unit to serve as an adequate and efficient basis of rural school organization.

To make way for desired educational developments, the citizens of Indiana, in 1852, realized that they must think beyond district lines. If there is to be a statesmanship and businesslike efficiency in the organization and management of rural schools, continuity of policy and plan, uniformly modern schools, properly located, administered and supervised — and this at a reasonable cost — the citizens of 1922 must think beyond township lines and accept the county as the local rural school unit.

Advantages of the township system. The advantages of the use of the township as a unit for school administration, over the district unit, where a pure township form can be obtained, are much the same as were set forth for the New England town. Where the township can be made the financial as well as the educational unit, an equalization of costs and of opportunity results throughout the township, and furthermore better conditions generally obtain as to teachers, terms, buildings, and equipment.

Conditions will be tolerated under district control which would be abolished under town or township control. A township high school is possible at once, without the long wait to secure separate district action. The township board or trustee, being selected from a wider area, is almost certain to be more progressive and businesslike than the average board of district directors. A continuous and larger-scale business policy may be introduced, and a great saving in time, energy, printed forms, postage, and friction may be effected. Unnecessary duplication of schools may be prevented, and weak and small schools may be combined. The community wear and tear caused by petty jealousies, boundary disputes, transfers of pupils, district-meeting quarrels, and election fights may be obviated. Much of the time and energy the county superintendent now wastes in securing and correcting official reports, harmonizing district differences, straightening out district accounts, and instructing unintelligent and negligent trustees as to their duties may be saved and devoted to the supervision of instruction. Longer terms, better salaries, improved educational facilities, and more intelligent control attract and retain superior teachers for the schools.

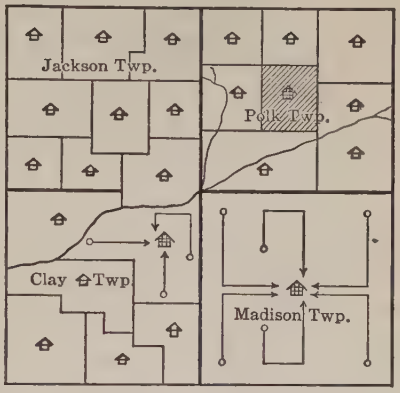


FIG. 34. FOUR TOWNSHIPS UNDER THE INDIANA PLAN

JACKSON. Nine rural schools; no high-school facilities. Attendance-districts shown. Because of river, small portion of Clay Township annexed, for school purposes. One township trustee in charge of all schools.

POLK. A segregated central town school, independent of the township organization. High-school facilities provided by contract with the town.

CLAY. Six rural schools, one of which is larger, on account of a partial consolidation of schools.

MADISON. Full township consolidation, with central graded school and high school, and full transportation.

In discussing the advantages of the township system for school control, the Illinois Educational Commission gave the following summary: [1]

By economy we mean not only a saving of money, but a saving of

[1] *A Tentative Plan for Making the Township the Unit for School Organization.* Bulletin No. 4, Illinois Educational Commission, pp. 33–34. Springfield, 1908. 47 pp. Also in the *Final Report* of the Commission.

time and energy as well. A system which reduces the number of school-buildings, school officers, and school teachers to the actual needs of the township — in a word, which systematizes educational effort — must necessarily be less expensive for the same services than the system under which expenses and efforts are unnecessarily duplicated. The economy of relatively large units of organization is no longer a matter of doubt. The efficiency of the schools remaining the same, the township system must necessarily be somewhat less expensive than the district system.

If, then, it is found in any particular case that the schools actually cost more than under the district system, it must be due to the fact that the school facilities are better, school terms longer, and school teachers receive a higher wage. It is almost impossible to institute a fair comparison for the reason that under the township system invariably the efficiency of the schools is increased. Economy is not determined by a comparison of amounts actually spent, but by a comparison of results actually achieved by the same amount of expenditures. Differences in administrative efficiency and in educational results must always be taken into consideration. Moreover, the equalization of tax-rate in a township, which would obtain under a township system, must necessarily raise the rate in some districts and lower it in others. A district which pays little or nothing for schools could hardly expect any system of organization adopted with the expectation of increasing the efficiency of the schools of the State to diminish its own rate of taxation. No sort of juggling with tax-rates, however, can obscure these facts, that the township system, the efficiency of the schools remaining the same, is less expensive than the district system, and that it is, from the viewpoint of the welfare of the State and the children of the State, far superior to the district system. The financial phase of this question, then, while it is important, is not the most important phase of it. What are the relative educational effects produced by the two systems? That is the important question. The great superiority of the township system rests upon educational grounds, rather than upon financial grounds.

Objections to, and future of the township system. If the choice of the unit for school organization and administration is limited to choosing between the district system and the township system, there can be but one choice if efficiency in administration is the aim. There are, however, other choices which are more desirable than either.

Thirty to forty years ago nearly all movements for a larger unit of school organization and administration than the school district looked toward the township as a unit. There was much discussion of this unit then,[1] and some legislation was secured looking to its

[1] See in particular: *Report Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools*, N.E.A., 1897; *Report Connecticut State Board of Education*, 1894–95, pp. 261–72; *Reports State*

substitution for the district system. Nevertheless, the township, although used as an administrative unit for some other purposes in government, such as elections, judicial districts, road repairs, poor-relief, and jury duty, has never made much headway as a unit for school organization and control, and within the past twenty years its consideration as a possible unit has largely been given up.[1] The reason is that a good unit for school organization must be one that adapts itself to natural community boundaries and interests, and this the rectangular Congressional township seldom does. Sometimes it is too large, sometimes it is too small (see Fig. 44, page 254), and seldom do its straight lines follow natural community boundaries. So great has been the change, too, in our ease of communication since 1900, so great has been the expansion in scale of our business undertakings, and so rapidly has the scope of modern education expanded, that units which seemed large enough a quarter-century ago seem small to-day. In road-making, bridge-building, traffic control, poor-relief, water and light service, taxation, and in a dozen other matters of public concern the tendency of the past quarter-century has been clearly toward larger units for administration — usually the county — in the interests of efficient management.

With the development of more effective county school administration to supplement township control, it is probable that the township as a unit for school administration, while it may for a time continue to render service in States where it is now in use, is not likely to be given any serious consideration by States not now using it. Even in township-unit States the future is likely to witness a gradual transference of functions from the township to the county educational authorities, and the gradual substitution of a county-unit type[2] of administrative organization for both the district and the township forms of school control. Only in the New England States, and possibly in New York, Pennsylvania,

Board of Education and Superintendent of Public Instruction, New Jersey, 1892, pp. 42–43; 1894, Appendix, pp. iii-xi, and xiii–lv. *Final Report Illinois Educational Commission*, 1909, pp. 120–35.

[1] An exception is found in the case of New York State, which made the township the unit, in 1917, after years under the district system, but the reform was short-lived as it was revoked by the Legislature of 1918, and the State returned to the district system. Yet at the time of the change, out of 8430 one-room schools in the State, 3580 had ten or less children in average daily attendance, and 856 had an average daily attendance of from one to five children.

[2] The recent *Report of the Indiana Educational Commission* (1923) recommended a substitution of the county-unit form of organization for the township form. A new school code for South Dakota, a decade earlier, had proposed the same change for that State, after thirty years of effort to introduce the township unit.

and New Jersey, where the township is irregular in size and shape,[1] population more dense than to the westward, and smaller units of administration more in keeping with the thinking and traditions of the people than to the west of the Alleghany Mountains, are we likely to witness the successful use of the town or township unit. Even in these States the tendency is clearly toward the State as the ultimate unit for school administration. All that the town or township unit has to offer for school administration can be secured under other and better forms of organization, as we shall point out in the chapters which follow.

3. THE COMMUNITY DISTRICT

What is here proposed. This type of local organization for school control, which has recently been proposed as an intermediate substitute in a few of our States, is an attempt to secure a larger unit for school organization than the school district, and one that will be more adaptable to natural community lines than is the rectangular township, and without passing to the larger county unit. It might even be regarded as a suggested means for avoiding the usual opposition of county school superintendents to the institution of the county unit. The old union free-school districts of New York State, formed originally by communities that desired to provide free education for their children and in that way avoid the rate bill,[2] and the consolidated school districts formed here and there in many of our States, are examples of community districts. The New England town (see Fig. 29, p. 187) is also often a natural community center.

Recently state school laws have attempted to provide for the formation of community districts by authorizing them in the law. Illinois may be taken as a type. There the school law definitely provides that when twenty per cent of the legal voters of "any compact and contiguous territory bounded by school district lines" shall present a petition to the county superintendent of schools, asking that the question of organizing "a com-

[1] West Virginia also employs, in its magisterial districts, what might be accepted as a form of the township unit. Each county is divided into a small number (3 to 10, with 6 or 7 most common) of irregular administrative divisions, called "magisterial districts," with an elected board of education of three, which has charge of the schools of the magisterial district, under the supervision of a county superintendent of schools.

[2] A tax levied on the parents of the children attending school, and pro rata. See the author's *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 140–52, for a history of the rate bill in New York.

munity consolidated school district" be submitted to a vote, it becomes the duty of this official to call a special school election for the purpose of deciding the question, and a favorable majority vote at the election organizes the community district. Such districts in Illinois then pass under the town and city school law, and are governed by a board of education of seven, elected as city school boards are elected. A number of community consolidated schools have been created in the State in recent years under this community school district provision, although the strength of the district system there makes such organizations somewhat difficult to form.

The New York proposal. The community district idea has recently been proposed as an intermediate substitute, and instead of either the township or the county unit, by the joint committee on rural schools for the State of New York.[1] The importance of the study of rural education in New York State made by this committee, and the character of its report, call for more than a mere passing mention of its proposal. The New York report proposes the organization of all the rural territory of the State into a number of community school districts, by a grouping of the existing school districts, as follows:

> The determination of the districts which shall be part of the territory of the community board of education (to be composed of one trustee elected by each school district forming the community union) should be made along the following lines: All those districts shall be represented on the community board of education which are related by lines of transportation, trade, and social relations. School districts are grouped around some town or railroad center. The roads lead into this center. Thither the people go because of their social and industrial relations. There are the store and the post office. In this center of population is the natural location of the high school. (Page 198.)

The community boundaries are to be determined by a commission of five, to be appointed by the county boards of supervisors, from people living in the rural districts, with appeal from their decision to a state boundary board. Provision is made whereby each community board may later reduce its number, or become a small board elected at large. The community district is to be the unit for local school taxation. High school advantages must be provided or arranged for by the community board, and

[1] *Rural School Survey of New York State*, summary Volume, chapter XII. Ithaca, 1924.

many of the functions of school control are to be transferred from the district school boards (which continue to function, however) to these community district boards. Professional supervision is to be by the district superintendent, an official who in New York State corresponds to a county superintendent of schools elsewhere.

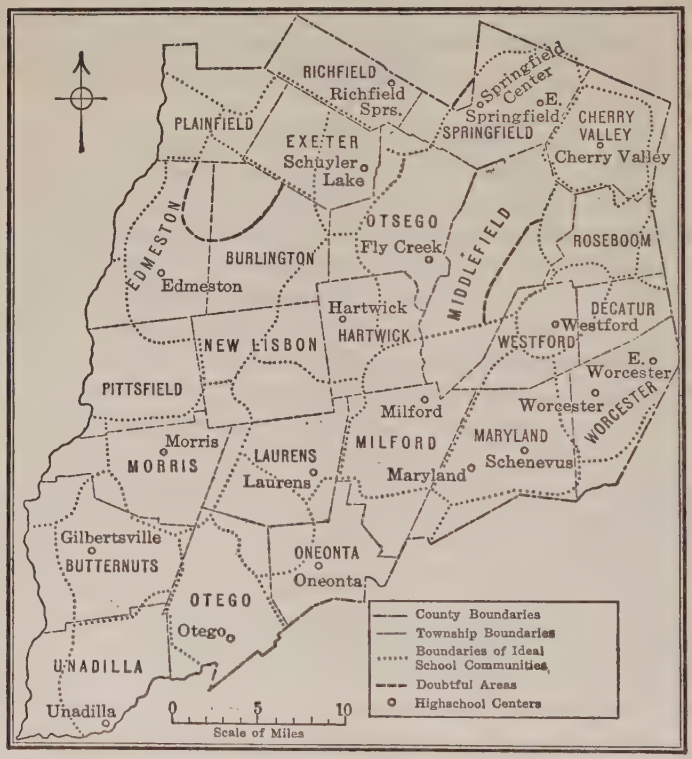


FIG. 35. COMMUNITY-DISTRICT FORM OF ORGANIZATION
(After Works. Map of Otsego County, New York, showing proposed plan.)

The intent here is clearly to obtain some of the advantages of the town and county-unit organizations, without either giving up the district system or attempting to pass to full county-unit control.[1] In its administrative features it would correspond some-

[1] See *Educational Review* for November, 1922 (vol. 64, pp. 338–44) for a keen review of the Report of the New York Rural School Survey. The writer thinks that the community-district solution proposed is far from ideal, and but little change from the existing district system.

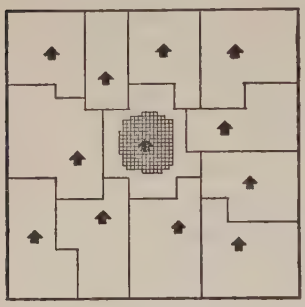
what to the combined county, township, and subdistrict system of Iowa. Such concessions to the strength of the district system, which has been in use in New York since 1812, may be necessary in so conservative a State, but the same and better educational advantages, and the same adaptation to natural community boundaries, can ordinarily be secured in improved form and more rapidly by passing at once to a county-unit plan for educational organization and administration, as will be shown in the following chapter. Any form of community district organization, to be effective, calls for a still larger organizing and supervising unit over it, and this some form of the county unit almost alone provides in States of normal size. In a small State, such as Delaware, the State forms the more natural unit for unified supervision and control, and in such a State a combined community and state unit might well be the eventual result.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the most striking difference between the town system of New England and the township system of the North Central States? To what extent is this difference a vital one?
2. What peculiar advantages does a New England town possess in the matter of boundaries? Are these advantages as marked to-day as they were fifty or even twenty-five years ago? Why?
3. Why is the township unit unlikely to make any headway in the States of the western group?
4. Why should a township school board be elected from the township at large, rather than be constituted by subdistrict representation?
5. Would the summary of advantages of the township unit (page 196) be equally valid for a still larger unit than the township, such as the county?
6. Enumerate the changes and the forces which have served, within the past quarter-century, to make the township too small a unit for efficient administration:
   (*a*) Political, industrial, social, and commercial changes.
   (*b*) Changes in the character of education itself.
7. Enumerate the points of strength and weakness of the proposed New York State community unit.
8. Show how the community district, except for high-school purposes, is an intermediate step in thinking in the way from district to county organization.
9. Show how the building-up of a large number of large community units in a State such as Illinois would tend to make the State the natural supervising unit, at the expense of county organization and government.
10. How does the community school district, as found in Illinois or Washington, differ from a consolidated school district as found in Colorado or Iowa?

PROBLEMS

1. The adjoining diagram represents a school township under the Iowa plan. The township had a school census of 550, was assessed for $380,000, and managed its 12 schools under the township plan. A rate of 20 mills on the property of the township last year, together with state and county funds, which were received on a per capita census basis, and which equaled 10 per cent of the whole cost of the schools, gave the township an average of $603 per teacher for maintenance for each of the 14 teachers employed in the township during the year.



The central subdistrict, containing the town, with an assessed valuation of $125,000 and a school census of 225, and employing 3 teachers, now withdraws and establishes itself as an independent district, and becomes financially and educationally independent. What effect will this step have on the tax-rates in:

(*a*) The new independent district?

(*b*) The part of the township remaining, if the same average cost per teacher employed be maintained?

2. A Michigan township maintained 9 schools under the district plan, each employing 1 teacher. The valuation, local tax-rate, and amount produced were as follows:

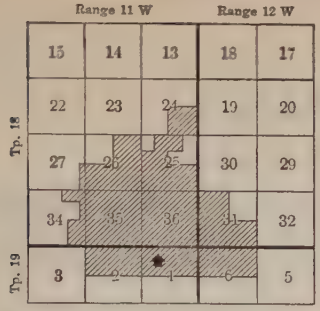
District	Valuation	Tax-Rate	Produced
1	$119,040.	.0048	$571.20
2	78,970.	.0030	237.00
3	69,860.	.0062	433.00
4	86,480.	.0044	380.00
5	59,750.	.0054	322.00
6	54,380.	.0047	255.55
7	53,760.	.0058	311.80
8	36,630.	.0102	373.60
9	51,030.	.0078	398.00

If the schools had been operated under the township plan, what rate of tax would have:

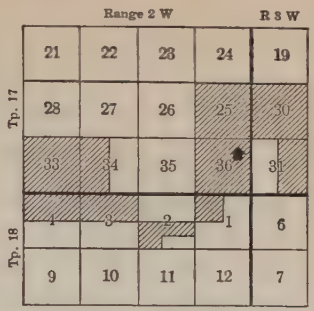
(*a*) Produced the same total amount of money for the schools?

(*b*) Produced a sum of $350 for each school maintained?

3. Assuming that Kansas had received its 16th section land grants for schools on the basis of the Ohio-type of grants (page 22), how would the money have been distributed in the two Kansas districts shown in the drawing given on the opposite page?



RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 22
LYON COUNTY, KANSAS



RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 91
MARION COUNTY, KANSAS

(From the *Report of the State Code Commission of Kansas*, 1922.) Given as examples of lack of conformity to township lines, and lack of intelligent planning of either boundary lines or schoolhouse locations.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. History, plan, and working of the union supervision law in Massachusetts. (See especially *Reports Massachusetts State Board of Education.*)
2. The advantages of the township unit as they were seen about 1890, compared with to-day, and reasons for the change in the point of view. (See especially the *State School Reports* for Connecticut, and New Jersey, and the *National Education Association Proceedings* and special reports.)
3. Legal provisions for, and results of the special segregated or independent school district.
4. The community school district, as found in Illinois or Washington.

SELECTED REFERENCES

1. *Reports of Educational Commissions*

Illinois. *Final Report of the Illinois Educational Commission.*
Pages 109–15 describe the township system, as it existed in Illinois, and state the advantages of it and the objections to it.

Indiana. *Public Education in Indiana* (Survey Commission Report).
Chapters VIII and XI deal with the township system, and set forth its shortcomings.

New York. *Rural School Survey of New York State; Summary Volume.* Ithaca, 1922.
Chapter XII describes the local administration and the proposed community unit.

New York. Same; *Administration and Supervision Volume.* Ithaca, 1923.
Chapter XXXIII describes the proposed community unit at greater length.

Rogers, Lester B. *A Comparative Study of the Township, District, Consolidated, Town, and City Schools of Indiana.* 210 pp. Menasha, Wisc., 1915.

CHAPTER IX

THE COUNTY SYSTEM

All our American States are divided into counties, and because of the use of the county as the administrative unit for so many other purposes it offers a natural unit, outside of New England, for use in school administration as well. Its larger size and greater adaptability present many advantages for such a purpose. It will be the intent of this chapter to point out its present and possible future use as a unit for educational administration.

Area and population of our counties. The county is largest in the West, but in some Western States the counties have not yet

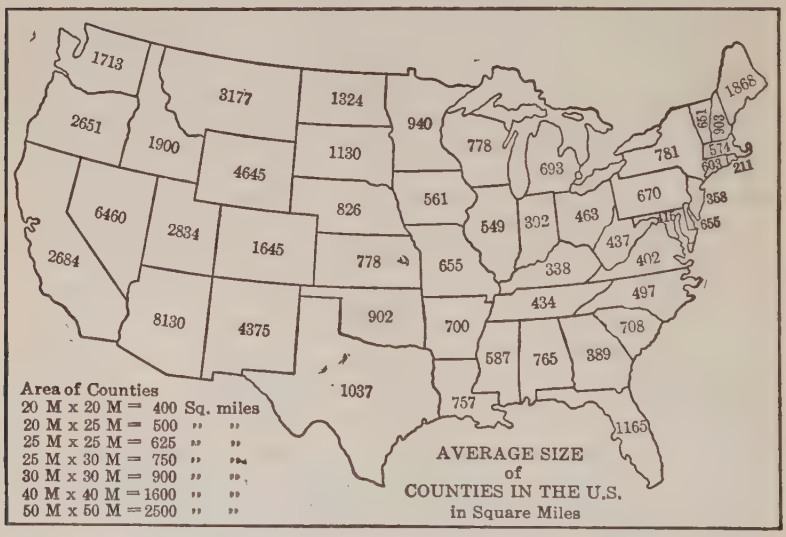


Fig. 36. Average Size and Area of Counties in the United States

been subdivided sufficiently to have become fixed in size. As population increases, further subdivision probably will take place, which will increase the number and decrease the average size of these western counties. East of the Colorado–Kansas line, where from 400 to 900 square miles is the common size, the counties may be regarded as having reached a somewhat final form. This area, 20 to 30 miles square, is small enough, under modern conditions

of communication, to permit the use of the county as the unit for school administration if a proper county organization is perfected, a sufficient supervisory force of the right type is provided, and modern business methods are employed.

The population of the different counties varies much, naturally being larger in the older and more settled States. Population, however, is not an important factor in considering the possibility of the employment of the county as a school unit, as cities within counties are usually organized separately and are under separate supervision and control. The real basis for estimating the size of a county educationally is rather the number of teachers who must be employed in the county, outside of the towns and cities having local superintendents of schools. Frequently this number is largest in those counties which have no large cities within them, and hence have a relatively small population.

Beginnings of county control. As education with us began to evolve into a state interest, the need for some form of oversight of the local district school authorities became evident. The gifts of the school-land sections by the National Government; the increasing need for some statistical knowledge as to existing educational conditions; the need of some official representative to stimulate an interest in schools, and to urge their establishment; and the need of some form of supervision of the numerous district officers in the counties — all alike tended to evolve either a county school officer or a county educational board, or both. To these, once evolved, we have gradually transferred many functions formerly exercised by the district and township school authorities. In the Northern and Western States the county school officer usually came first, and county boards have been established later,[1] while in the Southern States the county board usually preceded the county school official.[2] With the increase in the amount and importance of the county educational business, both have now become a necessary part of a properly organized plan for county school administration. We shall first consider each of these, in order, and then pass to a discussion of the county-unit organization for purposes of school control.

[1] Indiana — superintendent, 1873, county board, 1877; California — superintendent, 1852, county board, 1879; Wisconsin — superintendent, 1861, county board, 1913.

[2] Delaware — county board, 1829, superintendent, 1887; Virginia — county board, 1818, superintendent, 1870; Tennessee — county board, 1830, superintendent, 1867; Mississippi — county board, 1821, superintendent, 1870; Maryland — county board, 1826, superintendent, 1865.

1. THE COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

Evolution of. A county school officer, to look after the educational interests in each county, and known by the title of county superintendent of schools, county superintendent of education, county superintendent of public instruction, or county school commissioner, is a characteristic feature of our American state school systems, being found in all but eight States.[1] He and his functions have been an evolution, arising out of an increasing state need for oversight and control. In a few States the office was evolved out of the township superintendency which preceded it;[2] in still others it was evolved out of the office of school land commissioner, or out of some other county office;[3] and in still other States the office was evolved out of the board of county commissioners, sometimes from within the board from the position of chairman,[4] and sometimes from without the board by the appointment of some person by it to act as its executive officer.[5] In a number of States the office was established, abolished, and later re-created. The office first began about 1830, became common by

[1] The six New England States, Delaware, and Nevada. See map, page 169.

[2] In New York, township superintendents were created in 1812; while county superintendents were first provided for in 1841. Michigan provided for township inspectors in 1837; county superintendents in 1867; returned to township inspectors in 1875; established the county board of examiners in 1881; and reëstablished the county superintendency in 1891. In New Jersey township superintendents were established in 1846; but county superintendents not until 1867. Minnesota provided for township superintendents in 1851; for a consolidation of supervision under one or more county superintendents in 1867; and for a single county superintendent in 1877. Wisconsin provided for township superintendents in 1861; and for county superintendents in 1862.

[3] In Indiana, a county school commissioner was created in 1835; in 1841 the county auditor was made *ex-officio* a school official; in 1853 the duties were transferred to a newly created county examiner of teachers; and in 1873 the office of county superintendent of schools was created.

In Illinois, the office of county school-land commissioner was created in 1835; in 1845 this official was given some educational duties, and called an *ex-officio* superintendent; and in 1855 the county superintendency was created.

In Ohio, the county auditor was made *ex-officio* a county school official in 1839; in 1847 the county superintendency was created for nineteen specified counties; and in 1853 the office was made general for the whole State.

In California, the county recorder was directed to look after school interests in 1851; in 1852 the duties were transferred to the county assessor; and in 1855 the county superintendent of public instruction was created.

In Florida, Arkansas, Idaho, and Arizona, the probate judge has acted, during the period of evolution; and in Nevada, the county attorney for a long period.

[4] In Iowa, for example, the chairman of the board of school fund commissioners acted, *ex officio*, from 1847 to 1858, when the office of county superintendent of schools was created. In Delaware, the chairman of the board of county commissioners acted from 1829 until the beginning of the Civil War, the county superintendency not being established until 1887.

[5] This has been the case in some of the Southern States, as, for example, Georgia and Louisiana.

1860, and may be said to have become definitely established by about 1880.

Early duties. In the States which received grants of school lands it was usually the duty of this new officer to look after the sale and preservation of these lands, and to prevent misappropriation of the proceeds. Everywhere he was given statistical and clerical duties to perform, and his duties were for long very similar to those of a county clerk, auditor, or recorder. It was made his business to record and to approve changes in district boundary lines; to apportion the income from school lands and funds, and the proceeds of taxation; to settle disputes in and between the different districts; to oversee the accounts of the school district officers;[1] to require statistical reports from them; and to compile statistical and financial reports to be forwarded to the state school authorities.

He was essentially an official to represent the county and the State, as distinct from the district authorities on the one hand and the teachers on the other; his creation in the North came at a time when manhood suffrage for all had only recently been attained, and when a belief in the wisdom of the people as expressed in the ballot was at a maximum; the appointive city superintendent of schools had as yet been evolved in but few places,[2] while the analogy of his position to that of other county officials was obvious; and election by the people, for short terms, seemed the only natural basis of selection. Only in those States where he had evolved as the appointed executive officer of a representative county board was any other method followed. The elective method, once begun, has been followed by the new States to the westward; was carried into some of the Southern States by northern influence after the Civil War; and still remains to-day the most common method of selection. The map on page 210 shows the States in which the county superintendency or its equivalent exists, the method of securing the officer, and the term for which he is elected or appointed.

[1] For example, Indiana created the office of county superintendent of schools, in 1873, and one of the duties assigned to the office was the examination of the records of officers who handled the school moneys. In the first *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, after the passage of the law, it was reported that the county superintendents, in 77 of the 92 counties, had saved $52,472 of the delinquent money for the school fund. — Rawles, W. A., *Centralizing Tendencies in the Administration of Indiana.*

[2] The first city superintendent of schools appointed in the United States was at Buffalo, in 1837, and but 29 in all had been appointed by 1870. For list of cities and dates, see the author's *Public School Administration*, page 58

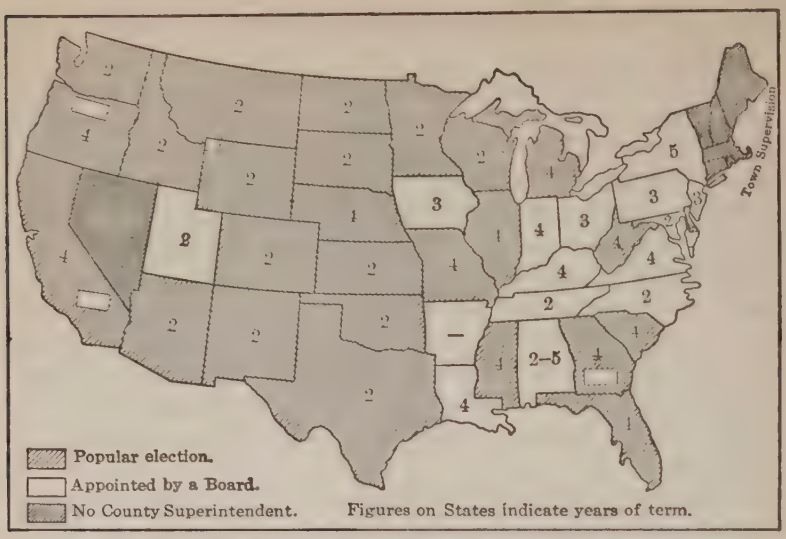


FIG. 37. METHOD USED FOR SECURING THE COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT, AND TERM

Growth in powers. That the superintendent might know the schools at first hand, and know something of the educational conditions existing in his county, a requirement that he must visit each school in his county once each year was early inserted in the laws. After the office had become established, powers previously exercised by the district or township authorities were slowly but gradually transferred to the county office. This practice has become much more marked in some States than in others, but has taken place to a certain extent in all. Among the first of the powers to be transferred was that of examining and certificating the teachers for the schools of the districts, and county rather than district certification thus gradually became the rule. The outlining of the course of study; the grading of the schools; the selection of textbooks and library books; the determination of what school supplies should be purchased, and the prices that might be paid for them; the examination of the pupils for promotion; and the approval of schoolhouse plans are examples of other powers which in many States have been taken from the district authorities and transferred to the county, though some of these have again in turn been transferred, later on, from the county to the State.

The county superintendent of schools has thus evolved into a

general county overseer of education, representing the county on the one hand and the State on the other, and his supervisory oversight represents a form of the county-unit in school administration. In all functions which have been transferred to him from the districts or townships the unit of school administration has become the county, instead of the district or township. So beneficial have been the results of this change that the standing of a State, educationally, is to-day in large part to be determined by the degree to which this transference has been effected. (See *Source Book*, pp. 178–84, for a good description of this process of transference in Indiana.)

Work of the county superintendent. The functions of a county superintendent of schools to-day are of three kinds — business, clerical, and professional. The duties laid down for this official in the laws of the different States vary somewhat in extent and detail, but some business, clerical, and educational functions are prescribed in all. In a few States, as for example Iowa, the county superintendent of schools has but few statutory duties and but little real power; while in others, as for example California, he has many statutory duties and is entrusted with power commensurate with the duties required of him. An examination of the statutory duties of the county superintendent of schools in a few of the forty States having such an officer will show the nature of the work demanded of this official.[1]

On the business side the superintendent acts as a county supervisory officer, approving the bonds of the school district treasurers, auditing their accounts, supervising the expenditures of the districts, and seeing, as far as he can, that the school moneys are properly appropriated and expended. In most of the Western States, where all school funds are commonly and properly kept in the county treasury, he approves, in person or through a clerk, all orders or warrants for the payment of school bills of every kind. On the clerical side he distributes the laws and blank forms, gives notices required by law, conducts hearings, administers oaths, keeps all records, collects and reports statistical information, and acts as an agent and intermediary for the state educational department.

On the educational side, he acts as a general educational super-

[1] See the *School Law* or *School Code* for any State. Monahan, in the Bulletin on *County Unit Organization* (No. 44, 1914, U.S. Bureau of Education), enumerates the chief duties of a county superintendent in Illinois (page 21).

visor, representing both the county and the State. His work is to correlate and to unify the educational work of his county; to act as an educational advisor to the district or township school authorities; and to stimulate an interest in education and in the improvement of educational conditions in the districts or townships of his county. He sees that the schools are maintained and the laws enforced; assists in the purchase of library books; conducts teachers' examinations; approves plans for new schoolhouses; visits the schools and observes the teaching; advises teachers and school officers; decides controversies; conducts teachers' institutes; and often formulates the course of study and helps grade the schools. Unlike most other county officers, his work is only in part routine work. He is expected to be a professional leader as well as a business man and a clerk, and he must keep abreast of educational progress if he is to do the work he ought to do.

Business and clerical *vs.* professional duties. The list of duties just given reveals well the double nature of the office, as it now exists, and the wide range of duties required. The business and clerical functions are clear and distinct, and the work, while large in amount and important, does not call for any high order of ability or for special knowledge, training, or skill. Any average citizen of fair education, chosen from the body of the electorate, could transact the business and clerical duties, and in fact such work is not infrequently transacted by clerks acting under the general direction of the county superintendent of schools. In city school systems it is always so transacted by a business clerk or division in the city superintendent's office.

Business and clerical work, though time-consuming, is after all relatively easy to accomplish and is a fascinating employment to many persons. Too many county superintendents get so deeply immersed in this phase of their work that they soon do little else; yet this is the very work they ought not to do, if any one else can be obtained to do it. They become very conscientious office workers; they gradually come to over-emphasize the relative importance of their office work; and soon they either neglect or, still worse, fail to see the more important educational work which it ought to be their chief purpose to do. With the increase of business and clerical functions the tendency is always strong to neglect the educational functions, and ultimately to permit the latter to be buried beneath the more pressing clerical and business duties. Yet, from the point of view of school supervision, a

county superintendent of schools, no less than a city superintendent of schools, must find his way downward through the complicated machinery of his office to the teacher and the child for whom the schools exist. Unless he can accomplish this he is an office clerk rather than a school superintendent — whether he be county superintendent or city superintendent — and an overseer rather than a professional leader.

New demands and conceptions. Many new powers and duties have been placed with or transferred to the county superintendent within the past quarter-century, and during this same time an acute rural-life problem has developed the solution of which is largely educational. In consequence a new demand has arisen that the whole nature of county supervision shall be changed. The inadequacy of paper examinations and of the yearly or half-yearly visits of superintendents has become evident, and the need of strengthening the authority of the superintendent in dealing with the district boards of trustees has been felt with new force. It has been demanded that the yearly visit shall be replaced by close and adequate professional supervision,[1] and that the work of the country schools shall be improved and enriched and placed on a footing with that done in the schools of the towns and cities. To do this, trained and efficient supervisors, as well as educational reorganization and additional funds, will be necessary, and these new demands have given an added impulse to the movement, which has manifested itself in a number of States, to change the whole nature of the county superintendency by taking it out of politics and placing the office on a professional instead of a political basis. This has already been accomplished in some of our States, chiefly Southern, and the movement promises to extend in the near future to the Northern and Western States as well.

[1] New York and Wisconsin have attempted to provide closer supervision by dividing the counties, so as to create supervision districts. In New York, what elsewhere is called the county superintendent is called the division superintendent. Virginia uses the same term for a superintendent of a city or of one or more counties, just as in the case of the New England towns. The supervision unit in Virginia consists of a single city in 20 cases, a single county in 73 cases, of two adjacent counties in 12 cases, and of 3 counties in 1 case.

In New York State, 208 division superintendents are provided for the 62 counties, the extremes being 1 and 8 supervisory districts to a county, and the median 3. A comparison with conditions elsewhere may be had from the following table:

Size of Supervisory Unit	New England	New York	Average for Forty States
Number of school buildings	18	52	84
Number of one-teacher schools	10	44	65
Number of teachers	34	82	130
Area in square miles	62	254	1,672

What a county superintendent can accomplish, professionally, is determined largely by his professional knowledge, insight, and personal power. The extent to which he can awaken new interests and secure an improvement in educational conditions is determined largely by his ability to see ends as well as means — to see the completed process before he begins on the details. This calls for imagination, breadth of view, professional training, and a knowledge of what ought to be done and why. Such men and women exist, but the cities and the high schools at present have practically a monopoly of them. They go where there is a possibility of a career, and where they can enter the work, retain their places, and receive promotion on the basis of their training and efficiency. The greatest obstacle to the securing of such men for county supervision in most States is the political character of the office. If county supervision is to be made professional work to any high degree, and is to attract to it the best men and women, the office must be taken out of the political column and placed on a professional appointive basis.

Professional requirements for county supervision. In a number of States some attempts in this direction have been made by requiring certain professional qualifications as a prerequisite to election or appointment to the office. Over half the forty States having county superintendents of schools have established some qualification for the office, but in most States the requirements are utterly inadequate if the needs of present-day education are considered. It is probable that, in the States not making any requirement for the office, from eighty to ninety per cent of the county superintendents already meet the standards usually set up. The best that can be said for such regulations is that they are a little better than nothing.[1]

Such requirements as age, teaching experience, moral character, and a teacher's certificate are good enough in themselves, but they do not go far enough to secure anything certain to be valuable.

[1] For example, take the following from the laws of Missouri, which represent about the best of the requirements now imposed:

Sec. 11,343. Said superintendent shall be at least twenty-four years old, a citizen of the county, shall have taught or supervised schools as his chief work during at least two of the four years next preceding his election or appointment, and shall have spent the two years next preceding his election or appointment as a regular student in a normal school, college, or university, and shall at the time of his election hold a diploma from one of the state normal schools or teachers' college or the state university; or shall hold a state certificate, authorizing him to teach in the public schools of Missouri; or shall hold a first grade county certificate, authorizing him to teach in the county in which he is superintendent.

The options granted usually break down the whole requirement, and bring to the front the presumably successful practitioner instead of the trained worker. What is needed for professional supervision to-day is the man or woman who, in addition to successful practice, has secured a broad education, made a careful study of school administration and educational theory as well, and is thoroughly alive professionally. The educational leaders of the future will not be those who have learned largely through experience and imitation, but those who work, partly in the light of past experiences, but largely in the light of the best educational knowledge and theory on the subject. In most cases to-day our county superintendents work without any guiding theory of consequence, with the result that their main services are financial and clerical rather than professional, and that their educational work is traditional and highly conservative in character.[1] While one continually reads and hears of new educational work carried on in our city school systems, one seldom reads or hears of important new educational work initiated by our county school superintendents.

Such conditions will not meet the needs of the future in a nation where the changes in the conditions of living and government, and the consequent modification of our educational systems to meet these changes, are taking place as rapidly as they are with us. Everywhere our rural schools are calling for leadership and for educational supervision of a new order, but little can be done to answer this call until certain educational reorganizations are effected, until important changes are made in our methods of selecting supervisory officers, and until the number of these officials is materially increased. Two fundamental changes need to be made.

[1] Of the county superintendents of Indiana the Indiana Educational Commission (1921–22), pp. 137–39, reported as follows:

At least two thirds of the 92 county superintendents in office are poorly prepared for their work, and at least one half are woefully unprepared. Of the 83 from whom we have reports:

20 have not even completed a high school course;
5 have never advanced beyond the high school;
6 have had one year in college;
11 have had two years in college;
11 have had three years in college;
25 have had a full college course;
5 have had one year beyond college, including professional preparation. Only the last-mentioned group can be said to be professionally prepared. . . .

Almost one half of the county superintendents are serving their first term, and only 17 of the 92 have served eight years or more. Tenure is especially uncertain whenever there is a change in local or state political control.

One is the erection of a distinct educational and professional standard for county superintendents and their assistants by the creation of distinct supervisory certificates, to be based on a combination of education, professional training, and experience. This phase we shall discuss in Chapter XXIII. The other is the elimination of the county superintendency from politics, making of it an appointive office, freed from residential or political requirements. We must put into the county superintendency the same freedom in selection and the same professional character of work that has in the past half-century transformed school supervision in our cities. The standards for the two types of superintendency ought not to be materially different.

The elective method and its defects. If we assume, as we are warranted in doing, that county school supervision has become or is rapidly becoming professional in its nature, and that the professional aspect of the work is the important part, then nomination by political parties and election by popular vote, and from among the local electorate, constitutes about the worst method that could be devised to secure a professionally trained man or woman for the place. The stock argument that the plan of popular election is thoroughly democratic, and that it tends to educate the people, has no merit in it. The cities are not undemocratic because they appoint their superintendents, and the education of the people by the ballot comes from discussing issues, and not men. What is needed for the work is educational preparation, professional insight, executive skill, and that personal power which comes from wide knowledge, and the method of selection by popular election does not tend to secure any of these. Too often it places a premium on just the opposite qualities. While some good men probably are secured in every State by the political method, too often good men go down to defeat at the hands of the people because of their honest and efficient service, or because some "glad-hander" or "gallery-player" or unintelligent critic has made a more effective political canvass among a well-meaning but uninformed and unthinking electorate.

The method of popular nomination and election, too, is full of accidents and surprises, and the real merit of a man frequently has little or nothing to do with his selection or his retention in office. Not uncommonly good men, who have learned and like their work, are defeated for reëlection by enmities they have made in the discharge of their official duties, by some slip in the political

convention, by some unfortunate accident in the party campaign, by the unworthy solicitation of votes by an opponent, or by a party landslide. The man who attends strictly to his business too often does so at the expense of his political prospects, and the man who conscientiously does his duty, especially in States where the district system is still strong, is too frequently marked for defeat by the enemies he has made in the districts. When a superintendent is defeated his days as a county superintendent are over, for it is almost unheard of for a man who has been a superintendent of schools in one county to move to another and work up the political ladder sufficiently to be nominated and elected to the same office there. Quite commonly he now drops educational work entirely and is lost to the profession.

In the selection of candidates for nomination in the political convention States, political availability, past loyalty and services to the party or expected future services, and the geographical location of the candidate altogether too often play a very prominent part in the selection or the defeat of a candidate for the nomination, when in reality these considerations have no more to do with the ability of the candidate to supervise properly the schools of his county than do the size of his hat, the age of his wife, or the nationality of his grandmother. To require that a candidate be a member in good standing of some one of the established churches, have a home of his own, a wife, and at least one child in the public schools, absurd as such requirements might seem, would be to require really far more fundamental things than the present demands of political affiliation and standing and local residence.

The residence requirement. The requirement that the person, to be elected, be first and foremost a qualified elector of the county, and next a member in good standing of a political party, and that he must first seek and obtain the nomination, pay his political assessment and campaign expenses, and canvass the county against an opponent, and always at the risk of defeat, are requirements that keep the best prepared men from seeking the place. They can sell their services in a better market. The local residence requirement also effectively precludes the possibility of making the field of county school supervision a career for which a man or woman is warranted in making any preparation, or looking forward to as a possible life work.

Under the primary system of nomination now being introduced

the situation often will be made still worse and more expensive. Under it the candidate will first have to secure his nomination by petition, and then to canvass the county and win two elections.[1] The low salaries paid for the work, the expense of securing the office, the uncertainty of election, the public notoriety, the humiliation of defeat, the local residence requirement, the short tenure, and the inability to accomplish much [2] keep the best men in the teaching profession out of the office.

The result. In general, and making allowances for the presence of a few capable men and women, the average popularly elected county superintendent of schools of to-day represents a very average member of the teaching body. He is seldom one of the best educated men of his county, either from an academic or a professional standpoint; is usually a routine worker who makes a good clerk, but is lacking in imagination, initiative, and insight; and is at best a practical "rule-of-thumb" worker rather than a professional leader. Not uncommonly he is ultra-conservative and a strict constructionist; he takes up with new ideas slowly; he is timid in promoting progressive movements; he frequently resents constructive criticism; and at times progress is made only by opposition to his policies.

The fault lies not so much with the men as with the system. (*Source Book*, pp. 232–37.) The men we have to-day, averaged up, probably are the best the system has so far produced. It is the system itself that is essentially unsound. The office of county superintendent of schools, a position of great potential importance, to-day offers no incentive, outside of the county-unit States, to any man to prepare himself for the work because almost nowhere else can he either enter the work or retain his place on the basis of merit. If the office were taken out of politics, made an appointive office as is that of city school superintendent, opened up to the competition of the training and brains of the whole country, and with tenure based on professional competency and efficient service, the position would at once offer a career for which many capable men and women would be glad to make long and careful preparation. As it is to-day, the political and resi-

[1] An attempt has been made in California, as well as in a few other States, to obviate this difficulty by making nomination and election non-political — that is, placing the names of all candidates together under a non-political column. If any candidate secures a majority at the primaries, that settles the election; if not, then the two names having the largest number of votes go on the regular election ballot.

[2] In the matter of inability to accomplish much, see a reading in the *Source Book*, pp. 229–32, describing a visit to a district school by a county superintendent.

dential tariff levied against brains and competency is almost prohibitive, and county supervision in most of our States is, to a high degree, a local industry offering only temporary employment to the few persons in each county who are willing to consider political candidacy.

County *vs.* city school administration. The true situation is perhaps seen best when we consider it in the light of city school administration. Imagine the effect on our public school work if, in every city or town, the political parties nominated and the people elected the city superintendent of schools and the high school principal, and always from among the local electorate and at salaries fixed by the legislature. Even the average county superintendent, who usually clings tenaciously to the present system (until he loses his office; see *Source Book*, p. 237), would refuse to sanction a change which would put all other schools under similar conditions. Yet if it is a good thing to nominate and vote for one, we should nominate and vote for all. There is no argument for the nomination and election of a county superintendent along political lines and by popular vote that does not apply with equal force to the position of city superintendent, and no argument for the non-political appointment of such officials that does not apply with equal force to the appointment of county superintendents.[1] The strength of our high schools and of our city school systems, and the great progress which they have made in the past half century, have been in large part due to the fact that they have been free to go into the markets of the whole country for their leaders, unhampered by residential or political restrictions,[2] and that they have been free to fix salaries commensurate with worth.

Election *vs.* appointment. Good county school administration will be promoted in proportion as the principles of proper educational organization, which have been slowly established by our cities, are incorporated into county educational organization. In discussing this question in an editorial, the official organ of

[1] The one city in the United States which persisted in political nomination and election of its city superintendent of schools, from among the residents of the city only, after all other cities had given up the method, was for long a conspicuous example of the inadequacy of this procedure. Few cities in this country experienced such a continuous lack of leadership at the top. Bad results are more noticeable in a city, however, only because city problems are somewhat more complex and more open to public criticism than is the case in country-school work.

[2] For further discussion of this topic see a number of opinions reproduced in the *Source Book*, pp. 232–41.

the State Teachers' Association of California [1] recently put the situation as follows:

The time seems ripe for a frank, cheerful discussion of an educational question of much moment to California. We refer to the selection of county superintendents. While our system of schools as a whole is properly considered a state system, in that education of the young is primarily the duty of the State, the healthy interest and cordial support given locally to our schools are largely due to local control. The very fact that our schools are responsive to the people is the secret of their strength. As a general principle, any plan other than the selection of officials by the districts which they serve is undemocratic and to be reprobated.

But it does not follow that there is but one way to comply with this fundamental principle of government. We may meet it by the democratic method (as in the election of a mayor) or by the representative method (as in the election of a teacher by a board of trustees). At present the county superintendent is elected by the people, a democratic process. He might be chosen by a board of five educational commissioners, one from each supervisory district in the county elected for a term of four years. By choosing these men in groups of two or three, at the regular biennial elections, a continuous policy could be developed. The method, like the election of a teacher, would be representative. If there is a valid reason for the choice of a teacher by a board of trustees, we cannot dismiss summarily the proposal for a somewhat similar method of selecting the county superintendent.

As a general principle, direct election by the people presupposes a satisfactory knowledge of the duties of the office as a prerequisite to passing on the candidate's fitness. It is interesting to note in the historical development of the county superintendency that the position at first was almost wholly a clerical one. The taking on of professional obligations and responsibilities has been very gradual, and is still far short of what it should be and will be. But the point to be noted is this, that whereas the county superintendency was at the beginning essentially a clerical position, to-day it is essentially and increasingly a professional position. The gradual substitution of a professional relation for that of a clerical one has rendered the question of fitness increasingly difficult to pass upon. As professional requirements for positions increase, we tend more and more to a representative basis of selection. It is our national adjustment to changing conditions.

From the applications of these principles, there would seem to be greater reason to-day for vesting the selection of the superintendent in a truly representative board than for the selection of a teacher by a board of trustees. But in a final analysis in any given instance, that basis is best, democratic or representative, which secures the better results. Our purpose in stating the argument has been merely to show that there can be no fundamental objection to the appointment of

[1] *Sierra Educational News*, vol. VI, no. 3, pp. 9–12.

county superintendents. There is no special virtue in direct election itself. Such talk is sheer demagogy or crass misunderstanding. We should have the plan which will give us the best educational results.

Now let us try to apply the representative basis to the present situation in California. We have in mind several county superintendents, men and women, who are seriously contemplating withdrawing from the positions which they are now filling with signal ability. And the sad part of it is that they do not wish to withdraw; they enjoy their work and would like to continue. But there is an unwritten law in their counties that eight years is enough for any county official. And thus at a time when, from a business or a professional standpoint they would be in line for an increase of salary and greater responsibility, they are compelled to step aside and begin again at the bottom. It is little short of a tragedy. Our quadrennial elections for the last twenty-eight years show that not forty per cent of the county superintendents have served even two terms. Good men and women have gone down to defeat, and the loss in education in broken plans, disjointed policies, and blasted hopes has been deplorable. Truly it seems strange that we should fondly cling to such a system as the best that can possibly be devised.

With the appointment of the county superintendent in the hands of five business and professional men, who can doubt that his tenure would be more secure? He should be appointed for a term of four years, the same as the city superintendent. Certainly such a board, by reason of their connection with the educational problems of the county, would have a more intelligent appreciation of the superintendent's work than has the average voter of to-day. And being on a professional rather than a political basis, the superintendent would not have the annoyance and expense of elections. Faithful work would more surely be followed by appreciation and retention in office, as evidenced by the longer terms of the city superintendents of this State.

The advocates of the plan of appointing county superintendents are not seeking the dismissal of any one. They are urging the step because they sincerely believe that it will add greater dignity and permanence to the county superintendency. They regret seeing good men and women lost to the system through a bad system. They desire a plan that will effectively recognize and reward increased efficiency. They are confident that reform lies in substituting, as far as possible, a professional for a political basis. They believe that the appointment of the county superintendent by a representative board, chosen by the people of the county, furnishes such a basis. Surely there is merit in their contention, merit sufficient to justify the most careful consideration. We believe the plan contains merit sufficient to justify the cordial approval of the school people of the State in general, and of the county superintendents themselves in particular.

Plans for appointment. To obviate the objections to the method of securing the chief educational officer for a county by

popular election, fifteen of our States have so far (1926) adopted some other plan for all counties, and three other States have made appointment optional, while the number adopting some other plan than popular election may be expected to increase rather rapidly in the future. The different plans now in use may be classified, somewhat inversely in the order of their merit, as follows:

1. Election by a convention of the school directors of the county (Pennsylvania), or school trustees of the superintendency district (New York).
2. Appointment by the township trustees of the county (Indiana; Iowa).
3. Appointment by the judges of the county courts (Tennessee).
4. Appointment by the state board of education (Virginia).
5. Appointment by the state commissioner of education (New Jersey).
6. Appointment by an elected county board of education, analogous to a city board of education, which also has control over the educational affairs of the county and selects the superintendent as its chief executive officer (Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Utah).

Before considering these plans we wish first to discuss the different forms of county educational boards which have been evolved for handling the educational business of our counties.

2. COUNTY EDUCATIONAL BOARDS

Forms of county boards. As was stated at the beginning of this chapter, some form of county board for educational supervision and control was established early in our educational history. In the North such educational oversight has usually been entrusted to the county boards of supervisors, or county commissioners, and in a number of the Northern States the evolution has as yet gone but little beyond this early stage. In most of these States, too, such boards commonly exercise some educational functions, such as the appointment of the members of the board of county examiners, the approval of changes in school district boundary lines, and the approving of levy for the county school tax. In the Southern States, also in some of the Western States, the evolution has gone much further, usually resulting in the development of a distinct county board of education to which has been given administrative control of educational affairs throughout the county. Between these two extremes we find a

number of different types of county educational boards, representing more or less of an evolutionary series, and extending from the merest beginnings of county educational oversight up to strong centralized county school control. Viewed as an evolutionary series these different educational boards may be classified as follows:

Rudimentary county educational boards. Probably the most rudimentary types of county educational boards we have in the United States are such boards as those in New York State, which meet once in five years to elect a district (county) superintendent of schools, and the boards of county textbook commissioners,[1] found in a few States, which meet occasionally to adopt textbooks for the schools of the county. Such boards exist in States where a county board of education has not been developed, and represent a first step in the direction of county educational control. Their creation has come about relatively recently to meet some new need, their composition not infrequently is poor,[2] and their performance of but a single function, and that at rather long intervals, does little to prepare them to exercise that function intelligently.

County boards of examiners, or boards of examination, which once were quite common, represent a more advanced though still rudimentary type of county educational board. Although such boards are older than the textbook boards, like them they may be considered as representing a first step in the direction of a county board of education possessed of larger functions. Where county boards of education have been created, the examination functions, like the textbook functions, have usually been transferred to them, or to the State. These boards are in nearly all cases appointed, instead of elected, and the county superintendent is almost always a member. A common form is a board of five, the county superintendent being one, and at least one half the re-

[1] As these boards usually have but one function, that of adopting textbooks, a consideration of them and their work properly belongs under Chapter XXI, which see.

[2] The composition of the county textbook committee of South Dakota will illustrate:

The county superintendent of schools, the president of the board of education of all independent districts, the county auditor, the State's attorney (in the county), the county commissioners, and one person from each commissioner's district, who shall be selected by the members of the school board of such commissioner's district, present at a meeting to be called by the county superintendent, shall constitute a county textbook commission for the purpose of selecting and adopting all the textbooks needed for use in the schools of the county. — *School Laws*, Chapter X, Sec. 7618.

mainder being teachers, commonly appointed by the board of county supervisors.[1]

County boards of education. Just as the town school committee in New England arose originally out of the board of town selectmen,[2] and was created to take over functions that had grown to such an extent that the board of selectmen could no longer handle them in an intelligent or efficient manner, so have county boards of education been created to take over county functions at first largely exercised by the county boards of supervisors (commissioners). We accordingly find such county educational boards in our American States in all stages of development from boards of quite limited functions, such as exist in Mississippi and Indiana; with California and Virginia as intermediate types; to boards of large powers, such as are found in Alabama, Kentucky, Maryland, and Utah.

(*a*) *Rudimentary types.* The Mississippi County School Board, composed of one member appointed from each supervisor's district in the county by the county superintendent, is one of most rudimentary form. The board meets annually, and acts as a boundary board to define the boundaries of the school district, may establish county schools of agriculture, and does a few other things, of no great importance. This State also has county boards of examiners and boards of county library commissioners, each exercising separate authority.

The Indiana County Board of Education is an *ex-officio* body, composed of the county superintendent of schools, the trustee for each school township, and the chairmen of all the town and city boards of education in the county. The board meets twice a year, in May and September, to consider the general wants and needs of the schools; to decide matters relating to school property and the purchase of school supplies; to discuss the care and management of the township libraries; and to adopt textbooks for use in the schools of the county, outside of the cities.

(*b*) *Intermediate types.* California and Virginia are examples of intermediate types of county boards, as yet only partly evolved from the rudimentary board-of-examiner stage to a real county

[1] An exception to this form is found in the South Carolina County Board of Education, which consists of the elected county superintendent and two other persons appointed by the state board of education, and whose functions are to advise the county superintendent, act as a school-district boundary board, examine teachers, and prescribe courses of study for the county. — *General School Law*, §§ 1729–38.

[2] See Chapter VII of the author's *Public School Administration*, for a description of this evolution and a chart showing how it took place.

board for school control. The California boards are composed of the county superintendent of schools and four others, appointed by the boards of county commissioners. Two of these must be experienced teachers, and in practice all are. In addition to the examination of teachers and the granting of teachers' certificates — functions now decreasing rapidly in importance — these boards outline the course of study for the schools of their county; examine the schools and the pupils for graduation; adopt rules and regulations for the government of the schools; determine what books and apparatus the district trustees may purchase, and the prices they may pay; and act as a board of trustees for any county high school which may be established. The county superintendent acts as secretary of the board.

The county school boards of Virginia are composed of the division superintendent for that county, and all the district school trustees (in Virginia appointed each year by a school trustee electoral board) for each school district in the county, including towns and independent districts. The board meets annually, and may meet at other times. It has power to enact bylaws; apportions the county school fund among the districts, with some powers for equalization; prepares a county tax budget for the schools; may manage trust funds and property; pays the expenses of the trustees in the districts, and audits their accounts; publishes an annual financial statement; may sell or exchange school property; fixes the school holidays for the county; and carries out a few other minor functions.

(*c*) *Strong types.* Alabama, Kentucky, Maryland, and Utah are examples of real county boards of education, exercising functions analogous to those exercised by a city board of education.

In each of these States, excepting Maryland, a board of five citizens is elected. In Alabama they are elected from the county at large, but in Kentucky and Utah from section districts into which the county has been divided for the purpose. In Maryland the members are appointed by the Governor of the State — an undesirable plan which gives the appointments political significance. The boards thus provided for are lay boards, to represent the people of the county in the conduct of their schools, and are analogous to city boards of education for the control of the school business of the cities.

One of the most important functions of each of these boards is to find and elect and fix the salary of the county superintendent

of schools, who when selected acts as the executive officer of the board and head of the school system of the county. In the larger counties a clerk and business manager for the schools also is provided. No residence restrictions or salary limitations are imposed on the board in the selection of any of its officers. In addition this county board of education, exactly as in the case of a city board of education, has general supervision and control of all the schools of the county; maintains elementary and high schools, as needed; selects sites and builds and repairs schoolhouses; holds title to all school property; furnishes all school supplies; adopts, purchases, and distributes textbooks, except where state uniformity is imposed; appoints all supervisors, principals, teachers, and special teachers for all the schools under its jurisdiction, and fixes their salaries; may alter attendance district lines, consolidate schools, and transport pupils as it deems best; approves the school budget for the county, and determines the county school tax; hears charges against teachers, and may dismiss them; and settles all disputes as to school procedure within the county. The county superintendent acts as the executive officer of the board, and the board usually acts only on his recommendations. He attends all meetings of the board, acts as its secretary, and may speak on any question but not vote. He conducts institutes and teachers' examinations; supervises the schools of the county; enforces the attendance and other school laws; and in general does about the same type of work as a city superintendent of schools in a city.

The Maryland county-unit legislation has been in force since 1906, and represents one of our best forms of control — aside from the method of appointment of the boards — by county boards of education. (See *Source Book*, pp. 241–46, for a good statement as to possibilities for work under the Maryland plan.[1]) The same type of county board control is found in four counties of Georgia. (See *Source Book*, pp. 246–49, for a good description of the plan in Richmond County, Georgia.) These date back to the law of 1887. The county organization law in Utah was first enacted, in permissive form, in 1905, to meet the needs of one county. In six years the county-unit form of organization had been voluntarily adopted by one third of the counties,[2] and at the

[1] See also pages 346–55 of the author's *Rural Life and Education* for a description of the historical evolution of the Baltimore county system.

[2] The results in Utah during this period, with the district system and the county-unit system working side by side, were both interesting and convincing. See state-

end of ten years it was made compulsory for the entire State.[1] It represents a type of business and educational organization under which a strong, unified, and highly serviceable county system of schools can soon be built up. It also embodies all the best experience of the past seventy-five years in organization and administration of our city school systems. When it is remembered that Utah is a State where the density of population is but 5.5 per square mile, and the average size of the counties is 2834 square miles (about 53 miles square), it is seen that small counties, level country, and a dense population are not at all necessary for the operation of a county-unit school system.

3. COUNTY-UNIT ORGANIZATION

County-unit evolution. When county school commissioners were first provided for in the Southern States, and when county superintendents of schools were first created in the Northern and Western States, the beginnings of a form of county-unit school organization were made. Many changes in the laws, due to the increasing oversight by the State, have since tended to increase the control of the county at the expense of the districts or townships, or both. The many business, social, economic, and educational changes which have taken place during the past quarter-century, as well as the general tendency to transact all forms of public business on a larger scale, have alike tended to a centralization of many important functions. The rural-school problem, as an outgrowth of the complex rural-life problem, as we shall point out in the following chapter, now demands for its solution both a larger unit for educational organization and administration than the school district, and the provision of a new type of professional supervision for our rural and village schools.

To increase the power of the county school authorities at the expense of the smaller subdivisions beneath, and to make the county the unit for administration, supervision, finance, and general educational control, is merely to apply to educational affairs the same common-sense principles which have been put into practice, in whole or in part, in many branches of the public service, and which prevail generally in the business world.

ment by J. C. Muerman, pp. 47–53, in Bulletin No. 44, 1914, U.S. Bureau of Education (*County-Unit Organization*, by Monahan). See also pp. 53–56 for a statement by S. G. Gilbreath, giving a comparison of results under the two systems in Tennessee.

[1] A similar optional plan is now being developed in Oregon, beginning with one county in 1921.

Everywhere, outside of the New England States, the county has been gradually enlarged from a mere judicial district, as it was at first, with its judge, sheriff, assessor, and coroner, to a larger administrative unit with a number of county officers and boards in control. This improvement has been accomplished little by little, and to the new officers and boards as created have been transferred many functions formerly entrusted to smaller governmental units. This has been done with a view to securing a better related, a more intelligent, and a more economical administration of the public service. The process has been one of centralization and subordination, and it has been particularly marked in the directions of the assessment of property, taxation, the supervision of expenditures, the building and maintenance of roads and bridges, the supervision of the poor, police and sanitary regulations, control of the automobile and liquor traffics, provision for library service, and the supervision of the statistical and financial aspects of public education. So strong has been the district system, however, that it is only within the past twenty years, excepting in the Southern States, that we have begun seriously to turn our attention toward making the county the unit for educational organization and administration as well. Everywhere the district system has opposed the change.[1]

The tendency to-day toward making the county the unit for the administration of education is, however, well marked, and much recent legislation and proposed legislation has been clearly in this direction.[2] The process of subordination and unification has naturally gone much further in some States than in others. Arkansas, Illinois, and Missouri represent the process in its beginnings; Indiana, California, Virginia, and Florida represent more advanced intermediate stages of development; while Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, and Utah represent more complete stages in the process of evolving a type of county educational organization capable of rendering real service.

Future of the county unit. Excepting so far the States of New

[1] A good example occurred recently in Missouri. The legislature there, in 1921, enacted a county-unit law to supersede the district organization, and this was signed by the governor. So strong was the idea of district rights among the people, however, that the law was held up by a referendum petition, and rejected by vote of the people at the autumn elections of 1922.

[2] Almost every recent state school survey has made such a recommendation. See, for example, the different state surveys made under the direction of the U.S. Bureau of Education or the General Education Board. (For list, see p. 304.)

Mexico and Utah, and beginnings in a few other States, it is in the Southern States that the fullest development of the county unit for school organization, administration, and supervision is to be found, while it is in the States of the North Central and the Western groups that the largest future development may be expected. The reason for the earlier development in the Southern States is in large part historical, as we have pointed out in Chapter VI, though the evil results which came from the introduction of local control by Northern people, after the close of the Civil War, also had an influence. The presence of a large negro population and the necessity for maintaining two school systems have also been factors. The probable large future development of the county-unit idea to the westward is in part due to the existence of as yet imperfectly developed forms of the county-unit system in all these States; in part to the Western habit of thinking in larger terms, and of transacting business on a large scale; and in part to a rapidly growing consciousness there of need for a larger administrative unit to deal satisfactorily with existing educational problems. In all the old Northwest Territory States the county is likely in time to supersede the township and the district as the administrative unit. The process has been definitely started in Ohio, and its beginning made in Indiana.[1] In the States of the North Atlantic group and in Delaware, the State, rather than the county, promises to play the important part in the future as the supervisory and administrative unit.

The county in most of our States, then, offers the best possible unit for school organization and administration, both from a business and an educational point of view, and the many new demands being made for a reorganization and a redirection of rural education, which we shall point out in more detail in the following chapter, may be expected before long to force both a recognition of the many advantages of the county unit[2] and its gradual adoption as the unit for school organization and administration. The problem is largely how to make the beginnings in community

[1] See Chapters VIII and XII of the Report of the Indiana Educational Survey Commission, *Public Education in Indiana*, for a recommendation that this change be made. During 1924–26 an experimental demonstration of county-unit organization was carried on in two counties, under the direction of the General Education Board.

[2] It must always be remembered that the county-unit plan for school administration and supervision may be applied to two or more small counties in combination, as in Virginia, or to subdivisions of a county where the county is thought to be too large because the people do not think much in county terms, as in New York. The essential elements of the county-unit plan can be made the same in these cases.

and county-unit organization, and how to secure legislation that will subordinate the district and the township units beneath, in the interests of efficient educational organization, that we may provide a system of county educational administration that will be as effective for rural and small-town education as that to-day provided for the schools of our cities.

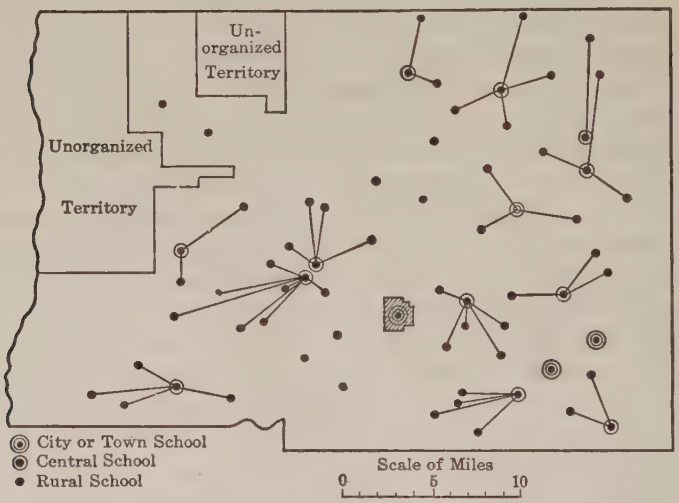


FIG. 38. THE BEGINNINGS OF COMMUNITY AND COUNTY-UNIT ORGANIZATION

A plan for supervision, using central-school units, employed in Boulder County, Colorado, while waiting for the county-unit.

In the following chapter we shall point out, much more in detail, the need for and the advantages of the county unit in school organization; how the institution of an efficient business and professional system of county-unit school control would enable our States to provide educational advantages for rural and village children which can never be possible under smaller units of organization; and how the county-unit plan of organization contains all that is good in the community-district idea, and much in addition. Here we will close with a summary of the principles of action which now seem valid in the matter of proper county educational organization.

Essentials of the county-unit plan. The essential features, then, of county-unit organization for education are approximately as follows:

1. The abolition by law of the district system of school administration, and the organization of the county into one county school district, which is to be the unit for administration and supervision. Two or possibly three small counties might be combined into one unit for school organization and administration (as in Virginia), and similarly a large county might be divided into two county school districts (New York), if this division were felt to be very desirable.

2. City school districts, organized under a city board of education, maintaining a full high school and employing a city superintendent of schools, and meeting certain educational standards, but not villages and towns under principals who teach, may be set off from the county school district for purposes of administration and supervision, though not for taxation. On the other hand a city may join with the county as a part of the school district.

3. A county board of education, of from five to seven members (preferably five), to be elected from the county school district at a regular state-wide school election (See *Osceola Code*, Art. 8, Secs. 40–44); to be elected preferably at large, but may be by districts; and to have much the same powers and functions as a city board of education for a city. (See 6, below.)

4. The county board of education to select the county superintendent of schools and to fix his salary, electing him for three to five year terms, and being as free from political and residence requirements in his selection as is a city in the selection of its superintendent of schools or high school principal.

5. The county superintendent of schools to be the executive officer of the county board of education, to serve as its secretary, and to be the recognized professional and executive head of the educational system of the county. The board may also appoint other officers, if needed, such as a clerk and business manager, superintendent of plant, etc. The county treasurer to serve, *ex-officio*, as treasurer for both the county and city school districts.

6. The county board of education to have control of all schools within the county, outside of independent city school districts, with power to establish and consolidate schools, make all repairs, buy and sell buildings and real estate, erect new school buildings, establish high schools and special schools, determine and change as needed the attendance-district lines within the county school district, furnish all supplies and janitor service, employ all teachers and principals for the schools, employ supervisors of instruction, fix the salaries of all employees, approve of courses of study and adopt textbooks for the schools of the county, and in general to have the control and management of all the schools of the county, just as a city board of education does today for a city, acting in most matters only on the recommendation of the county superintendent of schools.

7. In the consolidation of schools to provide larger units for instruction, the county board of education should try to establish such

schools with partial or complete high-school advantages attached, in such a manner as eventually to organize the schools of the county into a number of community school systems. (See Figure 47.) To this end a careful educational survey of the county ought to be made at the time of the inauguration of the county-unit plan. In the township-unit States, such as Indiana, the township might be retained as the community unit, should it be found usable as such.

8. For each small school the board may appoint an attendance subdistrict director, to look after the school property, make minor repairs, and to act as agent of the county board of education in the attendance subdistrict and as a means of communication between the people of the subdistrict and the Board. For the consolidated or community schools, the people of the subdistrict might be allowed to elect three subdistrict directors, with somewhat larger powers. On the other hand, there is no real need for such subdirectors or boards, and they are in no way an essential part of a county-unit plan.

9. The county board of education to approve an annual budget of expenditures for maintenance and outlays for the schools of the county, and to notify the county tax-levying authorities of the amount of county school tax, as well as any special or subdistrict taxes, to be levied.

10. The county school tax to be levied on all property in the entire county, and then divided between the county school district and the independent city districts, as provided for by law. This makes the county the unit for taxation, but with additional taxation permitted in any attendance subdistrict or community school district, on vote of the people, to provide educational advantages beyond what the county school district can furnish.

Merits of such a plan. Such a plan as has just been outlined would not only provide for the organization of the educational resources and possibilities of a whole county under one administrative entity, capable of rendering effective educational service, but would professionalize county school administration and supervision as well. In form it would correspond to the educational organization of a small city school system, as may be seen from the organization chart given on page 233.

The time and energy that would be saved, over operating under the district or even the township system, would be enormous. Instead of the county superintendent of schools having to spend a large proportion of his time in trying to get results by working with district trustees, being respectful of their authority and seeking to educate them as to their duties, correcting their reports and accounts, compiling reports as to district conditions, and endeavoring to get reasonably satisfactory teachers and living

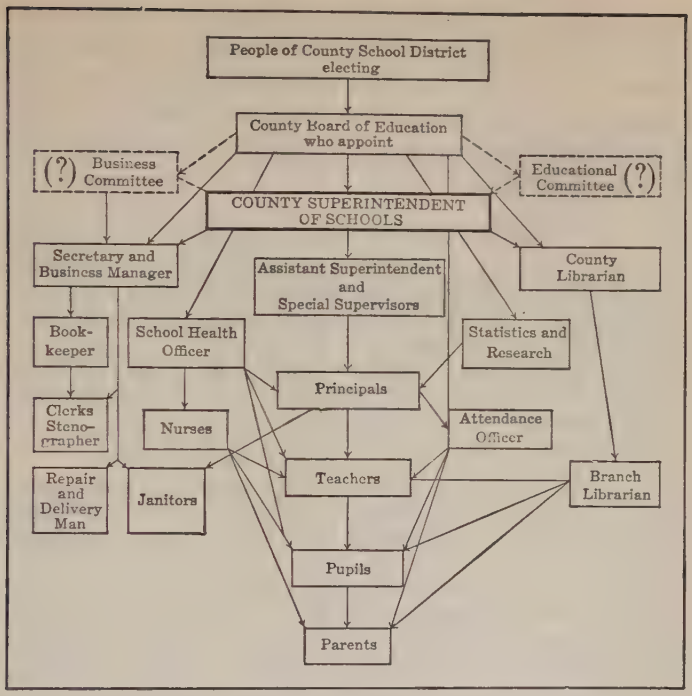


FIG. 39. COUNTY-UNIT EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

conditions in the districts, his time and energy could now be spent in working with the teachers to provide good education for the children of the districts. Instead of a series of district elementary schools, small in size and poor in quality, there would be in time to come a small number of good community consolidated schools, with high school advantages open practically to all children of a county, and with many of the features of special instruction which the children in our city schools to-day almost alone enjoy. About the only "rights" the people of the districts would give up would be the right to elect a horde of unnecessary school trustees, and often in addition to mismanage the education of their own children.

The change to a county-unit system would at first awaken opposition — if not fully understood, often intense opposition. To many country people it would seem almost as though the foundations of organized society were being shaken, and political liberty about to disappear in a centralized despotism. A decade of ex-

perience under a well-conducted county-unit school system, however, would still leave the heavens standing, while the improvement in the education provided their children would convince intelligent rural people that a return to the district system, despite its century of real and imagined service, would after all not be a good thing.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

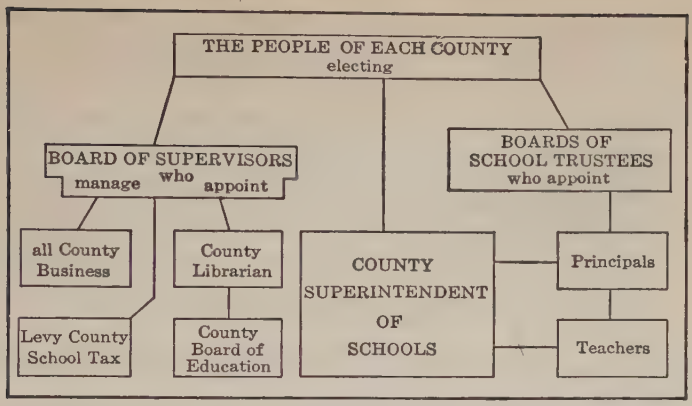
1. Why has school administration been so much slower in developing centralizing tendencies than other forms of the county's business?
2. How would you classify such county school supervision as is described by Williams (see *Source Book*, pp. 229–32)?
3. Compare the standing, salary, influence, and possibilities for usefulness of a city and a county superintendent of schools, after reading page 236 and pages 242–46 of the *Source Book*.
4. Compare again, after reading pages 246–49 of the *Source Book*, and assuming such a county-unit system as is there described.
5. Why do people cling so tenaciously to popular election as a means for securing county superintendents of schools, when the experience in the selection of experts for almost all other forms of service is against this procedure?
6. Can you see any historical reason for the particular form of district supervisory organization found in New York State?
7. Why are the usual professional requirements erected by law for qualification for the office of county superintendent of schools so ineffective?
8. Show the evolution of the county board of education out of the board of county supervisors or commissioners, as the city board of education once evolved out of the town board of selectmen.
9. What kind of training and certificate would you propose for county school superintendents?
10. One of our States, for a time, provided by law that no person should be elected to the office of county superintendent of schools "for more than four years in succession." On what conception of the office was such legislation enacted?
11. Compare the work of a county and a city board of education, as to nature, scope, principles involved in handling, and place of the chief executive officer.

PROBLEM

1. The chart given on page 235 illustrates the present triple-headed county educational organization found in a semi county-unit State, such as California, Texas, or Washington. Redraw the chart as it would be under a county-unit form of educational organization.

TOPICS AND PROBLEMS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. How did the county superintendency arise in your State, and what has been the history of the office?
2. Trace the increasing centralization of authority in the county educational office as revealed by the educational history of your State, or of a number of States.



PRESENT TRIPLE-HEADED COUNTY EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

3. Investigate the statutory duties of the county superintendent of schools of your State, and list his duties under the headings: (*a*) Clerical, (*b*) Financial, and (*c*) Educational.
4. Describe and compare the county-unit plan of (*a*) Alabama; (*b*) Maryland; (*c*) Utah; (*d*) Louisiana.
5. Compare the county educational organizations in Alabama and in Osceola.
6. Compare the administrative organization of the educational systems of: (*a*) the Philippine Islands, (*b*) Hawaii, and (*c*) Porto Rico (Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*), with the organization of county-unit systems in the United States.
7. Describe the Massachusetts "Supervisory unions."
8. Describe the Ohio and West Virginia plans of district supervision.
9. Compare the county educational organizations, and the opportunities for effective school administration, in:
   (*a*) Kansas and Utah.
   (*b*) California and Alabama.
   (*c*) Ohio and Maryland.
10. Compare the results obtained in the two Utah counties, as described by Monahan. (Bulletin 44, 1914, U.S. Bureau of Education, pp. 47–53.)
11. Analyze the arguments for and against the county unit, as printed in the *Report U.S. Commissioner of Education*, 1914, vol. I, pp. 116–20, and state your conclusion.

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CHAPTER X

THE RURAL-SCHOOL PROBLEM

I. THE PROBLEM STATED

Changes in the nature of rural life. Within the past three decades a new phase of the problem of county and local school organization has come to the front which we of to-day recognize as the rural school problem. About half a century ago a profound social and industrial revolution began to modify the conditions of rural life, and within the past two decades this social and industrial revolution has culminated with such rapidity that it has not only involved most of the cherished institutions of rural society, but has completely modified most of the conditions surrounding rural life as well. Some rural communities naturally have experienced a greater change than have others, but no community has wholly escaped. Still more, the revolution has been so rapid, so extensive, and so far-reaching in its consequences that nowhere have rural institutions advanced rapidly enough to keep pace with the changes which have come upon them.

The rural population of to-day is no longer the same, and its habits, tastes, and aspirations are different. Rural home-life and rural society have been profoundly modified. The old rural social life, with its prayer meetings, literary societies, spelling-matches, quilting and husking bees, barn raisings, parties, and dances has almost entirely disappeared. Farm tenantry, and not infrequently an alien tenantry at that, is displacing the old native home-loving farmer in many of our richest agricultural States. The progress of invention has greatly decreased the need for farm labor, and the recent tendency voluntarily to limit the family has materially lessened the number of children, with the result that the rural population has, in many sections, actually decreased, while in others it has made no material headway. There is every reason, too, to think that these same forces will continue to modify rural-life conditions for a long time to come. The rural church, shaken to its very foundations by the changes which have taken place, has largely ceased to be a center for the community life, and on every side we see a struggle for existence and dead or dying rural churches. Last, but not least, conditions surrounding the

rural school have so completely changed that it is no longer the same institution. It no longer has the same needs and can no longer be conducted along the old lines with any degree of efficiency. The whole situation calls for reorganization and reconstruction along lines adapted to meet twentieth-century educational, social, and economic needs.

Taken altogether and as a whole, we call this collection of problems the rural-life problem. Of this rural-life problem the rural-school problem forms only a part, but if the rural-school problem is to have any satisfactory solution it must be approached with some understanding of the rural-life problem which surrounds it and with which it is so intimately connected. The failure so to conceive the rural-school problem is one reason why so many of the proposed remedies have proved futile.

Effect of these changes. The changes in the nature of rural life which have taken place since the days when the district system and the district school flourished as instruments for the improvement of rural society have been so profound and so far-reaching that they have shaken the old rural social institutions to their very foundations. The old homogeneous nature of the rural neighborhood has been lost, and the close social relationships have in large part disappeared. The farmer, too, has greatly changed, as have also his needs and the needs of his children. The many discoveries and inventions of science have opened up a new world to him, and new and larger interests now occupy his mind. Farm specialization, scientific management, and improved machinery have given him more time to read and to think. The automobile has taken him and his family far beyond the "steaming radius" of the old family horse. Increased financial returns have opened up to him the possibilities of vacations far away from home. Rural mail delivery and the cheap illustrated magazine have brought the world's affairs to his door, and he reads to-day as he never did before. Finally, the radio has ended his isolation, and enabled him to "listen in" on what is taking place throughout the Nation.

With the development of new and larger interests in things beyond the rural community the farmer has tended to become a resident of the world, rather than of the school district; the affairs of the outside world have interested him more and more, and the government and petty quarrels of the school district and the township have engaged his interest less and less. Questions and elec-

tions which once seemed to him all-important now too often seem of such small significance that he is unwilling to take the time to go to the polls to vote. The effect of this change in rural outlook is seen in the decline in importance and attendance of the school-district meetings; the general falling-off of interest in and attendance upon the annual township meeting; the increasing difficulty experienced in securing good men to serve as district school trustees or as township officials; and the small percentage of voters who take the trouble to vote at the local school elections, unless there is some distinctly local fight in progress which awakens antagonisms.

The result on the school of these many changes in rural-life conditions, brought about by the changing social and economic conditions in our national life, is that the rural and small village schools have lost their earlier importance, and find themselves to-day in rather a sorry plight. The rural school in particular has suffered and no longer finds itself, generally speaking, the important community interest which it was thirty or forty years ago. It has largely ceased to minister to community needs as it once did; its teacher no longer plays the prominent part in neighborhood affairs that he once played; it has lost most of its importance as a community center; its attendance has shrunk to a fraction of what it once was; with increasing costs it finds itself in a serious financial condition; and it has been left far behind, educationally, by the progress the cities have made.

The district system amid the change. Under the stress of the new conditions, the old supervision of the school by the district authorities has almost completely broken down. A half-century ago it was possible for the locally elected school trustees to direct the teacher and to supervise the simple instruction of that day fairly well. Aside from the discipline and the material environment there was little to supervise. To-day, with the newer conceptions of educational work, the demand for better and redirected instruction for rural children, and the new social, industrial, and educational problems facing the rural school, the need for intelligent leadership and direction is far beyond what any but the most intelligent communities can supply. Inexpert local authority does not have the educational insight or the grasp of the newer educational problems necessary to contribute much toward their solution, and a larger unit of organization than the district is necessary to-day for their successful working out.

As a system of school organization the district system has done its work, and should now be superseded by a system better calculated to serve the needs of rural life. As a system of school organization and administration it is short-sighted and unprogressive; coöperation with other districts in the advancement of the common welfare is too difficult to secure; it leads to decided and unnecessary inequalities in educational opportunity and to an unwise duplication of educational effort; it is unnecessarily costly for the service it renders; while in the attempt to supply special educational advantages or secondary school facilities it fails entirely. The district unit is too small and too unequal in resources for taxing purposes or for supervision, and the substitution of some larger unit for rural-school administration and support is necessary if any substantial progress in rural education is to be made. The fundamental need to-day, with the coming of good roads, the automobile, and larger business organization, is a rational and workable scheme for the rather rapid consolidation of the districts to form a series of unified county school systems of the best possible type.

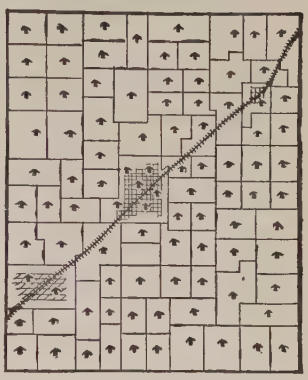

FIG. 40. CARRYING THE SCHOOL TO THE CHILD

Eighty-six one-teacher districts, two villages, and a small city in a county eighteen by twenty-four miles in size. Land area, 432 square miles, or a school for every 4.8 square miles. Schoolhouses about two miles apart.

Complex nature of the problem. The rural-school problem, as we find it to-day, tied up as it is with the whole rural-life problem, has now become far too complex to be solved by local effort, despite a number of promising undertakings here and there, and little short of a fundamental reorganization of rural and village education, along good educational and administrative lines, will meet the educational and social needs of the present and future. The small and decreasing attendance at the rural schools; the shrinking and changing farm population; the peculiar attitudes of many rural people, due to lack of social contacts and experience in coöperation; the inadequate school equipment; the often poorly trained teachers, and the temporary nature of the employment; the low salaries, and the meager financial support;

the short term; the numerous classes (*Source Book*, pp. 253–55); the lack of special instruction and of high school facilities; the almost total lack of supervision of a constructive type; the lack of unity of effort, and of a definite program for helpful service — these are some of the chief difficulties in the way of those who would try to improve our existing rural and village schools. Yet these difficulties are not insurmountable, though time, more money, and certain fundamental reorganizations will be necessary. The problem is not a simple or a single one, but is in reality composed of a group of related problems in educational organization and administration. It will be our purpose in this chapter to point out the reorganizations which are necessary, leaving to Chapters XVI and XVII the question of additional funds.

Within recent years the condition of rural education has attracted much attention on the part of thoughtful men all over the country, and some pressure has been applied with a view to remedying conditions. The tax limits in a number of States have been extended; laws providing minimum salaries for teachers have been imposed; the subdivision of the district has been made a little more difficult, and some small schools have been ordered closed; the minimum school term allowed has been increased; reserve funds to aid poor and deserving districts have been created; sanitary inspection and standards have been instituted; and the device of "Approved Rural School" (*Source Book*, pp. 250–52) has been set up;[1] instruction in agriculture and home economics have been ordered added to the curriculum; an effort has been made to train both the school trustee and the teacher; the powers of the county superintendent have been somewhat increased, and those of the district trustees somewhat curtailed; and an earnest attempt has been made in a number of States, by means of trustees' institutes, to educate the trustees to some proper conception of their duties and responsibilities. The net result of two and a half decades of such efforts is that more money is now being spent on the schools than in 1900; salaries are larger, and a somewhat better type of teacher is obtained; agriculture has been added to the preparation required of teachers, and to the course of study; the term has been lengthened a little; some schoolhouses have been condemned, and others cleaned up; the

[1] Illinois and Missouri have been leaders in using this device, Illinois providing for "Standard Schools" along much the same lines as Missouri (*Source Book*, pp. 250–53). Illinois began the use of standardization in 1910, and in five years succeeded in bringing 1832 schools out of a total of 10,633 up to the standard set.

trustee now acquires a rather better conception of his duties before his successor is elected in his place; and here and there, at more or less rare intervals in the district-system States, one hears of a redirected and consolidated school which is rendering a high degree of rural service.

Efforts expended and success achieved. The progress, however, outside of the county-unit and some township-unit States, has been discouragingly small compared with the effort expended. Here and there in the district-system States some county superintendent of unusual insight and energy has succeeded in doing an apparently brilliant piece of work, and by the force of a strong personality or the exercise of much patience and perseverance has managed to create one or two reorganized schools which are effective and which really minister to community life, but the marked interest which these accomplishments produce serves only to emphasize the contrast between these few successes and the antiquated and wholly inadequate educational facilities which surround them on every hand.[1] What such superintendents have done seems noteworthy only because so few accomplishments of this kind are possible in the district-system States,[2] whereas what is now so rare an achievement should be almost universal. The process of voluntary consolidation is too slow and too ineffective, and also it does not go to the root of the matter. All

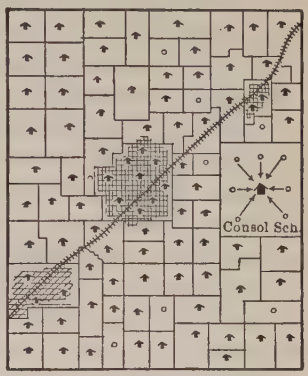

FIG. 41. THE BEGINNINGS OF CONSOLIDATION

One consolidated school, formed by the union of eight districts; seventy-nine one-teacher districts still remain in the county. In this one consolidated district the child is carried to the school; elsewhere the school to the child.

[1] The work of O. J. Kern, who was county superintendent of schools in Winnebago County, Illinois, for 15 years, and who spoke and wrote much on the subject of consolidation, forms a good illustration. As a result of years of labor and effort he succeeded in organizing 2 consolidated schools in his county, but when he left there were 96 district schools that could not be induced to change their form of organization.

[2] For example, as late as 1925 there were in Illinois but 123 consolidated schools and 10,085 one-room schools; in Kansas but 20 in 1905, and 172 in 1925, as against 7278 one-room schools; and in Wisconsin 74 as against 6472. Yet the first consolidation law was enacted in Illinois, in 1905; in Kansas, in 1896; and in Wisconsin, in 1897. For a tabular history of the consolidation movement in each of the States, see Abel's monograph, pp. 21–22, and 56. Rural School Circular No. 16, April, 1926, carries data down to 1925.

such attempts to improve the rural schools by voluntary district action are closely limited by certain fundamental defects in present rural-school organization, management, and maintenance, and until these can be removed no very fundamental improvement in rural-school conditions is possible. Remedial measures may be applied, and possibly with some limited success, but really fundamental changes cannot be effected.

The real root of the matter is that the district system of school administration is almost incapable of progressive, concerted action, and the use of the district as a taxing unit is an effective block in the way of union. Only under the stress of rising costs and a teacher shortage, such as faced our schools during and immediately after the World War, will the people of districts give much attention to the idea of a larger unit unless they are forced to do so. But little progress in rural-school reorganization can be expected for another generation in States where the district system reigns supreme, if we continue to depend on voluntary district consolidation. The township subdistrict system is also, in some States, a similar obstacle to progressive action. Not until the district system is subordinated by general state law and a larger unit of organization and management instituted, will any substantial progress be made in providing rural and village children with schools which are the equal, for them, of those now provided for city children. High school and special advantages of a kind suited to rural needs are as yet largely lacking, but should be provided generally. What is needed is a reorganization of the educational resources of our counties as wholes, and along good business and professional lines. Until this can be secured, intelligent farmers will continue to rent their farms to foreign-born tenants and move to town to secure proper educational advantages for their children.

Within the past three decades the rural-school problem has attracted increasing attention, and an effort to mitigate some of the evils of the district system and to secure a reorganization of rural education has been made by means of the movement for the transportation of pupils and the consolidation of schools.[1]

2. THE CONSOLIDATION OF SCHOOLS

Beginnings of the movement. The first law permitting of the

[1] In Ohio the term "centralization of schools" is used instead of consolidation. In some respects this is a better term.

expenditure of public money for the transportation of children to school, enacted by any American State, was passed by Massachusetts, in 1869. This law reads:

> Any town in this Commonwealth may raise by taxation or otherwise, and appropriate money to be expended by the School Committee in their discretion, in providing for the conveyance of pupils to and from the public schools. — Approved, April 1, 1869.

This Massachusetts law was introduced into the legislature by a practical man from a rural town of large territory and sparse population, with a view to securing equal school privileges for all without imposing undue taxation. At first the authority was used mainly for conveying pupils to the central town high school, which was the original intent of the law. For some years this was its chief use, though but few towns employed the privilege granted. Between 1875 and 1880, however, taking advantage of the permissive law, and actuated by the decline in population in the rural portions of many towns, the towns began to close up their small outlying schools and to transport the pupils, at public expense, to some central school within the town. After 1882, the year of the final abolition of the district system in the State, the movement increased rapidly in importance, and by 1888 had attracted so much attention that the State then began, for the first time, to keep statistics as to the amounts spent for the transportation of pupils. The progress of the movement since then may be judged from the fact that when the State began to keep this record the expenditures for transportation were approximately twenty-six thousand dollars a year, whereas now they exceed half a million dollars annually.

The first State west of the Alleghany Mountains to use transportation was Ohio, in 1894. The idea seems to have been thought out there independently of the New England experience. It happened that at that time subdistrict No. 4, of Kingsville Township,[1] in Ashtabula County — the most northeasterly county in Ohio — needed a new schoolhouse. The new building was a virtual necessity, but the attendance in the subdistrict was so small that the school board hesitated about incurring the expense. At this juncture, the principal of the central village high school conceived the idea of bringing the pupils from No. 4

[1] Ohio had substituted the township unit for the district system, in 1892, although a form of the subdistrict system remained. In 1914, the State began a still further reorganization under the county unit.

to the central village, and suggested the plan. The cost for transportation proved to be so much less than the cost of maintaining the teacher that the board favored the idea, but upon an examination of the *School Law* they found they had no authority to expend money for such a purpose. While discussing the question of transportation the idea of school consolidation took deeper root, and finally the Legislature of Ohio was appealed to to authorize such an expenditure. The idea was entirely new to the Legislature, and, characteristically, its members were afraid of this unprecedented novelty. Desiring to grant the request of the people of Kingsville Township, however, they finally enacted the following general but highly special law:

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Ohio, That any Board of Education in any township, which by the census of 1890 had a population of not less than 1710 or more than 1715, of any county which by the same census had not less than 43,650 nor more than 46,660 inhabitants, may, at their discretion, appropriate funds derived from the school-tax levy of said township for the conveyance of pupils in subdistricts from their homes to the high school building of such township; *Provided*, such appropriation for any subdistrict shall not exceed the amount necessary, in the judgment of the board, for the maintenance of a teacher in such subdistrict for the same period of time. — Approved, April 17, 1894.

The plan was put into operation at Kingsville, three subdistricts uniting with the central school. A fourth united soon after, and since then other subdistricts have come in. The plan was so successful that other townships desired to utilize the idea, and two years later (1896) a bill was passed which extended the law to all of Ashtabula County, and to the two neighboring counties of Stark and Portage. Finally, in 1898, the new idea having been found not to be dangerous, the legislature made the law applicable to the whole State of Ohio. Many townships there have since adopted the plan and have wholly or partially consolidated their schools; on the other hand, many more townships have as yet done nothing whatever with the idea. The slow progress of the consolidation idea may be realized from an investigation of the Ohio State School Survey Commission, which in its *Report* stated that there were then (January, 1914), after twenty years of effort, but 192 consolidated schools in the State, and 20 more where partial consolidation had taken place. The Commission also estimated, on the basis of returns from 28 of the 88 counties, that there were, in 1913–14, in the whole State:

115 schools with an enrollment of less than 5 children; 600 with less than 10 children; 1800 with less than 15 children; and 3900 with less than 20 children.[1] Largely as a result of the recommendations of this Survey Commission the county unit was substituted that year (1914), and five years later the number of consolidated schools had increased to 656, but with 8326 one-room schools still remaining in the State. By 1922 the number was 1010, but with 6601 one-room schools still remaining, and thirty counties with no centralized school within their borders.

Legislation since 1895. By about 1900, due to the changing rural-life conditions which had by that time begun to manifest themselves in all agricultural regions, the consolidation idea may be said to have begun to take root, and the rural-school problem began to awaken discussion. Between 1897 and 1905, some twenty States authorized the consolidation of schools and the expenditure of school money for the transportation of pupils, while certain other States, operating under a form of the county-unit system, slowly began the work of school consolidation. Looking over the different States to-day, after from fifteen to twenty-five years under such permissive laws, we find a few States in which rather remarkable results have been achieved,[2] but a larger number in which but little — relative to the problem — has as yet been accomplished,[3] though in many cases a vast amount of energy and effort have been expended to accomplish these meager results.

An examination, too, shows that the chief results have been accomplished in the county-unit States, or in the township-unit States where the subdistrict system does not exist or is clearly subordinate, while the smallest accomplishments are noted in the district-system States. As these district-system States consti-

[1] These small schools are found in still greater abundance in a number of other States.

In a communication to the Legislature of the State of New York, under date of April 15, 1915, for example, the Commissioner of Education for the State declared that of 11,642 elementary schools in the State, 8430 were one-room schools, and that almost one half (3580) of these had an average daily attendance during 1913 of 10 or less, distributed as follows:

13 schools with 1 pupil;	440 schools with 6 pupils;
74 schools with 2 pupils;	533 schools with 7 pupils;
172 schools with 3 pupils;	544 schools with 8 pupils;
235 schools with 4 pupils;	631 schools with 9 pupils; and
362 schools with 5 pupils;	576 schools with 10 pupils.

He recommended the institution of the township unit for school organization as a remedy for this condition.

[2] Colorado, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, and Texas.

[3] California, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Oregon, and Wisconsin.

tute by far the majority of all the States (see map, p. 169), it follows that, as a result, the consolidation movement has as yet experienced but little of the success which its educational importance deserves. In a number of the district-system States very little, comparatively speaking, has as yet been accomplished, though much has been said about the desirability of action.[1]

Recent change in purpose of the movement. In its origins the transportation and consolidation movement had chiefly financial ends in view; to-day the movement is chiefly educational. While it is possible actually to save money in many cases (see *Source Book*, pp. 258–64, for two illustrative cases) by the consolidation of schools, the economy of funds is to-day almost wholly subordinated to providing better educational advantages for both the children and the people on the farm.[2] From a rural-school problem, the situation has recently expanded into a rural-life problem, but of which the school still forms a central part.

The real and important underlying problem we have to face is how to maintain a satisfying American civilization on the farms of our Nation. It is this question which to-day lies beneath all discussion of the problem of rural-school reorganization. The typical American farmer of the past has been essentially a man of the intelligent middle class, owning a medium-sized farm, maintaining a good standard of living, interested in the education of his children, and himself interested in the neighborhood in which he lived. How to preserve this standard, amid the increasing tenantry and the changing character of the farming population, and how to develop such standards among new farmers, especially those of the foreign-born class, is one of the large problems which to-day confront those interested in the improvement of rural life. The problem, at bottom, is a social one as well as an educational one, though the main single defect is undoubtedly a lack of sufficient education of the right kind. Its solution calls for a comprehensive and fundamental reconstruction of rural

[1] The building of hard roads, the perfection of the automobile bus, and the new impulses following the World War have all alike tended to give new emphasis to school consolidation and transportation, and approximately 1000 consolidations — large and small — have been formed yearly since 1918, with an average of four and one half one-room schools eliminated by each consolidation, according to U.S. Bureau of Education figures. Still, in 1924, approximately 12,000,000 children were enrolled in strictly rural schools, 40 per cent of whom were in one-room schools.

[2] For detailed figures showing a saving when only as good schools are provided, and additional expense when better schools are provided, see calculations for one county in Appendix D, pp. 225–38, of the author's *State and County Educational Reorganization*.

social institutions, chief among which is the school, to enable them to meet the changed conditions and needs of our rural life in a really effective manner.

The mission of the school. Merely to educate the children should be but a part of the mission of the school. The school must reach out into the community life and influence it for good. To do this adequately it must be a strong school, capable of large community service. The conservation of soil fertility; the improvement of farming methods; the dissemination of agricultural and general knowledge; the improvement of the home and home life; the conservation of child life, girlhood, and motherhood; the instilling of sound ideas as to personal health and hygiene; the stimulation of rural and village organizations to activity; the preparation of town and rural people for an intelligent use of their leisure time; and the development of a better small-town and rural social life — these are functions which the rural and village schools must assume if the school is to become a center for the community life. It is only by making itself a center for the community life that the school can hope to exert the influence which it should. The development of a new and better rural and small-town life is largely a question of education and guidance, and of the rural institutions which are capable of providing this leadership the school easily stands first, if it can but rise to meet the opportunities which now confront it.

The new conception behind consolidation. It is this new conception as to the function and possibilities of rural education which has recently begun to actuate the movement for the consolidation of rural schools and the reorganization of rural education. Merely to unite a few schools here and there for more economical administration is but a small and a relatively unimportant part of the process. What is necessary now is such a fundamental reorganization of town and rural education as will enable the schools to realize something of their potential usefulness. The little one-teacher rural school, except in remote or sparsely settled districts, has largely served its day, and it should be displaced, as rapidly as can well be done, by properly located groups of graded consolidated community-center schools, with partial or complete high schools attached, and with the instruction so redirected as to adapt the school better to the needs of village and rural life. When the area of a county has not as yet been minutely subdivided, as in the case of some of the newer

Western States, the large areas should be held together by interposing much greater obstacles to a subdivision into districts.[1]

Essentials of the consolidation plan. The essential features of the consolidation idea are the abandonment of a selected group of contiguous small rural schools; the erection, at some convenient point near the center of the consolidating area, of a modern school building, containing a number of class rooms, domestic-science and manual-training rooms, agriculture and science rooms, an assembly hall, and, wherever possible, a room for a branch of the county library;[2] and the daily transportation of the children from the different parts of the consolidated territory to and from the school in wagons, trolleys, or automobiles. Instead of the old process of dividing the district and carrying the school to the child, this reverses the process — the child is now carried to the school. Moreover, he is often carried quite a distance to a large, well-graded school, taught by good teachers, usually with a partial or complete high school attached, and where enough pupils are assembled to provide all with some of that intellectual stimulus which comes only from contact with numbers.

Advantages and disadvantages. The advantages of such consolidation are evident. The pupils have a better school building, larger school grounds, better school equipment, better instruction. Also, some supervision can be arranged for, and better grading and classification achieved. The better school awakens community interest; both the enrollment and attendance are increased; and the provision of some high-school instruction brings in the older boys and girls now absent from the district schools. With transportation the pupils arrive dry and warm each day; tardiness is eliminated; and the pupils are under responsible supervision from the time they leave home in the morning until they are returned to their homes in the evening. (See *Source Book*, pp. 271–73, for a driver's contract form.) The number of grades each teacher is required to handle is reduced from eight or

[1] The large centralized districts of northern Minnesota offer good examples of what may be done by the county authorities in preventing subdivision and forcing transportation and a centralization of educational effort. See H. W. Foght: *The Rural School System of Minnesota*, Bulletin 20, 1915, U.S. Bureau of Education. The California law, making the approval of both county and state superintendent necessary for the subdivision of a district is another example of resistance to decentralization.

[2] Many pictures and floor plans for such are available. See pp. 252–53 of the author's *Rural Life and Education* for exterior and floor plans of one such building, and pp. 334–46 of same for descriptions and exterior of one in Illinois and two in Colorado.

nine to two or three at most; there are longer recitation periods; special instruction may be provided; better teachers are secured and retained; and the school term is usually lengthened from five or six months to eight or nine. Enough pupils are brought together in one place to permit of the organization of group games which bring out the educational value of play.

Community interest in education is quickened, and community pride in the school is stimulated. This leads to community solidarity as opposed to district opposition, and tends to break down the isolation of rural life, leading to a deeper sympathy and better fellowship among the people. It improves the community as well as the school, and opens the way for such consolidated schools to become centers for the higher life of the community. The school is much more economical in administration, and this often holds true with large unions after longer terms and better teachers and instruction have been provided. It makes possible, if the union is large enough, the addition of high school advantages, and the offering to the rural boy and girl of an education which for them is as good as the city boy and girl to-day enjoy. In reducing the number of teachers needed it eliminates the poorest and the weakest.

The disadvantages of the plan, as usually advanced, are more imaginary than real, and all of these — such as cold lunch, walking in rain to meet the bus, bad influences, etc. — can be obviated by proper educational supervision. Those arising from district jealousies — an acknowledgment that one section of the community has advantages over or is outstripping other sections — are of course hard to overcome. In fact, it is precisely these objections that have most seriously interfered with all efforts made for a voluntary rational reorganization of rural education.

3. CONSOLIDATION TYPES AND PLANS

District consolidation. The common method employed in the district-system States, and to some extent also in the township-system States, has been that of trying to interest sufficiently the trustees and the people of a small group of contiguous districts, forming a natural community unit, to induce them to call an election and vote on the question of consolidating their schools. Certain natural consolidating centers have been selected — districts where the advantages of consolidation might easily be made evident, and districts where the people are reasonably progressive

and might be expected to favor such advantages — and then a campaign of education has been begun. The first consolidated district in any county has always been hard to establish, and much patient effort has been required even to bring the matter to a vote. Not infrequently the question has at first been voted down, as the advantages of the consolidated school are seldom appreciated until after such a school has been actually observed, and finally to carry the proposal it has often been necessary to omit districts which ought to have been included. After one good union has been established and is working successfully it is easier to secure the second one, and after a decade or two of effort the number of possible voluntary unions is about complete.

This method is a very slow one, because it requires the education of the people of the district to see the necessity of the better type of school. This is proverbially hard to do, and long periods of time must elapse before unprogressive communities experience conversion. The method is also unsatisfactory in that the unions formed are quite frequently too small; that future development is not anticipated; that other districts which ought to have been included are left stranded; that frequently no provision for secondary education is included; that the community-center idea is often not thought of by the uniting districts; and that purely local interests too often determine the conditions of union and the location of the school. The method also is unsatisfactory in that only a few of the possible unions can be secured, in any reasonable time, by voluntary district action. Viewed from the standpoint of the county as a whole, and from the larger educational interests of the county and the State, the district-unit plan possesses many of the short-sighted defects which characterize the district system of school administration. The

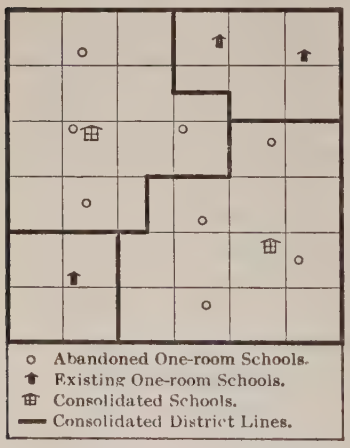

FIG. 42. A COMMON RESULT OF VOLUNTARY CONSOLIDATION

Consolidated districts too small, and some schools left out that ought to have been in. The area of the consolidated districts is 13 and 13½ square miles, whereas the whole township (36 square miles) is not too large an area for consolidation.

practical necessity of submitting the consolidation question to a vote of the people of the districts concerned[1] is one reason why progress in consolidation under the district-unit system is so slow, and requires so much effort for such small results. The map

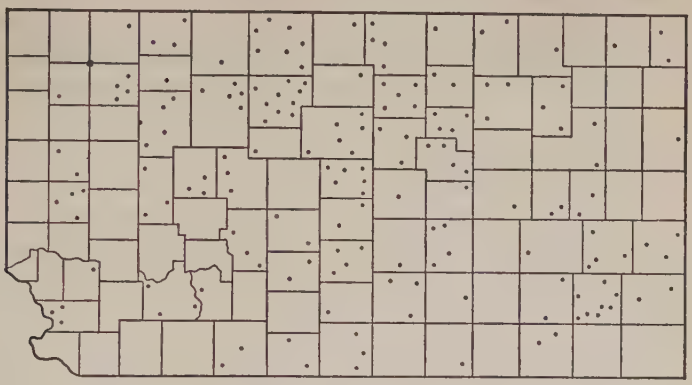

FIG. 43. RESULTS OF TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS' WORK IN KANSAS, UNDER OPTIONAL CONSOLIDATION LAW

By 1925 there were 172 consolidated schools, with 7278 one-room schools remaining. In 40 of the 105 counties no consolidation had as yet been effected.

given above for Kansas, showing the results of over a quarter-century of earnest effort to secure consolidated schools, on the part of state superintendents, educational commissions, county educational authorities, and teachers' college advisors, shows what may be expected in the district-system States or in a township-system State where the subdistrict system has run riot.

Township-unit consolidation. The township offers some advantages over the district as a consolidating unit, chiefly in that it is larger and that its administration is more centralized, and action is consequently easier. If the township trustees (or trustee) have the power to abandon schools and establish consolidated schools, without the necessity of submitting the matter to a vote of the people of the township, as in Indiana (*Source Book*, pp. 265–73), then rather rapid progress in consolidation can be made. In New England, where the town boundaries largely follow geographical or natural community boundaries, and all school

[1] In most district-system States the election required is made difficult to carry. The usual plan is that the districts vote separately, and a majority vote is necessary in each. This commonly results in the omission of districts where the result is doubtful. A much better plan is one in which a majority of the total votes cast will settle the question.

administration is centralized under a single town school committee, town consolidation of schools has been relatively easy of accomplishment and in consequence has made marked headway.

To the westward, the regular township lines and the size of the township very often prevent full township consolidation. The township as a unit for action also is entirely too small. With this unit there is very likely to be a lack of harmony in planning, and almost certain to be a lack of that larger insight into the needs of

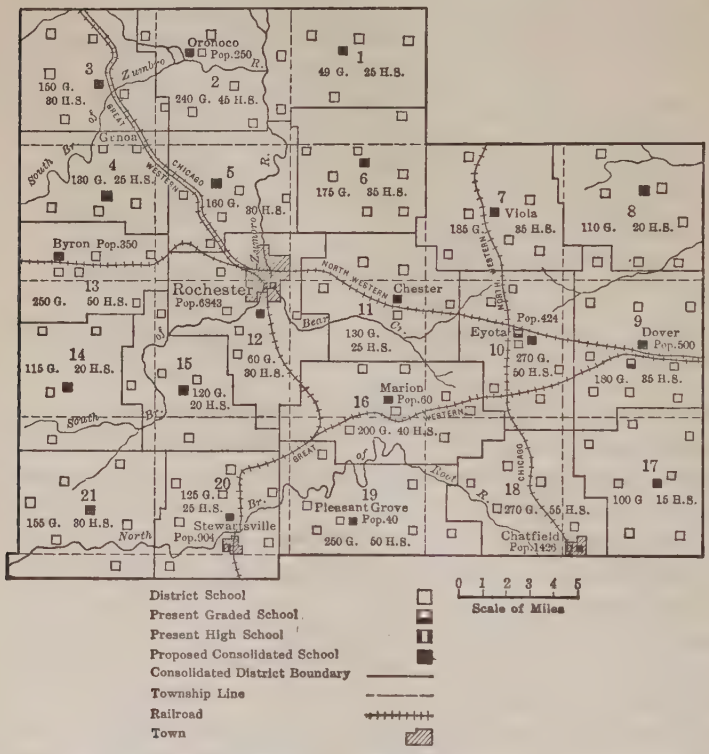

FIG. 44. MAP OF OLMSTEAD COUNTY, MINNESOTA, ILLUSTRATING POSSIBLE CONSOLIDATIONS

(After Knorr.) Area of county, 644 square miles; number of rural schools, 139; number of graded schools, 3. Note how the heavy lines, representing the best districting for consolidated schools, vary from the light township lines, and that 21 districts were required to provide for the 18 townships. This plan was devised on the basis of horse-drawn vehicles; with automobile transportation the number of consolidated districts probably could be reduced one half, and possibly two thirds, with correspondingly larger schools.

The numbers before "G" and "H.S." denote probable enrollment in each after consolidation. Under this plan, not counting additions for high-school instruction, about 30 elementary-school teachers could be saved, and with the high schools no additional teachers would be needed.

the county as a whole which forms one of the chief advantages of the county-unit system. This is well illustrated by the map just given, showing the results of a consolidation survey made of one Minnesota county. Here the educational requirements of the county as a whole were studied, on the basis of horse-drawn transportation, and a plan for a series of twenty-one consolidated schools was worked out, for the eighteen townships, to replace the 142 graded and district schools. Only in a few places do the township lines and the consolidated district lines correspond. With automobile transportation a much smaller number of districts would be needed, with none as small as a township.

The community-district unit. This is an attempt to find some more natural and feasible unit for school consolidation than the township, and without passing to the larger county unit. It may be regarded as an intermediate evolutionary stage between the district unit on the one hand and the county unit on the other. It has been employed for long and in many States in forming unions to provide high-school advantages. Beginning with the union-district-high-school Act in California, in 1891, all the area of the California counties has now been organized into a series of high-school unions, after much the same plan as the district system once organized the counties for elementary school advantages,[1] as was shown in Figure 23, page 150. Wherever States have provided for community organization to furnish high-school advantages,[2] the result has been the formation of a number of high-school union districts along more or less natural community lines. Not infrequently these high-school unions have resulted later in the consolidation or partial consolidation of the elementary schools of the union district.[3] The "associated

[1] The first step was either the organization of a county high school, including all the county, and then the subdivision of this into a number of high-school districts, or the organization of high-school districts here and there in the county, as shown in Fig. 23. The next step was to compel non-high-school territory to provide high-school advantages for their children by levying a common non-high-school territory tax, and the final step was to order all non-high-school territory annexed to some high-school district for high-school attendance and taxation.

[2] The 1919 Illinois law forms a good illustration. This provides that township and even county lines may be disregarded in forming the community district. One section of the law reads:

> Said community high school district shall be formed, as far as practicable, about a community centre, and have sufficient territory, assessed valuation, and prospective high school pupils to form a satisfactory and efficient high school, and it shall be the duty of the county superintendent of schools, before calling the election, to consider the form, size, and assessed valuation of the proposed high school district and the number of prospective high school pupils, and if in his judgment the proposed district does not meet the requirements heretofore specified he may refer the petition back to the petitioners with recommendations as to changes before he calls the election, or he may deny the prayer of the petition.

[3] A recent California law regarding junior high schools, for example, declares them, when not a part of a grade-school organization, to be a part of the high-school organi-

schools" of Minnesota,[1] where natural trading-center groupings of elementary school districts have united to provide instruction in agriculture, home economics, and manual training for the pupils in the rural schools, have been another form of rudimentary community-center organization. The same idea of community-district unions has been behind the proposals for elementary school consolidation for two decades, though seldom very perfectly worked out outside of the county-unit or semi-county-unit States, and not always there.

Recently the community-district idea has been proposed in a somewhat new form by the Rural School Survey of New York State[2] as a practicable means of slowly getting that State away from the worst features of the district system. The proposed New York plan in brief is as follows:

The existing rural-school districts, the school trustees, and the school district meeting are to be retained in appearance, but actually they are shorn of all their important powers. The districts are to be grouped into community units, following natural community boundary lines. (See Fig. 35, page 202.) Each county board of supervisors is to appoint a boundary commission, from among those living in the rural districts, to determine and adjust the community-district boundaries, with appeal from their decision to a state boundary commission, whose decision shall be final. Each rural-school district is to elect its three trustees, as usual, and the board is then to elect one of the three to represent it on the community-district board. In case districts consolidate later, they shall continue to have the same representation as before. By vote of the people of any community district they may abolish the representative board thus created, and substitute a small board, elected at large from the community district. The community school district thus organized is to become the taxing unit, instead of the little school district. The community-district school board is to approve the annual school budget, determine the school tax, select teachers and principals for the schools and fix their remuneration, purchase all supplies, look after the branch

zation. A number of the California high-school districts are now centralizing the seventh and eighth grades as well, thus producing a junior and a senior high school centralization and leaving only grades one to six in the district schools. The next step probably will be to bring these in also.

[1] For a good brief description of these see H. W. Foght's *The Rural School System of Minnesota*, pp. 20–28; Bulletin 20, 1915, U.S. Bureau of Education.

[2] *Rural School Survey of New York State. Summary Report Volume*, pp. 188–211; *Administration and Supervision Volume*, pp. 543–76.

of the county library, have the care of all new buildings, may make certain small changes in the curriculum, and must provide or arrange for full high-school advantages for all children of the community school district. The district (county) superintendent of schools is to be the professional officer of this community-district board, with power to make recommendations to it.

Each community-district board, in turn, is to elect one of its members to represent it in the supervision district (county, or division of a county) board, which now is to appoint the district superintendent of schools, and in addition is to be empowered to re-define the boundaries of the community units, approve of district consolidations, select and adopt textbooks, have certain powers of curriculum and library control, and is to act as the intermediate agent of the state department of education in the county (or division of a county). Figure 35, page 202, shows how the plan would work out in one of the counties of central New York.

This proposed community-district plan is an attempt, in a very conservative district-system State, to introduce slowly a larger unit of organization than the district, with the hope that it may result in some consolidations into community-union schools. It is also an attempt to retain in the larger organization some of the features of district organization which have endeared it to the people of the State during its more than a century of use. It also retains the long-established New York method of forming boards on the representative principle (see page 155). Its strong points are the natural boundaries it proposes for the community district, the plan for forming these without a vote by the people, and the making of this community district a unit for taxation and for school control. In these meritorious features it is most like the New England town form of organization, and in the county survey and unit-planning[1] which must precede the

[1] "In order for such (county boundary) committee to determine the community areas it would be desirable for them to have every householder in the county fill out a brief questionnaire. . . . This would give the local trade and church areas, and the approximate areas of the larger communities with regard to existing high schools, hardware stores, and railroad stations. . . . A road map, with the improved roads in colors, should be drawn on a scale of two or three inches to the mile, and on it every farmhouse should be located, and the boundaries of existing school districts. On this map the locations of the centers with which each home is affiliated may be indicated by using a separate color for each village, or institutional center, and placing the numbers corresponding to the questions beside the spot for each house, each number being in the color of the center which the reply indicates. . . . With these boundary lines, and by referring to the topographic map, it will be possible to locate the approximate boundaries of the existing communities and of the larger communi-

laying-off of the community districts it embodies an important feature of county-unit educational reorganization.

County-unit consolidation. When we pass from the district, the township, or the community to the county as a unit[1] for planning rural school consolidation, we pass to a unit large enough to permit of an economical and a well-planned rural school reorganization. A comprehensive scheme for the reorganization and redirection of the educational facilities of a whole county can now be worked out, which will involve the provision of adequate facilities for elementary and secondary instruction for all, many special types of instruction, a county school of agriculture, county branch libraries, community-center schools, a county school health service, and close and professional supervision for all the schools of the county. Stranded districts can then be prevented or cared for, natural community lines can be observed in organizing the attendance districts, districts of proper size for effective instruction can be provided, and the growth needs of the future can largely be anticipated.

County-unit planning and reorganization may be carried out under one of two plans. Under the first, applicable to such a township-unit State as Indiana, the plan might be worked out in the course of two decades, if he could manage to hold his office for such a period of time, by careful thinking and advising on the part of a capable and forceful county superintendent of schools. In the *Source Book*, pp. 265–73, is given a description of such careful work by one Indiana county superintendent (Lee Driver), working through the twelve township trustees who controlled the schools of the twelve townships of his county, and Figure 45 shows the results that had been attained by 1921, after sixteen years of education and persuasion. Had there been 393 district school trustees for the control of the 131 rural schools with which he began, any such results as are shown would have been

ties, and to determine the probable grouping of smaller communities into larger communities for school purposes. The same procedure may be useful for determining the location of local or branch libraries under a county library system, and for similar purposes." (*Rural School Survey of New York State, Administration and Supervision Volume*, pp. 575–76.)

[1] While we continually speak of the county as the unit, it should be kept clearly in mind that the same principle holds for a combination of two or more small counties, or for the subdivision of a large and populous county into two or possibly more supervision districts. It is also possible to detach small portions of a county and attach such to another county, for school purposes, when better service can be rendered by so doing, and without in any way vitiating the principles involved in county-unit organization.

impossible. (See *Source Book*, pp. 265–71, for a description of his work.)

The second plan is more direct, and in district-system States is about the only plan under which satisfactory results may be secured in any reasonable length of time. Under it the county is

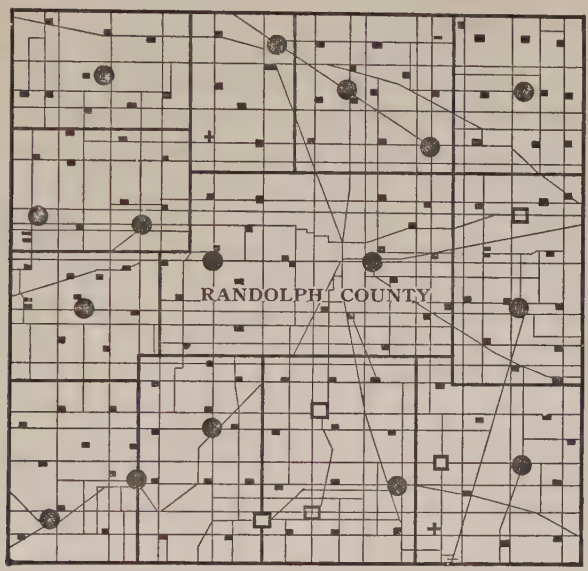

FIG. 45. RANDOLPH COUNTY, INDIANA, SHOWING PROGRESS OF CONSOLIDATION BY 1925

The sixteen black circles indicate the position of consolidated grade and high schools; the five hollow squares indicate consolidated grade schools only; the one cross indicates one surviving one-room school; and the 130 small black dots indicate abandoned schools. The heavy black lines indicate township lines. The county contains 447 square miles, and is approximately 21 miles square.

first made the legal unit for educational organization and administration, as described in the preceding chapter, and a single county board of education is elected to control all the schools of the county, though large cities under separate school boards and superintendents usually are excepted.[1] The county also becomes the unit for building control, purchases, supervision, taxation,

[1] A strong argument can be advanced, in counties having only a small county-seat city, for absolute unity and the control of all schools by one school board. An option to permit of this should be included in any county-unit law. Standards which small cities and towns must meet, for exemption from the county-unit organization, also should be stated in the law. (See *Osceola Code*, Sec. 34.)

employment of teachers, etc. (See *Source Book*, pp. 246–49, for a good description of a county-unit organization, and the *Osceola Code* for a detailed legal plan.) The old districts are reduced to attendance subdistricts, subject to alteration or abandonment and consolidation with the attendance district of some other or some new school, just as are such attendance districts in our cities. Proceeding step by step, carefully but often very gradually, the county board of education in time secures the abandonment of many of the small, unnecessary, and inefficient rural schools, and substitutes in their stead a much smaller number of

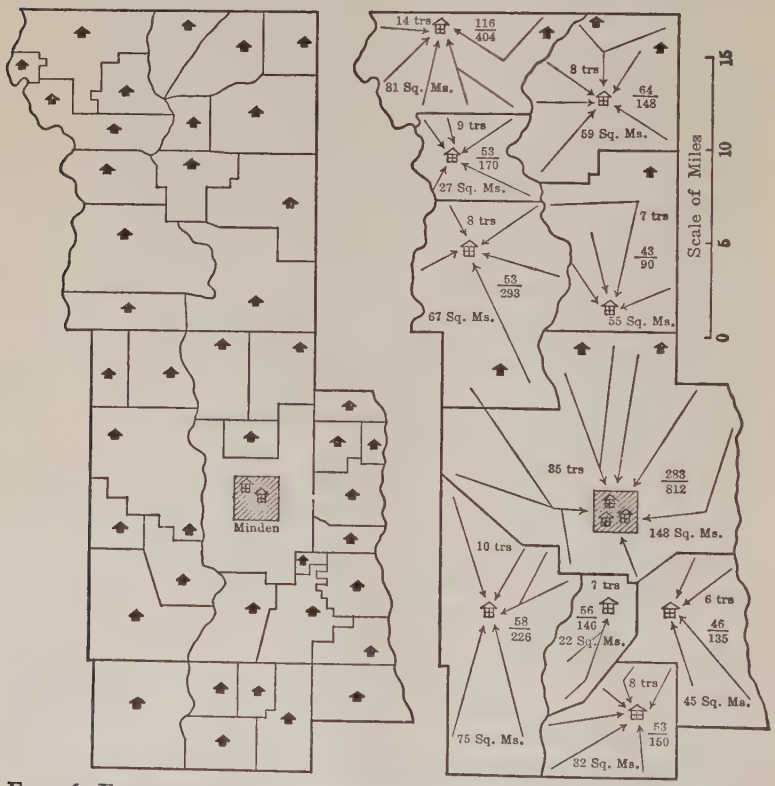

FIG. 46. EDUCATIONAL REORGANIZATION OF WEBSTER PARISH (COUNTY), LOUISIANA

Forty-two attendance districts, four high schools in county. 1920

Ten community-center schools, with high school and grades. A few small schools still retained. 1925

What a county superintendent and county-unit school board were able to do in five years. Area of county, 611 square miles; census children, approximately 8000.

larger centralized schools, closely integrated into a county-unit school system. The advantages of county-unit planning and consolidation over either voluntary district consolidation or township-unit consolidation lie in the fact that the needs of the county as a whole can be dealt with under one comprehensive plan. This is well shown in Figure 46, showing results attained in five years in one Louisiana county, after a superintendent with some imagination and force was placed in charge.

Formulation and approval of the plan. Any such comprehensive plan for educational reorganization must be worked out by some central authority, and upon the basis of a careful and comprehensive survey of the educational needs of the whole county. In this respect county-unit reorganization does not differ from the community-district reorganization plan proposed for New York State, and advocated as a substitute for the county-unit in a few other States. The formal approval of the plan as finally worked out should be by the county board of education, or by a special county boundary board created for the purpose, as proposed by the New York rural survey. The plan might also be subject, instead, to approval by the state board of education. The people should not be asked to vote on it, as such a procedure would almost certainly result in the defeat of any adequate reorganization plan.

After such a survey has been made, and a comprehensive plan for future development has been formulated and approved, the county board of education and its chief executive officer can work steadily toward its concrete realization, modifying it from time to time as new conditions arise. The county-unit school system which eventually will be evolved will differ but little in plan of organization from that for a city, the chief difference being in the size and distance apart of its schools. In type of instruction provided it may differ much. Under county-unit organization such a comprehensive plan for the reorganization and redirection of the educational resources of a county might be fully carried through in from three or four to six to ten years, depending somewhat on conditions and needs and finances; under the voluntary district consolidation plan it could hardly be expected to be secured in half a century.

The final result shown for a State. The final result of such a plan for educational reorganization may be illustrated by assuming a State of one hundred counties of average size, operating

under the district system. Taking Figure 40, page 241, as a type, which is quite typical of county conditions in district-system States, this would give us 8600 rural school districts, 200 town school systems, and 100 city school systems. Assuming that the city school systems would be left under city boards of education and be independently controlled, this would give us 8800 town and rural school districts in the State. For the management of these, under the district system, the people would elect 26,400 school trustees.

Assume now that county educational reorganization would eventually result as shown in Figure 47. This would give an average of one city and nine community-center schools to each county, which would call for 100 city school districts, 100 county school districts, and 900 community-center schools for the entire State. With good roads and automobile transportation the number of consolidated schools needed could be further reduced one half, if community-center lines would permit. Using the larger figure, however, the 900 community-center schools, each with partial or complete high school facilities attached, would then replace the 8800 town and rural schools existing before reorganization. If, as a concession to the old district-control sentiment, we provided for three subdistrict trustees for each consolidated school, to look after the school property and to perform certain minor non-educational duties, there would then be required but 2700 trustees as against 26,400 under the district system. The saving of waste and the gain in educational efficiency under such a series of community-center consolidated schools would be hard to calculate, though there can be no doubt but that it would be very large.

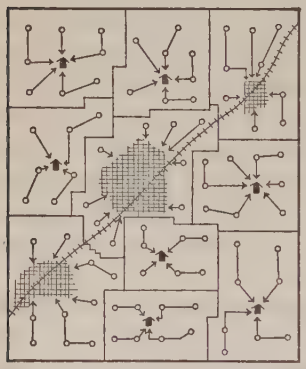

FIG. 47. COMPLETED COUNTY-UNIT REORGANIZATION

Summary of the problem. It is difficult for superintendents, teachers, and country people to understand the large possibilities of such an educational reorganization, for the rural school is heavily burdened with traditions, and rural and small-town people seem to find it hard to depart from the old and well-beaten paths.

They at once erect the bugbear of "centralization" and then frighten themselves out of further consideration of the problem.[1] If our rural schools are ever again to occupy a vital place in our national life and minister properly to the real needs of farm life and rural and village children, coöperating with all of the moral, social, economic, and intellectual forces of the community, and providing for country children an education which, for them, is as good as that to-day provided for their children by the cities, it must be done by a fundamental reorganization of rural education, and along lines marked out for us by the best city administrative experience. Merely to add new studies to the curriculum will not accomplish the purpose, though new studies may be necessary. Neither will the securing of a normal-trained teacher or the increase of the school tax, though both may be valuable aids. The trustees' institute will not reach the problem either, as it is at best but a temporary stimulant. The school itself must be fundamentally reorganized and redirected, making of it a new institution adapted to modern educational and social needs, if it is to serve the community as it should and realize its largest possible usefulness. This will involve a county unit of organization, administration, and finance; the election of a lay county board of education, analogous to a city board of education, to select the experts and to determine the larger questions of policy and procedure; the substitution of an appointed and properly trained county superintendent of schools for the present politically elected county school officer; the reorganization of the county educational office along the lines of the best city administrative experience; a redirection of the instruction to meet modern educational needs; and the training of a body of teachers for rural work who can and will render community, as well as educational service.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In how far is the rural problem also a city problem?
2. Many farmers have thought that the consolidation movement is a "hard-roads" movement in disguise. To what extent are the two related?
3. What do you understand the term "community-center school" to mean?
4. What effect has the coming of the automobile had on the consolidation movement?

[1] The adoption of county-unit organization would tend to develop more uniform school systems, at the lowest uniform cost, and schools responsive to local needs. Instead of centralization, it would develop stronger local leadership and control, and check the tendency to centralization of functions in the state office because district boards of trustees can no longer be permited to handle them.

5. State the change that has come in the purpose of the consolidation movement since it first began. What developments and forces in our national life have helped to produce this change in purpose?
6. Why would a comprehensive county-unit reorganization plan almost inevitably be defeated, if submitted to a vote of the people concerned?
7. Point out the analogy between a county-unit educational organization and a good city-school organization.
8. Point out the similarity in having the state department of education approve all county reorganization plans, and having the state public service commission approve all the extensions, types of service, charges, and stock and bond issues of all public service corporations within the State.
9. What arguments can you advance for and against having county-unit consolidation include the central city, and having this city take over all the schools of the county and manage them as a unit, as in Richmond County, Georgia? (See *Source Book*, pp. 246–49.)
10. In the *Report* of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of South Dakota, for 1905–06, the superintendent said:

> "It might not be ill advised if the legislature would provide that a whole county might adopt the consolidated system by a majority vote, in which case these schools should be located at the centers of, say, the north tier of townships; on the township lines of the next tier south; and again in the centers of the second tier south; etc. (See adjoining drawing.) This would settle the question of 'unreasonable distance,' for the farmer living in the corner of a township would only be three miles from another school."

FIG. *e*.

The Superintendent was evidently thinking in terms of a county-unit. What are the defects of his suggestions as to locating the schools?

PROBLEMS

1. Refigure Case I (*Source Book*, pp. 258–63), with all data as there given except that you treble teachers' salaries and double all other expense data.
2. Do the same for Case II (*Source Book*, pp. 263–64), and on the same basis.
3. Figure out a consolidating plan for the four districts shown in the adjoining drawing, using the following data, and estimating costs after consolidation, using a budget form. Estimate, also, sale value of old sites and buildings, the cost for a new building and how paid for, and the remodeling of the old building at the consolidation point for a "teacherage."

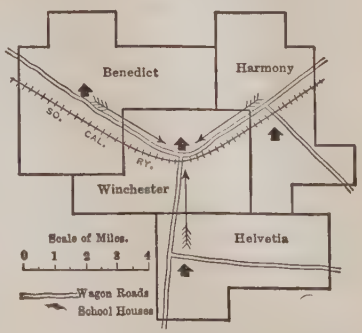

FIG. *f*.

	Benedict	Winchester	Harmony	Helvetia	Totals
School census	15	24	25	28	92
Enrollment	11	19	23	24	77
Average daily attendance	7.5	18	14.5	16	56
Months of school	8	8	8	8	
Total expenses	$875.00	$905.00	$845.00	$776.00	$3401.00

4. A township in northeastern Ohio, five miles square, recently reported the following conditions:

Number of schools in township	7
Census children (6–21)	191
Children enrolled in schools	103
Average daily attendance	71
Largest census district	85
Largest enrollment	37
Largest average daily attendance	25
Smallest census district	12
Smallest enrollment	5
Smallest average daily attendance	3
Average size of schools	10
Average cost per pupil (Av. Att.)	$68.46
Largest " " " (" ")	$162.66
Smallest " " " (" ")	$28.56
Assessed value of township	$260,810.00

Lay off a township, with seven districts, to fit the above conditions, and plan a consolidation.

5. For five Missouri districts, E being a small village at the center of the group employing two teachers, the following conditions prevailed at the last report:

District	A	B	C	D	E
Census (6–20)	33	39	38	35	68
Average attendance	19	29	33	27	54
Paid teachers	$650.00	$600.00	$640.00	$700.00	$1605.00
" janitor	26.30	32.90	36.45	36.00	160.00
" district clerk	15.00	17.00	19.00	18.00	40.00
" for fuel	33.48	42.71	46.40	45.00	105.00
" " miscellaneous	60.55	44.36	69.38	47.00	153.97
Assessed valuation	$53,030.00	$97,850.00	$69,635.00	$73,010.00	$211,755.00
Months of school	6	6	6	7	8

Figure out a consolidation of the schools at the village of E, assuming that a transportation wagon must be used for each district abandoned, and a 65 cents (on $100.) maximum tax levy. Would costs be less, for the same type of schools, but with a uniform eight months' term, after consolidation? Would a two-year high school be feasible?

6. An Illinois rural township, six miles square, had the following conditions:

District	Census (6–21)	Average Attendance	Valuation	Local Tax Collected	Local Rate
1	27	18	$90,000	$485	$ .54
2	30	20	65,000	415	.65
3	97	78	90,000	1300	1.50
4	26	20	40,000	480	1.22
5	48	35	47,000	600	1.30
6	53	41	60,000	600	1.04
7	25	19	43,000	500	1.18
8	20	14	47,000	400	.88
9	31	24	62,000	550	.88

Assuming that valuations in this township are approximately proportional to area, lay off the districts on an assumed map, and then consolidate at one central school and show the educational and financial result.

7. What would you do with the rural Connecticut town shown in the adjoining drawing, assuming that the figures by each school represent the enrollment of elementary school pupils, and that each school is a one-room, one-teacher school?
8. Using the map and the data and suggestions as to consolidation given in Problem 1, page 204, (a) would the money at present raised and received be sufficient to pay transportation and maintain a consolidated school? What tax rate, pooled over each township, would do so?
9. Work out a county educational reorganization plan for some county you know, after the type of reorganization given in Appendix D of the *Osceola Code*, and calculate the resulting differences in cost and in educational efficiency.

10. Make a chart, after the form of Fig. 39, page 233, showing the educational organization for a county that would result under the proposed New York plan of community-center organization, as described on pages 201–03, and 255–58.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The steps necessary in the process of consolidation under the laws of your State?
2. A comparative study of state laws relating to the consolidation of schools, and a classification of such laws with reference to simplicity, deciding authority, and unit for organization and administration.
3. The place and status of the independent district in the consolidating plan, in type States where marked progress has been made in consolidation.
4. States having rural school supervisors, operating under county authority. Legal provisions for, their work, and its effectiveness. State approval of rural schools.
5. The per-capita and per-wagon or per-automobile cost for transportation, and relative cost and efficiency. (See Abel, Firestone, Monahan, and Knorr especially.)
6. State inspection and approval of graded schools, and state grants for such schools. (Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas as types.)
7. The provision of "teacherages," or residences for teachers, in connection with consolidated rural schools. (Muerman, and state bulletins and laws.)
8. Look up and report on the Itasca County, Minnesota, school system, a county of 2730 square miles and having but five school districts. (See *Reports State Superintendent of Public Instruction*, Minnesota; and Fought.)
9. Look up and report on the Associated Schools idea (Palmer Act) of Minnesota. (Same references as 8.)
10. Look up and report on the rural school system of Ontario, and compare it with better American conditions. (Fought, in *Bulletin* no. 32, 1015, U.S. Bureau of Education.)

11. Look up and describe the reorganized curriculum in some good rural consolidated school.
12. Study and map a county with which you are familiar, and work out a plan for county educational reorganization which will be feasible, from an educational, social, and financial point of view.
13. Make a study of Abel's *Study of 260 School Consolidations*, and his *Recent Data on Consolidation and Transportation*, and see what these reveal as to recent progress.

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CHAPTER XI

STATE EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

When state control began. The land grants for education in the new States, and the creation of state school funds in the original States, in general marked the real beginnings of state policy with reference to public education, and formed the basis for the gradual development of a system of state intervention and partial state control of education. Education having been left to the States, the authority to create and administer a school system naturally rested with the States. The State authorized the establishment of schools, permitted local taxation for their support, regulated the expenditure of the money, early began some form of money grants from the income from permanent funds or the proceeds of aid grants or taxation, and provided for the election of local representatives of the State to oversee and control the schools.

The making of school returns to the State was a natural requirement for aid received, and power to withhold the grant for failure to comply was a compelling force which soon brought not only returns but a compliance with other demands of the State as well. The making of returns, however, presupposes some one to receive, examine, and edit them, as well as some one to make the grants on the basis of the returns made. The evolution of a chief state school officer, or a state board of education, or both, and the eventual establishment of state departments of education, were the natural results of the process. Before passing to the questions of state educational policy, let us briefly examine each of these developments, in order.

I. THE OFFICE OF STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

Early officials. The office of superintendent of common schools, superintendent of free schools, superintendent of education, superintendent of public instruction, or state commissioner of education [1] — terms which are significant of the evolution through which we have passed — developed with us from the appointment

[1] The most common title is superintendent of public instruction, used in thirty States, while next in point of number comes commissioner of education, now used in nine States — a gain of five since 1915.

of officers to represent the State in its dealings with the school corporations it created to carry out the state purpose. The first such official in the United States was the superintendent of common schools appointed for the State of New York, in 1812. He was, however, displaced in 1821, and the office was not reëstablished until 1854, the Secretary of State acting, in the meantime, *ex-officio* as superintendent. Maryland had a superintendent of public instruction from 1826 to 1828, but then abolished the office and did not re-create it until 1868. Vermont had a rudimentary state school official, from 1827 to 1833, but abolished the office then until 1845. The superintendent of common schools provided for by Michigan, by the law of 1829, and superseded by a superintendent of public instruction, in 1836, represents the first such state office to present a continuous succession down to the present time.

Between 1830 and 1850, every Northern and some Southern States created either an *ex-officio* or a real state school officer to look after the rising state interest in education (see *Source Book*, pp. 283–87, for table of creations and dates). Pennsylvania, in 1834, designated the Secretary of State as *ex-officio* superintendent of common schools; in 1857 created a separate officer with that title; and in 1873 changed the title to that of superintendent of public instruction. Tennessee designated the Secretary of State to act, *ex-officio*, in 1835; the State Treasurer, *ex-officio*, in 1844; created the office of superintendent of common schools in 1867; went back to the State Treasurer in 1870, and finally established the office of superintendent of public instruction in 1873. Ohio had a superintendent of common schools from 1837 to 1840; the Secretary of State acted, *ex-officio*, from 1840 to 1853; there was a commissioner of common schools from 1853 to 1914; and a superintendent of public instruction since 1914. Kentucky appointed a superintendent of common schools in 1838, Missouri in 1839, and Iowa in 1841, but the office was retained in Missouri but two years, and in Iowa but one. The Secretary of State was designated as *ex-officio* Superintendent in Missouri in 1841, and in Illinois in 1845, and the State Treasurer as *ex-officio* Superintendent in Indiana in 1843. These officials were superseded by a superintendent of public instruction in Indiana in 1852, Missouri in 1853, and Illinois in 1854. New Jersey created the office of state superintendent for two counties only in 1845, but extended his powers to the entire State in 1846;

Maine and New Hampshire provided for a state school officer in 1846; Louisiana in 1847; Wisconsin and Minnesota in 1849; North Carolina in 1852; and Alabama in 1854. Most of the new States to the westward created the office as soon as or shortly after they were organized as Territories, and the Southern States which had not done so provided for such an officer soon after the close of the Civil War. To-day, all of our American States have such an official. (See *Source Book*, pp. 283–87, for table giving history of the office, by States.)

Early duties. The chief functions of these early state officials were to tabulate and edit the few school returns demanded of the subordinate divisions, to advise as to the law, and to apportion the state-aid grants as provided in the law. As the real state school officers replaced the *ex-officio* ones, the duties of visiting the counties, advising with local officers and boards, examining into conditions, and advising the people as to the establishment of schools were naturally added. The preparation of blanks and forms was another early and natural addition. With the establishment of county superintendents in the different counties, and the inauguration of state taxation, the superintendent's duties, both clerical and advisory, were naturally increased. The school system, though, was very largely a rural and an elementary one, and private effort worked side by side with the State in founding, endowing, and managing schools, and in particular those of secondary and college grade. So desirable was the provision of any form of education held to be that almost any kind of a school or institution was welcomed. Only as the country has developed, population increased, and new political, social, and industrial problems been pushed to the front, have we begun to examine the kind of a mixture of educational institutions which grew up under the earlier régime.

New duties and new demands. Between about 1860 and 1890 a number of new functions were added, and the work of the state educational office was materially increased. Population increased, the number of counties and cities increased, more teachers were employed, the number of school districts multiplied rapidly, new legislation was enacted, the school system was expanded and developed, and many new demands began to be made on the state educational officials. The power to recommend — or to assist in recommending — courses of study, library books, textbooks, and courses of reading for teachers and pupils; the editing of the School

Laws and the publication of special Bulletins and an Annual Report; the decision of controverted points in the School Law; the supervision of finances, the inspection of the books of local trustees, and the duty of withholding funds or bringing suit for funds misappropriated; acting as a member of the normal school boards; the issuance and revocation of teachers' certificates; the conduct, or at least the visitation, of teachers' institutes; the collection and editing of more detailed statistical returns; and the recommendation of desirable new legislation — these are types of new duties which were added to the office, largely during this period.

With the changes in our conceptions as to the nature and purpose of public education which have come since 1890, and particularly since the close of the Spanish-American War, additional new powers and duties have been thrust upon the state office. The great recent development of high schools; the forcing to the front of the rural-school problem; the introduction of industrial and vocational training; the addition of state subsidies for various educational undertakings, demanding inspection and approval; the constant increase in the powers of the State, at the expense of the counties and the districts; the marked tendency to shift the certification of teachers to state control; the demand for leadership in matters of curriculum, sanitation, school architecture, child welfare, agricultural education, vocational needs, training of teachers, and many other important lines; inter-state relationships of various kinds; new judicial and administrative functions; and the general tendency to develop a stronger state school administrative machinery — these are some of the new powers and duties and tendencies which have recently served materially to increase the authority and the work of the chief state school officer. The result has been that the office recently has been fairly swamped with new work, part of which it is, as yet, only imperfectly prepared to handle.

New conceptions and problems. With the rounding out of the elementary and secondary school system; the addition of many special-type schools; the institution of what promises to develop into a vast system of vocational, continuation, and extension education; the awakening to an educational self-consciousness on the part of the State, particularly since the World War; the recognition of new social and political problems which the recent increase of South-of-Europe immigration, and the recent rapid

extension of the power to participate in the functions of government[1] have brought; the new conception of the rural-school problem as a phase of the rural-life problem, demanding important educational reorganizations for its solution; and the dawning recognition that public education is one of the chief interests of the State and offers opportunity for the highest phases of constructive statesmanship, we have begun to assume a new attitude toward the office and to conceive of its work and possibilities in a new light. The educational duties and responsibilities of the State; the relation the State should assume toward its subdivisions and local communities, and toward educational institutions which have grown up under its laws, but not under its supervision; the need for state standards, state educational policies, and of a well-thought-out state educational purpose; the need of a unification of educational effort, and the elimination of useless duplication and waste; the need of a wise system of finance; the need for some forms of inspection and approval; and the need of changing the State from a mere passive tax-gatherer and supervisory authority into an active educational agency, working for the improvement of educational conditions throughout the whole State — these are some of the more important administrative problems which have been pushed to the front within the past two decades, and which now call for knowledge, professional leadership, educational insight, imagination, and a long look ahead for their solution.[2] It is almost certain that much of the chief constructive work of the next decade or two will be the handling and solving of these problems on the part of the state educational authorities.

Traditions of the office, and support. The state educational office arose, as has been pointed out, when there were no present-day educational problems to be solved. Its early functions were clerical, statistical, and exhortatory. These early functions have been crystallized in the laws, have formed the traditions of the office, and have been passed on from superintendent to super-

[1] The initiative, referendum, recall, and female suffrage.

[2] "Unless the State is moving, the purposes of the State are not being fulfilled. The State which is not inspecting and improving its schoolhouses; which is not preparing, regulating, and advancing its teaching service; which is not shaping and stimulating the work of its schools, through a department of the state government and through universal expert supervision, to which it has given a dignity of standing and authority sufficient to justify the theories upon which its every act is taken, is a State whose government is in hands that are nerveless, or whose people are strangely and basely indifferent to the evolution of educational thought and to the stern logic of educational events." (A. S. Draper, *American Education*, p. 41.)

intendent. As a result, the office of superintendent of public instruction, in most of our American States, realizes as yet but a small fraction of its possible educational efficiency.

The gathering, compilation, and publication of the statistical returns, often with little or no effort at interpretation; the preparation of forms, blanks, and teachers' registers, and the sending of these to the schools of the State; the attendance at teachers' institutes, and visitation in the different counties; the holding of an annual or a biennial convention of the county superintendents, for the consideration of educational questions; the issuance of life diplomas; the hearing of appeals from the decisions of the county superintendents; the apportionment of the income from the state school fund, as provided by law; the examination and approval of the reports of subordinate school officials; the answering of inquiries; the publication of the School Laws; and the preparation of an annual or biennial *Report* for the Governor and the Legislature — these have for long constituted the chief educational duties of the superintendent of public instruction in most of our American States. (See *Source Book*, pp. 282–91, for a statement of the usual duties of a state superintendent of public instruction.) Only recently have superintendents begun to break away from these traditions to take a larger view of their functions.

The salary paid the chief school official of the State, too, has for long been pitiably small, though there has been a commendable advance during recent years, as shown by the following statement of salaries paid in 1896, 1909, 1916, and 1923.

Salary per Year	1896	1909	1916	1923
Lowest	$1000	$1800	$ 1800	$ 1800
Highest	5000	7500	10000	12000
Median	2303	2739	3000	4250
Mode	2000	3000	3000	5000
Average	2273	2970	3847	4834

Only three superintendents, in States where the office is filled by popular election, were paid over $3000 in 1908, and twelve in 1916, while in 1922 there were twenty-four. However, only one elected superintendent exceeded $5000 as late as 1922, while but one appointed superintendent was paid less than $5000. The significance of such figures is clear. Notwithstanding the recent increases, the salaries paid in most of the States are still too low to secure the kind of men needed for the office. In many of the elective States, from two or three to eight or a dozen superintendents of city school systems, and sometimes an almost equal

number of high-school principals, are paid a salary in excess of that paid the chief school officer of the State.

The office, too, in most cases in the past has been but poorly equipped to handle modern business. A deputy or two, a few clerks, and a stenographer or two have, until fairly recently, been the usual equipment of the state educational office, and these have all been badly overworked with purely clerical and routine duties. During recent years[1] there has been much improvement, due to the appointment of inspectors, agents, and commissioners, but most of our state educational departments are still lacking greatly in the matter of staff assistants.

The political incubus. The most serious burden under which the office still labors, however, and in nearly three fourths of our States, is that of partisan nomination and election. This, coupled with the short term and the habit of rotating the office around among the electorate, has usually kept the best school men in the State from considering the possibility of the position. The office has offered no career for any one, with the result that it has too often been left as a retiring political reward for the old and successful county superintendent. The cities have monopolized the services of the better school men, and the best thought has been spent on their problems. The result is written over the past educational history of many of our American States.[2] The cities have made remarkable progress and drawn the best prepared men to their service, while the state office has commanded but little influence, has been given only very limited powers, and has been shunned by most of the well-prepared school men in the State.

Such a condition ought not to continue much longer. The position of chief school officer of one of our American commonwealths is, potentially at least, a more important position than the presidency of the state university of the same State, and ought to enlist the services of a man of as large knowledge, insight, and executive capacity. That it does not do so is due more to the conditions and traditions which surround the office than to any other cause. Few college presidents ever exerted, or had the chance to exert, the influence exerted by Horace Mann or Henry Barnard,

[1] The New York State Education Department has for long ranked first in this respect, and in 1925 had a professional staff of 151. Pennsylvania came second with 65, Massachusetts third with 39, Texas fourth with 31, and Minnesota fifth with 22 — clerical employees not counted. For details as to all States, see tables in Ferguson's study, pages 5–6.

[2] See chapter XXVII of the author's *Public School Administration*, where city administrative experience and development have been summarized.

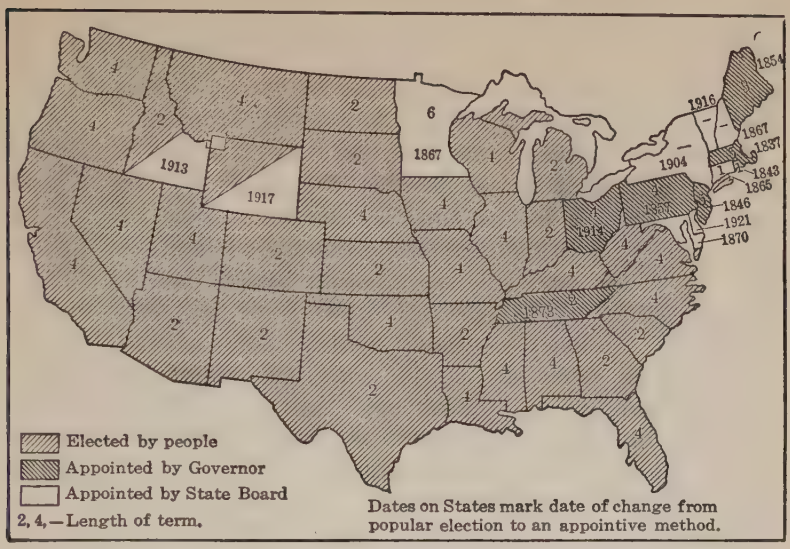


FIG. 48. METHODS USED FOR SECURING THE CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICER, AND TERM

and yet these men did their work in the days when state school supervision was in its infancy and the office possessed practically no legal powers. To-day, with the larger opportunities and problems, the possibilities for usefulness in the office of state superintendent greatly exceed those in the position of university president.

The office, however, will never realize its possibilities nor enlist the services of the best prepared men until it is lifted completely out of partisan politics; is given power commensurate with the responsibilities of the position; is freed from all forms of political interference; is opened up so that men from any State may be considered; and comes to men largely as an honor unsought. As it is, the office in the elective States to-day offers but few attractions to any one who is properly prepared for it, and a fundamental change in the methods of filling it is most urgently needed.

In the convention States long years of service must be rendered, acquaintances must be made, friends interested, delegates seen, trades arranged, and wires properly manipulated. Fitness for the position is of less importance than residence and political availability. The place, too, is one of the last on the ticket to be

filled, and is not infrequently used to satisfy some disappointed section of the State. The state offices are fought over, slates are made and broken, and the offices are finally parcelled out on the basis of voting representation and expected majorities.

In the primary States the situation is even worse. Under the convention method it was possible for a potential candidate to get some idea as to the possible outcome — even though the slate might be broken on the convention floor — and then quietly drop out of the race if it was apparent that he had no chance. This possibility has occasionally drawn some superior men into candidacy. Under the primary method little can be told until the votes are counted, and the man who adopts spectacular methods, panders to popular prejudices, and plays for votes among an unthinking electorate has a clear advantage over any thoughtful and conscientious opponent. This, coupled with the necessity of winning two elections, first within the party and then against the nominee of the other party, is very likely to limit still further the field of choice and tend to give us, in such States, a poorer quality of chief state school officer than would otherwise have been the case.

Comparison with scientific service. The political method is not the proper one for securing skilled men for any form of expert work, and the chief reason why we employ it in selecting an expert for school work is that we started that way, and at a time when school work was in no sense expert work. For the newer positions of state geologist, state entomologist, state horticultural commissioner, state mine examiner, state highway engineer, state architect, secretary of the state board of health, secretary of the state board of charities and corrections, secretary of the industrial accident board, state bank examiner, or experts for railway or public service commissions, all of which are comparatively recent developments and are recognized as expert positions, we do not think either of resorting to political nomination or election or of confining the appointments to residents of the State.[1] As a plan, nomination and election along political lines, or even non-partisan lines, tends to bring to the front the old, ambitious, and reasonably successful practitioner, but does not,

[1] The chief state educational office arose as an evolution out of some clerical type of state office, and in the days when the Jeffersonian theory as to government had reached its culmination in the spoils theory of Andrew Jackson, while these new offices, involving expert scientific service, were a later growth after scientific service had come to have a proper value placed upon it.

except by rare chance, secure the trained and expert service needed to-day by the educational systems of our States.

The bad features of the elective method will be even more apparent if we take the case of our state universities for comparison. What results could we have expected from our state universities had they been compelled to accept as their presidents and for the heads of their departments, as the schools do their state superintendent and county superintendents, men elected by popular vote, selected along political lines from among the citizens of the State, and subject to removal at the next political landslide? We are amused at the thought of Republican Chemistry, Democratic Physics, Bull-Moose Greek, or Farmer-Labor Economics, but the difference is not material between such and politically officered schools. The difference is chiefly that we realize the defects of such a method when applied to university work, but do not as yet appreciate the absurdity when applied to public education. We know what the university has done under full freedom of selection and practically permanent tenure, but we do not know how much better schools we might have were we to use a more intelligent method of selecting leaders for them.

A better method needed. The political method, whatever may have been its merits once, and despite occasional exceptions now, is not one longer calculated to secure good results or to give us the leadership we need, and it ought to be generally abolished at an early date. It limits candidacy to the State, and to men willing to adopt political methods to secure the office; it emphasizes factors which have nothing to do with public education; it is wasteful of time and effort; it places no premium on professional preparation for the work; it destroys any possibility of a career in the office; it perpetuates low salaries, cheap service, and low ideals, and frequently gives the State a poor return for the money expended; and it is opposed to all modern corporation and business experience in the selection of specially trained men to do expert work. The trend of our evolution is not only in the direction of the elimination of such a method of selection, but it is also in the direction of creating a state educational organization capable of handling the State's educational business in a larger and a better way.

Various devices have been tried from time to time by different States to improve the condition and to eliminate the political element, and often with some show of success. Some half-dozen

of our American States have imposed certain age and certificate standards for election to the office, in an effort to improve the quality of the candidates. One State requires that the superintendent be "an experienced educator"; another requires five years of teaching or supervisory experience within the State; and still another requires that a state certificate of the highest grade be held. These requirements, however, too frequently tend to bring to the surface only the old and successful practitioner, and to rule out of consideration good men from the outside. The men most capable of filling the position often do not live within the State, or may not be able to qualify for such a certificate if they do. We tend to place entirely too much significance on past experience, particularly in the schools of the State, in the selection of our leaders, whereas teaching experience is really of but small importance compared with a knowledge of fundamental administrative principles, educational insight and imagination, and the courage that comes from well-formed convictions. The ability to see lines of proper educational evolution, rather than to think in terms of schoolroom procedures, is what is most needed on the part of the State's educational leaders. No real help in solving the problem can be expected from other means. (See *Source Book*, pp. 291–92, for good brief statement of existing limitations.)

Plans which have been tried. Michigan has tried electing the superintendent at the biennial April elections, at which only judges of the superior court, regents for the university, and members of the State Board of Education and the State Board of Agriculture are elected. Wisconsin has recently adopted this same plan. California, in an effort to remove the office partially from political competition, has provided for election without reference to party affiliation. While these improvements may be and probably are beneficial, their weakness as a solution of the difficulty lies in the fact that they do not eliminate the really fundamental objections to the elective method. When we consider the relations of the chief state school officer to the State Board of Education, other still more fundamental objections appear. Election by the legislature has been tried in a few Eastern States, notably New York and Vermont, but the plan has been abandoned, as unsatisfactory by both.

Appointment by the Governor has given fairly good results in some States and, as a plan, is preferable to popular election, but

is not so good as election by the State Board of Education. The tendency, during the past decade, has been clearly to take appointment from the Governor and place it with the State Board of Education. The chief danger of the method lies in the fact that the Governor, interested in so many other state affairs, has neither the time to devote to the problem, nor the grasp of educational needs that will enable him to make as good selections as could be made by an interested board; and that, unless particularly capable and high-minded, he may himself use the office as a political reward with a view to strengthening his political machine. Once this is done, trouble and turmoil are usually not far ahead. Since 1915 four States — Delaware, Maryland, Minnesota, and New Hampshire — which previously used this plan, have abandoned it in favor of appointment by the State Board of Education. Massachusetts, to the contrary, has reversed this procedure after over three quarters of a century under the state board plan.[1]

The consideration of a better means for securing a chief state school officer, however, involves a larger problem than the mere selection of the state school officer himself. So materially and so rapidly are we changing our whole conception of the function of the State with regard to education, and the nature of the state educational office as well, that the question we are now really facing is the much larger one of state educational reorganization and reconstruction, and along lines that will develop a state educational department capable of service in a large way and without conflicts of authority. This demands the application to state educational affairs of the best corporation and city school administrative experience, and the erection of a state board for educational control with important regulative functions and with the power to appoint its own executive officers.[2] The day is

[1] This happened as a part of a general state reorganization law, under which the heads of all departments of the state government were made appointive by the Governor. The relative merits of the state boards *vs.* governor plan of appointment had little or nothing to do with the change.

[2] "By slow steps we have (in our States) evolved two state administrative and supervisory authorities — a state board of education with large responsibilities but without an executive officer of its own, and a state superintendent with large powers, who, while an *ex-officio* member . . . of the state board of education, is otherwise independent of it. In order that these two independent state administrative and supervisory authorities may work in harmony, the state board of education is compelled, whenever a new superintendent is elected, to readjust its plans to those of the new superintendent, and at the same time the new superintendent, chosen by the people, is constrained to adapt himself to plans and policies in the making of which he has had no part." (*Public Education in Indiana; Report Indiana Educational Commission*, p. 159.)

rapidly passing when a superintendent of public instruction, elected by and representing the people, will continue, responsible only to the people, to handle alone the educational affairs of a State. The chief state school officer of the future will be more than a bookkeeper, lecturer, adviser, and apportioner of funds; he will be instead the executive officer of a board representing the state school system and the executive head of a large and important department of the state government. He will no longer be elected to "represent" the people, but be chosen to give the people the best schools their money will buy, and under laws and rules and regulations made by the representatives of the people. Before considering this question further, however, we desire first to pass to a consideration of state educational boards as administrative bodies.

2. STATE EDUCATIONAL BOARDS

Early state boards. The first state board with educational functions was created by New York State, in 1784, and was known as the "Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York." It was, however, a board for academic and collegiate oversight, with King's College (since renamed Columbia) as the central feature. This board has continued down to the present, though it was not until the reorganization of 1904 that it was made into a real state board of education and given supervisory control of the elementary, as well as of the secondary and higher schools. The next State to establish a state educational board was North Carolina, which, in 1825, created a permanent school fund and an *ex-officio* board to manage it, known as the "President and Directors of the Literary Fund." This was changed to an appointed board in 1837, and it exercised state supervision over the schools until the election by the legislature of the first state superintendent of common schools, in 1852. Vermont created a rudimentary type of state board of commissioners for common schools, in 1827, but this was abolished in 1835; an appointed state board of education was created in 1856, after the new Massachusetts plan, but this also was abolished in 1874, and it was not until 1908 that it was again created (*Source Book*, pp. 305–10). Missouri created an *ex-officio* "Committee for Literary Purposes" in 1835, consisting of the Governor, Auditor, Treasurer, and Attorney-General, which continued up to the time of the Civil War.

The year 1837 was significant educationally for the creation of

the Massachusetts State Board of Education. This was due in large part to the efforts of Horace Mann, who became its first secretary and served the State in this capacity for twelve years.[1] This board, consisting of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and eight citizens to be appointed by the Governor for eight-year terms, one to retire each year, and with the power to appoint a secretary who should serve as their executive officer, marked a new form of state oversight in school organization and administration, and one the wisdom of which we are only now beginning to appreciate. The stimulating effect of the Massachusetts educational revival, which followed its creation, was felt all over the Northern States. Connecticut followed the Massachusetts plan in 1839, but abolished the board in 1842, and it was not until 1865 that it was re-created. Kentucky created an *ex-officio* board in 1838; Arkansas in 1843; Ohio in 1850; and Indiana in 1852. Since that time other boards have been created, the character and personnel of boards have been changed, the powers and duties have been increased, and a number of new types of state boards have been created.

Change in duties; no national plan. At first the duties of these boards were few in number and limited in character. They were usually charged with the very general duties of promoting education in the State, but given no funds with which to do the promoting. The holding of conferences and the exchange of views were the chief means at their command. Even boards of the New York or the Massachusetts type did not possess any large or important functions.[2] The *ex-officio* boards had for their chief functions the care of the school lands and funds, and the advising of the chief state school officer, if such an official existed. The other types of boards gradually had added such matters as rules for the granting of life diplomas, the approval of courses of study, the stimulation of library establishment, and the making of rules and regulations for the general control of the school system of the State.

[1] Though the term of office was for long but one year, the traditions established in reëlecting Mann year after year have persisted, and in all the nearly ninety years since the creation of the board there have been but nine secretaries (title now changed to commissioner of education). One familiar with the history of American education can hardly doubt that, had Mann's tenure been subject to approval by the electorate, he would not have lasted three years.

[2] One of the interesting things concerning the Massachusetts board is that, until quite recently, it has never had any important powers, but has exerted its influence in the State through a study of educational conditions and needs, the printing of results, and advice to towns and cities and the legislature.

With time, the duties of nearly all forms of state boards have grown, as have those of the chief state school officer, though in some States new forms of state educational boards — textbooks, vocational educational, normal schools — have been created to assume the new duties instead of entrusting them to the existing board. Gradually the state board of education has been transformed from the earlier advisory type of board to a legislative type of board, with large and important responsibilities. Its need to-day is an executive officer of its own, he in turn to be the head of a department over which the board exercises the power of general control. Instead, in many (33) of our States, the board finds an independent constitutional officer, possessed of large coördinate powers. After the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act (p. 63), which required that the States must designate or create a board of control for the vocational work with which the Federal Government could deal directly, a number of States which previously had not had a state board of education created such a body. The Vocational Rehabilitation Act (p. 65) made a similar requirement of the States. In consequence we find to-day such a state educational board in almost all of the States,[1] with the probability that all will have such a board before long.

An examination of the different types of state educational boards now in existence would indicate as yet no national plan. They often appear to have been created, as they probably were, to meet some local need at the time, and some have not as yet developed many important educational functions. On the other hand, an examination of recent legislation seems to indicate certain rather clearly marked lines of evolution. Before passing to a consideration of the proper organization and powers of state educational boards, we shall first classify existing state educational boards into certain obvious types.

***Ex-officio* boards of state officers.** These may be considered as representing the earliest and most rudimentary type of state boards of education. Composed as they are of state officers, elected because of other considerations than a knowledge of or interest in public education, such boards of necessity can handle

[1] At the time of writing (1925) forty-two States had a state educational board with functions relating to the public elementary and secondary schools, and four others possessed such boards with functions limited to vocational education (Ohio, South Dakota), the normal schools (Nebraska), or the higher institutions (Iowa). Illinois and Maine alone had no board known as a state board of education, though both had a state board for vocational education.

only a limited number of educational matters with any degree of intelligence or insight. As a matter of common experience they do not as boards command public confidence, and the tendency clearly is for them to give way to better forms of organization. If the state superintendent is of the same political party as the other members, and is *persona grata* to them, the board is likely to leave educational matters largely to him to formulate or to handle, but if he happens to represent a different political faith from the others the temptation to play politics with him is often too strong to be resisted. The State Board of Education in Missouri or Oregon, each of which has been composed of the Governor, Secretary of State, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, with the Attorney-General added in Missouri, will represent this class of *ex-officio* boards. The educational functions entrusted to such a board are usually quite limited, as may be seen in the case of Oregon, taken as a type. (*Source Book*, pp. 293–94.)

***Ex-officio* boards of schoolmen.** The Indiana State Board of Education, up to its modification in 1899, and the old California State Board of Education up to its abolition in 1912, represented perhaps the most conspicuous examples of this type of board. The Arizona and Kansas State Boards have also been of this type. When the Indiana board was first created, in 1852, it was composed *ex-officio* of state officials, but in 1865 it was reorganized into an *ex-officio* body composed of schoolmen, the Governor alone of the old board being retained. The superintendent of public instruction, the presidents of the University of Indiana and the State Normal School, and the city superintendents of schools of the three largest cities in the State were substituted, together with the Governor, for the old *ex-officio* board. When the state agricultural college (Purdue University) was established, in 1875, the president of it was added to the board. In 1899 a county superintendent of schools, and two other persons engaged in educational work, to be appointed by the Governor, were added. (See *Source Book*, pp. 294–96, for a statement of this board's powers and duties.) The board was still further modified, in 1911, by the addition of "three persons actively interested in, and of known sympathy with, vocational education," one of whom must be an employer and one an employee. The old California board was composed of the state superintendent of public instruction, the Governor, the president and professor of education in the state university, and the presidents of each of the state normal schools.

The theory upon which such boards have been constructed is that educational matters are of such a technical and expert nature that only those at work in the profession are competent to handle them. The defect in such a theory lies largely in a mistaken idea as to the purposes of such boards. They exist chiefly for the purpose of selecting professional experts, to decide upon large questions involving policies, to authorize undertakings, and to approve expenditures. The qualities called for are the same as for membership on a city or county board for school control, and laymen rather than schoolmen form the better type of members.[1] The members are not to do executive work, or any of the work that ought to be done by professional employees, and they should not pass on questions that concern, as most educational questions must, the institutions which they direct. Writing on this subject the Indiana Educational Commission well said:[2]

> Despite the fact that the state board of education as now constituted includes in its membership some of the best educational talent in the State, it is not and cannot become an effective body. Loyalty to their own institutions and professional positions prevent the professional members from giving fearless and disinterested service to the public schools. Nay, more, the men should not be so situated that if they stand out against politicians in respect to public school matters, the institutions of which they are in charge will be imperiled.
>
> The professional members of the board are, moreover, increasingly subject to the board's authority; there is scarcely an action of the board in which some professional member does not have a personal interest. This personal interest of the professional members affects the policies of the board . . . with the result that often little progress is made. . . . In the execution of its policies, the board's subordinates come at times into conflict with the board's professional members, to the inevitable embarrassment of the subordinates and not infrequently to the partial defeat of the board's purpose.

Another defect lies in the fact that the *ex-officio* leaders in educational work are usually so busy with the problems of their own particular institutions or work that they give but little thought to the larger and more general problems of education in the State. This type of board is a distinct advance over a board composed *ex-officio* of state officials, and it may, here and there, for a time

[1] The mistake in conception is analogous to that of city boards of education, where a woman member is often added because the teachers are so largely women, with the erroneous notion that board members are to deal directly with the teachers and supervise the schools. On the contrary, the board's work is largely business and legislative, and as individual members they have little business in the schools.

[2] *Public Education in Indiana; Indiana Educational Commission Report*, p. 162.

render very capable service, but with the growth of the state department and the increase in the number of professional employees and the amount of professional service, such boards will doubtless tend to give way to appointed lay boards. It is possible to constitute a still better type of board for state educational control.

Combination types. Combinations of these two types of boards exist in a number of our States, and these may be taken to represent intermediate steps in the evolution of a real state board for educational control. In the first, the old *ex-officio* members remain, and the board is now enlarged by the addition of a number of appointed members. The Montana board is of this type. The tendency, however, is to decrease the number of *ex-officio* members, so that only the Governor and the state school superintendent remain, thus producing such boards as one finds in Alabama, Georgia, and Tennessee. A still further step is to eliminate the Governor. This leaves the state superintendent and the appointed members, a type of board examples of which we have in the present state boards of Idaho and Oklahoma. The final step in the process is to eliminate all *ex-officio* members and make the board a strictly appointed body, the appointments to be made without reference to politics, religion, race, occupation, or sex. The present California, Massachusetts, Minnesota, and New Jersey boards represent this final stage in the evolution of a state board of education.

There are certain special reasons why there should be no *ex-officio* members on a state board of education. In the case of the usual state officers the reason for not having them on the board is easily seen. The argument for having the Governor on the board is a little more valid, but by the very nature of his position he can pay but little attention to the work of any board, and can only occasionally attend meetings. His attendance is certain only when he wants to force the adoption of some idea of his own, or the election of some one in whom he is interested.[1] It is better, then, that he should not be a member. A fundamental political principle that should prevail, too, is that the person representing the appointive power ought not to be a member of the boards or commissions which he appoints; once having

[1] The very average quality of the state politicians whom our people not infrequently choose for their governors is another argument against this official being on the board.

selected and appointed the members, he should keep his hands off and let them pursue their work unhampered.

In the case of the elected state superintendent, another fundamental principle comes into play, *viz.*, that the executive officer of a legislative type of board ought not to be a member of the board which formulates the policies he is to execute. He ought to be appointed by and be the executive officer and agent of the board, but not a member of it. He might well be its secretary and should be its agent, but the board should be able to consider educational matters, formulate educational policies, and approve or disapprove of his recommendations, independently of him. If he is weak or politically inclined the temptation is entirely too great for him — due to his independence in election, tenure, and salary — to play politics openly against the board if it seems to him to be his political interest to do so. In any case, an elected superintendent and an appointed board creates a double-headed educational organization that has many possibilities for friction.

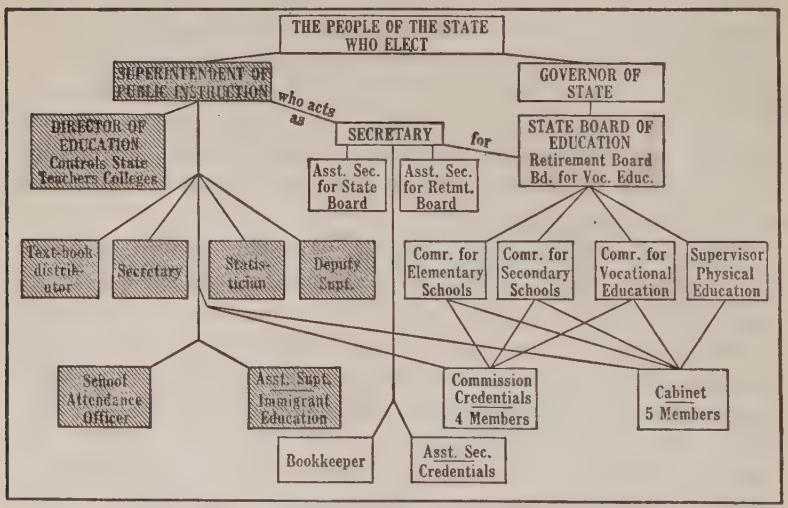


FIG. 49. A TYPICAL DOUBLE-HEADED STATE EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Recent reorganizations and reconstructions. During the past decade and a half a number of important creations and reorganizations of state boards for educational control have been made by legislative action or by constitutional amendment. In a number of cases these new creations and reorganizations were in

response to the recommendations of educational commissions or of state school surveys.[1]

We shall not go into detail with reference to these reorganizations, except to say that the tendencies manifest in them, taken as a whole and disregarding individual exceptions, have been to concentrate the functions of educational control with one, rather than with a number of state educational boards; to substitute small appointed lay boards for *ex-officio* boards, though with an unfortunate tendency to enlarge them again to "represent" new interests; to change the chief state school officer from an elected official to an executive officer of the state board of education, and selected and appointed by it — where constitutional prohibitions do not stand in the way; and materially to enlarge the powers of the state board of education, with a view to making it a real state educational board of control. In the cases of Montana, Oklahoma, and Idaho this went to the extreme of centralizing all educational control in one state board.

That the movement is toward substituting small lay boards for *ex-officio* boards; exchanging the elected superintendent of public instruction for an appointed commissioner of education, to act as the chief administrative officer of the state board; and the creation of a state department of education, with greatly enlarged staff and functions, and under the general control of a state board of education which shall act as the directors of a corporation for it, there can be little question. One of the marked developments of the past decade has been the increase in staff of our state departments of education,[2] and probably one of the most marked educational developments of the next decade or two will be the substitution of carefully thought-out and well-conducted state departments of education for the still quite com-

[1] Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming have all made changes in their form of state boards of education within the past decade and a half. In Wisconsin a state board was both created and abolished. For reasons for the abolition, see statement by the board, in *School and Society*, vol. 18, pp. 206–10. (August 18, 1923.)

[2] Monahan for 1915, and Kahlbach and Neal for 1920 show a steady growth, for all States.

Ferguson, in his study, shows a growth, for 10 selected States, of from 26 to 225 professional staff members from 1900 to 1923, and from 29 to 337 clerical staff members for the same period. The total for both staffs had increased from 8 to 148 for Massachusetts, from 3 to 55 for Connecticut, 6 to 45 for New Jersey, 8 to 143 for Pennsylvania, and 7 to 54 for Minnesota,— all States that have perfected a modern educational organization since 1900.

mon poorly organized, poorly supported, and semi-political state educational office. The chief problem is how to construct a state educational organization capable of handling the State's educational problems in a large way, and calculated to collect together a body of educational experts competent to study the educational situations within the State,[1] and capable of advising both the legislature and the school officials as to the best methods of procedure in handling educational affairs. This probably is the most important single problem in the whole field of state school administration. When such a state department of education has been created, many functions now handled rather poorly by local officials and subordinate administrative units will be transferred, in the interests of economy and of educational efficiency, to state educational control. The school affairs of any large American State have now grown into a large and a very important business undertaking, costing the people millions of dollars each year, and the direction of this great business ought to be placed under a form of management dictated by the best American experience in city school and corporation control.[2] (See *Source Book*, pp. 298–310, for statements as to the organization and functions of state boards of education.)

3. THE FORM FOR STATE EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Fundamental principles. The best experience of our American cities in school organization, the best experience in corporation control, and the best experience in the administration of our state school systems, all serve alike to make certain fundamental principles in educational organization and reorganization stand out rather clearly. These may be classified and stated, as follows:

I. Principles which should prevail in the organization of the board itself. These are:

1. The state board of education should represent the people of the whole State, and should therefore be a lay rather than a professional board. The educational work should be handled by the experts of the

[1] See articles by Dr. Carter Alexander, in *School and Society*, vol. 14, pp. 529–44 (December 10, 1921), entitled "The Wisconsin State Department of Public Instruction under Cary," and in *Educational Review*, vol. 64, pp. 16–24 (June, 1922), entitled "Superintendent Cary's Work in Wisconsin," for a good description of what may be done in the right direction when educational, rather than political, aims dominate a state educational organization.

[2] The state board of education would then become, to a large degree, a legislative body, as is a public service commission or a state board of health to-day. Educational questions could then be considered by an educational body, instead of details having to be settled by the legislature, which at best can know but little about them.

Board; the oversight and control of the experts should rest with the representatives of the people of the State.

2. The board should be neither too small nor too large. Experience has shown that small boards are not infrequently one-man affairs, while boards which are too large do not secure effective action. The best experience seems to indicate that a board of seven is about the best size.

3. The members should be appointed (or elected) for relatively long terms, and the appointments or elections should be made so that not more than one member shall go out of office each year. If the board is a board of seven, one member should be appointed or elected each year, for a seven-year term.

4. If appointment is the method used, this should rest with the Governor, and it is desirable that a governor, during the first few years of his term of office, should not be able to change the character of the board. While there is perhaps no objection to confirmation by the Senate, this is not a necessity. It is desirable to place the full responsibility for good and bad appointments on the Governor himself.

5. All appointments should be based solely on ability to serve the interests of the people, and should be made without reference to residence, party affiliation, religion, race, sex, or occupation. It is very desirable that the state board of education should be made of as much importance and as high an honor as the board of regents for a state university, and that a similar type of citizen should be attracted to it.

6. If election of the members of the state board of education by the people is employed — and for this strong arguments can be advanced, as will be stated further on — then the same principles as to number, term, election, and vacancies should prevail.

7. The power of removal should be entrusted to the Governor, and should be only for immorality, malfeasance in office, or gross incompetency. If the proper kind of men are selected such contingencies are very unlikely to happen. Removals for other causes, which are likely to be personal or political, should not be countenanced. If the board becomes too bad, it is best to legislate it out of office and create a new one.

8. There should be no *ex-officio* members on the board. The general experience with boards of education everywhere is that *ex-officio* members are neither useful nor helpful. The Governor himself should not be a member of the board. On the contrary, he should select the members to do the work, and then let them alone.[1]

9. Neither should the state superintendent be *ex-officio* a member of the board, in case the office has to be retained for constitutional reasons. He should instead be made its secretary, and, if competent, its executive officer and the head of the state department of education.

[1] The experience of our cities is clearly along this line. A city board of education which continually feels the necessity of conferring with the mayor before taking action is a city board which usually renders very inefficient service, because its actions and appointment are too frequently controlled by the exigencies of city politics.

A fundamental principle in all administrative work is that one who is to execute policy ought not to be a member of the board which determines the policy.

10. The members of the board should be paid their necessary traveling expenses, and possibly a small *honorarium* for their services, as $200 yearly. A *per diem* should never be used.[1]

II. Principles which should prevail in determining the functions of the Board. These are:

1. The most important function of the state board of education is that of the selection of its executive officers, and in making such selections the board should be free to search the entire United States, and to draw to the work of education in the State those persons whom it feels most likely will render efficient service. What is wanted is the best executive officers who can be found anywhere for the money which the State feels that it can spend. To this end the board should, of course, fix the salary of the superintendent or commissioner of education. The tenure should be definite, but with power of dismissal on a two-thirds vote at the end of any school year. The board should also appoint its other executive officers, among which will be a clerk to attend to all clerical business, a business manager to look after the business and financial affairs, and a statistician to look after reports and statistical matters.

2. On the recommendation of the chief executive officer, who may be called commissioner of education, the board should appoint such assistant commissioners and other educational experts as may be deemed necessary, or as may have been provided for by the legislature, and determine their tenure and compensation. In making such appointments, also, the principle to be kept in mind is that of securing the best men which the money at hand will attract.

3. The state board of education should have power to make rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law, for its own government, and for the government of its executive officers. It should assign them their functions and duties, direct them as to their work, and be free to change these assignments and duties as the necessities of the case may demand.

4. This board, whether elected by the people or appointed by the Governor, must be considered as a board representing the people to look after the educational interests of the State. Its prime functions should be to determine policies, to direct work to be undertaken and make appropriations for the same, to approve plans for investigations and assistants to conduct them, and to act on recommendations based on the results.

5. It is important that a clear distinction between legislative and executive functions be preserved between the board and its experts.

[1] The chief objection to a *per diem* is that it tends to multiply and prolong meetings, and to encourage talk rather than action. This in turn tends to keep the best type of men off the board, as their time is too valuable to waste in this way. It also tempts the board to seize professional duties that it ought not to try to perform

It is primarily the business of the board to legislate; it is primarily the business of the experts to execute policy which has once been decided upon. In all matters which involve new policy and new methods of procedure the experts should report back to the board for instructions; but, once having given these instructions, the execution of them should be left to the experts whom the board employs.

6. It should also be one of the functions of the board to approve a budget of necessary expenditures for the proper maintenance of the department and the carrying on of necessary investigations, and present this to the legislature for its approval. When the budget is approved, the distribution of all money so appropriated, specific appropriations excepted, should be in the hands of the board and its officers.

7. The control of the state permanent school fund should rest with the board, and its investment should be subject to its approval. (See Chapter XVI.)

8. The legislature should of course be competent at any time to direct the board as to the addition of new executive officers, educational experts, or new lines of investigation, but the appointment of the experts and the carrying out of the investigations should rest with the state board of education.

III. Principles which should prevail with reference to the relations of the board to its executive officers and experts, and the general work of the board.

1. Acting through its executive officers, the board should have general supervision and inspection of the entire educational system of the State. This should include the educational departments of charitable and penal institutions, as well as the regular school system. It should also, through its experts, see that the educational laws of the State are enforced.

2. Acting through its educational experts, the board should have studies made of the educational conditions and needs of the State, and the effect of the operation of present laws, and it should be made its duty biennially to advise the legislature as to needed changes in the laws or additional educational legislation.

3. Acting also through its educational experts, the board should approve plans for classifying, standardizing, and limiting the spheres of action of the different educational institutions of the State, with a view to promoting their efficiency, harmonizing the educational interests, and preventing any wasteful duplication of effort.

4. The management and investment of the state school fund should be in the hands of the board, without interference by the legislature or other state boards or officers.

5. Acting also through its examining division, and in accordance with law, the board should determine the conditions for the certification of all teachers for the schools of the State. The certification of teachers is primarily a state function, and there should be but one standard for the whole State.

6. The training of teachers in the State should be under the general regulation of the board, with power to order such changes in requirements as existing needs may indicate as desirable and budget appropriations permit of being made.

7. In coöperation with the State Board of Health, the board should standardize sanitary appliances and the construction of school buildings, and guide and direct the medical examination and the health and development work in the schools.

8. Acting through or in coöperation with the state library, the board should aid in the establishment of school and traveling libraries, and stimulate local library effort.

9. In coöperation with other departments of the state government, if such have been provided for the work, the board should see that the rules relating to schools, health, compulsory education, child labor, and child conservation are enforced, and in addition should plan an active campaign for the public conservation of childhood.

10. The board should also have general oversight of the work in vocational education and vocational rehabilitation within the State, and act as the agent of the Federal Government in carrying out any national educational projects within the State.

11. Perhaps one of the most important functions of the board, acting in connection with all of its experts, is that of the publication of a careful and somewhat detailed annual report of its activities, and the activities of the different divisions of the state department. This should be printed in sufficient quantities for proper distribution, and, together with other forms of publicity, should be the chief means through which the state board influences educational development within the State.

Substantially such controlling principles as have just been outlined were recommended in the educational surveys made for Vermont (*Source Book*, pp. 304–10), Maryland, Indiana, California, and other States, and recent legislation has tended to incorporate such provisions into the laws. A somewhat more detailed outline for such a form of state educational reorganization has been worked out, in legal form, for the State of Osceola, and will be found in the *Code* for that State, which see.

Appointment *vs.* election of members. While appointment of the members of the state board of education has been favored in all recent reorganizations and survey reports, and by analogy with other state boards would naturally be the preferred method, and is further in harmony with our present governmental theory of concentrating power and responsibility in the hands of the State's chief executive officer, some strong arguments can nevertheless be advanced for having the members of this board elected by the people instead. If this election can take place at a state-

wide school election, separate from political elections, as in Osceola (Art. 8, Secs. 40–44), the argument becomes even stronger. One argument for such a change has been the action of a number of governors, in recent years, in trying to annex the growing state board and department of education as a part of their personal and

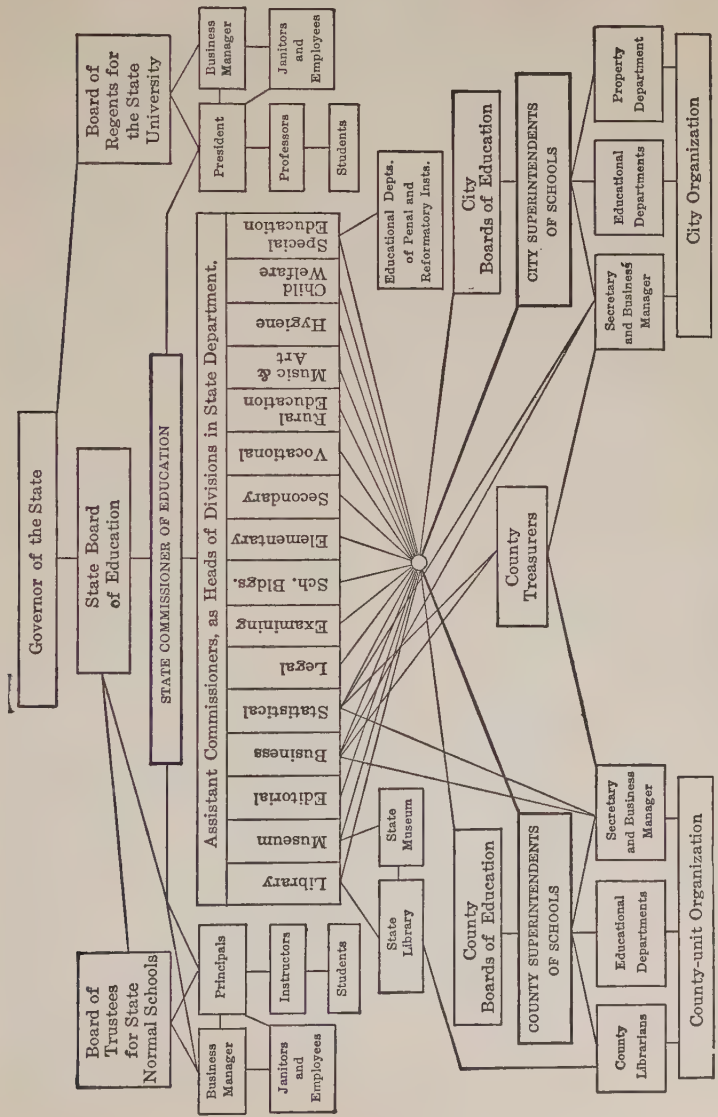


FIG. 50. A WELL-ORGANIZED STATE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT

political machine. What mayors have for long done in cities, as school departments have grown in size and organization, governors have recently attempted to do with the state educational systems.

The argument for appointment of the members of the state board of education, aside from the prevalent political theory that it is wise to concentrate power in the hands of the Governor to appoint all state boards, rests by analogy on the success of the plan with such boards as the highway commission, railroad commission, boards for financial control, and similar bodies. Where such boards are appointed to do administrative work, and are paid to give their full time to such services, the matter takes on quite a different aspect from that of a state board of education, which in theory is to be a lay control body, and is not expected to give much time to services or to spend any time doing office work. There is a distinct difference between a state board of education, appointed as a lay body to select experts and to decide the larger policies of state educational control, and a railroad commission which is at work every day in investigations and the hearing and deciding of cases. One is a lay legislative board of control; the other is an expert administrative board. An administrative board, exercising expert functions, ought to be appointed, while a representative control board might be elected. If a state board of education is to be an expert administrative body, then we should select educational experts for the positions and pay them well for their work, and a chief executive officer, other than the president of the board, is not needed. It is possible that it is appointment which has caused a confusion of functions here, and has led members of state boards of education to establish offices and attempt to do executive work which they should let alone.

Administrative experience in our cities indicates that election of the members of the lay and representative school boards by the people of the city makes for better results than does appointment by the mayor. While appointment by the mayor was much favored two or three decades ago, most recent city reorganizations and the best theory to-day favor election by the people of the city instead, and a clear separation of education, both in control and finance, from the city government. The best experience and theory also favor a clear separation of legislative and administrative powers. The same may be said to be true for county-unit organization and control. May it not be that the same principles would work out equally well when applied to the selection of

members of state boards of education? It would give the people an elected board, in exchange for an elected superintendent, and might make them far more willing than they now seem to give up the election of the chief state school officer. While the method undoubtedly would open up the way for the running of "special-interests" candidates, and might lead to the election of factional boards that would accomplish little, it probably would not lead to the creation of any worse conditions than some of our governors — and partisan friends of governors — have recently created by appointment.

Another plan sometimes proposed, and for which certain advantages may be set forth, is what has been termed the departmental or federal plan. Under this plan the state government would be organized into a series of departments — agriculture, education, engineering, finance, health, highways, public utilities, public welfare, etc. — with an appointed commissioner or director or secretary at the head of each. Under this plan there would be no state board of education, but instead the commissioner or director of education would be selected and appointed by the governor, with confirmation by the state senate, and be responsible to the governor for results. The different heads of departments would together constitute a cabinet for the consideration and direction of the public business of the State, and the legislature would then represent the people by passing on the recommendations and requests for funds of the different department heads.

How best to secure a good state board of education is as yet by no means a settled question, and a certain amount of experimenting is to be expected in our States for some time to come. It is probably also the biggest single problem, after finance, in state school administration to-day, as so much of what follows depends upon the character of this board. This much, at least, seems certain. Either governors must learn not to try to make the state board of education a part of their personal or political machine, and must make as good appointments to this board as they do to boards representing financial affairs and intimate public services, or, in the interests of good schools and the efficient administration of education in our States, we shall see the power of appointment gradually taken from them and placed with the people. On the other hand, if a better quality of governor can be had, a departmental plan would eliminate unintelligent state board interference.

4. FUNDAMENTAL STATE ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

In addition to the group of problems which we have just treated, and which relate to the proper forms for state educational organization and control, another important group of problems exists which involve the relationships of the educational organization of the State to the educational organizations of its subordinate units, and the character and purpose of the state educational policy that ought to be formulated and carried out. A brief consideration at least of this latter group of problems ought to be included here, though space will permit of the enumeration, at this point, of only the larger and more important aspects of this group of problems. Many of these will be considered in further detail in the chapters that follow.

The State and its subordinate units. Under our American system of educational organization and administration, much has been left to the community to determine and to put into force. The earlier theory at least was to leave as large options and as much power with the local administrative units as they could use wisely and intelligently. Often more was left than could be so used. While our conceptions as to what powers and duties can be advantageously entrusted to local administrative units are changing with time, there is, nevertheless, a certain demarcation between the powers and duties of the State and the powers and duties of communities which ought to be observed in all educational legislation and all state administrative control. This line of demarcation will vary somewhat in the different States, according to the degree of educational progress already made, the peculiar genius of their institutions, the types of subordinate administrative units involved, and the amount of money available for administrative work, but the line nevertheless exists in all our States. Up to a certain point state oversight and control is very desirable; too much liberty may easily mean inefficiency and waste.

In all such matters as methods of bookkeeping and accounting, uniform fiscal years, and uniform statistical returns, the State should prescribe such a degree of uniformity as will produce intelligent and comparable records. In all such matters as the kind or kinds of schools which must or may be provided, the minimum length of school term which must be maintained, the general nature of the instruction required to be given, standards for the certification of teachers, school supervision to be required, sani-

tary standards to be maintained, equipment to be provided, minimum rates and forms of taxation to be imposed, minimum salaries to be paid, compulsion of children to attend, and child-labor laws, it is essentially the duty and the business of the State to determine the minimum standards which shall be permitted, perhaps classifying communities into groups and requiring different minima from each, but always leaving to any community the right to exceed these minima if it desires to do so. From time to time, as different educational needs and conditions may seem to require, it is also the business of the State to raise these minima for any or for all of the groups, and in doing so the State should always act on the basis of what is best and now possible for the children of the State as a whole, rather than on the basis of what its poorer communities can do or provide. Such legislation will frequently involve reciprocal obligations on the part of the State, as we shall point out in Chapter XVII, and these the State, if actuated by a wise educational policy, will expect to meet.

A State's educational policy. The careful formulation of such minimum requirements, the raising of such requirements from time to time as finances and educational conditions permit, and the meeting of the reciprocal obligations on the part of the State, involve a clearly conceived and more or less clearly defined constructive state educational policy which looks to a series of progressive changes and the securing of results over a period of time. In many of our States such a conception seems to be almost entirely lacking, and, as far as it exists at all, it seems to be carried forward by the teachers of the State rather than by the educational authorities representing the State. Perhaps, after all, such a state educational policy can only be expected as the result of long and careful thinking on the distinctively state educational problems which are to be enumerated later on. If so, then only few of our States have done such thinking, for in but few of them do we find, upon examining their educational histories and legislation, evidences of any well-thought-out educational policy, pursued over any considerable period of time. Of all our States, Massachusetts certainly stands forth as the one which shows most evidence of having followed for the longest time a somewhat definite policy and plan in dealing with the cities and towns of the State, and much of the educational progress that Massachusetts has made — and with little or no state aid to serve as a stimulus

to action, and often in opposition to the strong conservatism of the towns — has been due to this relatively well-thought-out and consistently followed state educational policy. New York also gives much evidence of such a policy.

Such a guiding state educational policy is almost always a result of capable and somewhat continuous leadership, rather than of mass efforts, and it is this capable and sustained leadership which our American States have so far largely lacked. The conception of the State as an active, energetic agent, working constantly and intelligently for the moral, intellectual, scientific, and social improvement and advancement of the people and the betterment of educational conditions throughout the State, instead of acting as a passive statistical agent and tax-collector and distributor on the one hand, or an arbitrary and technical legal-enforcing authority on the other, is one which until very recently has been presented in but few of our American States. Our legislation and our administration alike have consisted far too much of office regulation, the strict construction of the law, dictation as to what must be done, and inspection of results, rather than of helpful assistance, interpretation and adjustment, professional leadership, and constructive contributions to community effort.

It should be a prime purpose in the carrying out of a constructive state educational policy to study out means for stimulating communities to individual educational activity in new directions. This is more important than compulsion, after the minimum standards of the State have been met. Certain communities can and ought to do more than others, and this should be kept clearly in mind by the State. Legislation and regulation should recognize this, and place "baits" to activity where they will stimulate to action. The common tendency toward an unnecessary uniformity, which too often follows a centralization of control and which is so stifling to community activity, should be carefully avoided by the State. Unity in essentials, and large liberty to communities in the matter of non-essentials; as high minimum standards for all as is possible; constant stimulation of the local subdivisions to exceed the minima required; large local liberty in the choice of methods and tools and the extension of work; the protection of state standards from being lowered by private agencies; the freeing of the larger and more progressive communities from a uniformity perhaps necessary for small and more backward com-

munities — these ought to be essential features in any wise state educational policy.

To discover what can safely be left to local control, and then to pass such duties downward, is as important a feature of state educational administration as is the gathering up by the State of functions which communities can no longer exercise intelligently or well. When the apparent remoteness of the State and the intimacy of local control are considered, a wise state policy would be to relinquish to communities, as agents, any functions which they can control well and will be interested in handling. There is no virtue in mere centralization of control, as such.

The larger problems of state educational control. There are numerous distinctively state educational problems, some of which will require careful study and much adjustment to local conditions. In the carrying out of others years of enlightened educational direction will be required before many visible results can be expected. A mere enumeration of these is all that can be given here. To each, however, certain fundamental principles apply, and action taken contrary to these fundamental principles will sooner or later have to be reversed.

These special state problems group themselves about the questions of the nature and the extent of state oversight and control: the extension of educational advantages; the scope of and the best organization of the forms of educational opportunity provided; proper methods in taxation and in the apportionment of funds; the stimulation of subordinate units to new educational activity; the provision of adequate professional supervision for all schools; the best subordinate unit or units for local organization and control; the proper division of powers and functions, as between the State and its subordinate units; the large social and educational problems surrounding the village and rural school; industrial and vocational training; part-time, extension, and adult education; the material equipment of schools; health and sanitary control; the training and after-training of the teacher; salary schedules, tenure, and pensions; the State and the child; and the relation of the State to non-state educational agencies.

Each of these major problems in state and county educational administration deserves special study in each State, and when clear and provable principles of action or standards of requirement have been formulated, they should be of large value in guiding state educational authorities in the administrative con-

trol of the school system of the State. Having now considered the forms and units for state organization and control, we shall next pass to a consideration of the major problems we have just enumerated.

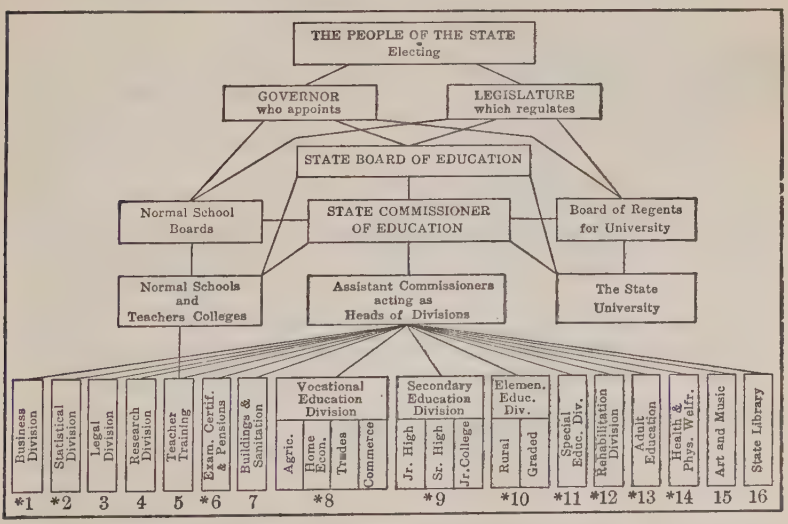
QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show how the three marked stages of development in the character of the office of chief state school officer, as sketched in the text, correspond with periods of development in public education in the United States.
2. Of the list of new problems in state organization and administration, as listed at the bottom of page 273, and top of page 274, how many have become important ones in your State?
3. What is the position of your State in the matter of salary paid and selection of its chief school officer?
4. In the creation of the new state commissioners and agents, why did we not provide for their selection also by popular election?
5. What is the objection to the Michigan and Wisconsin plans for securing their superintendents of public instruction? About what place, in an evolutionary series, does the plan occupy?
6. Arrange the different possible plans in a series, in the order of merit, and state the advantages and disadvantages of each.
7. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the plan of organizing education as one of the big departments of a state government — education, agriculture, engineering, highways, mines, etc. — and then having the governor name the heads of all departments, these heads forming a sort of cabinet with him.
8. How do you account for Massachusetts having shown evidence of a more carefully thought-out educational policy, and over a longer period of time, than other American States?
9. Is the separation of legislative and executive functions, between the board of education and the state commissioner of education, as made in the *Osceola Code* [Sec. 7, (1), and Sec. 11, (1)–(4)], a sound separation? Why?
10. Arrange the different methods of creating a state board of education in a series, in the order of merit, and state the advantages and disadvantages of each.
11. Do you take any exception to any of the principles of action, as stated on pages 298 and 300? If so, what ones, and why?
12. Formulate the advantages, and the disadvantages, of having a state board of education elected by the people of the whole State, at a general state or school election, instead of being appointed by the Governor.
13. In Michigan, the people elect both state board and superintendent at a general election. What are the objections to this plan?
14. Just what do you understand to be meant by the statements that:
    (*a*) It is the duty of the State to impose minimum educational requirements?
    (*b*) These must be imposed with the needs of the State, rather than of individual communities, in mind?
    (*c*) Such imposition of minima often will involve reciprocal obligations on the part of the State?
    (*d*) The State should be an active, energetic agent working to improve educational conditions throughout the State, rather than a passive tax-collector and distributor?

15. Try to formulate some general rule for delimiting state oversight and control on the one hand, and local oversight and control on the other.
16. Criticize the list of divisions in the state educational department of Osceola (for description see *Code*, Chapter I, Article 3; for organization and relationship see Figure 50), from the point of view of general desirability, function, and centralization of authority.
17. Read the article by Pritchett (*Source Book*, pp. 311–15) on "A Right System of Schools for an American Commonwealth," and evaluate it in terms of the principles laid down in this chapter.
18. Read the articles by Alexander, Cary, Fitzpatrick, Gray, and Harris, and state how far they agree or disagree with the fundamental principles of organization as stated in this chapter.
19. Should the members of a state board of education ever establish offices, and see teachers or those having business with the state department of education? Why?
20. Should a state board of education ever adopt textbooks for the schools against the report and recommendations of its commissioner and readers?

PROBLEMS

1. List the functions of state educational organization and control:
   (*a*) that should be concentrated largely in state hands; and
   (*b*) that should be passed down to county and city units to handle.
2. Outline, in some detail, the functions and nature and subdivisions of work of any one of the departments of the state educational department of Osceola, as given in the *Code* and as shown in Figure 50.
3. Score the plan of state educational organization, as found in your State, and determine its position on the basis of the fundamental principles of organization, as stated in the text.



PLAN OF ORGANIZATION FOR A UNIFIED STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

4. The above diagram, showing a proposed educational reorganization for a State, was given in the Report of the *Special Legislative Commission*

on Education, for California, page 25. An asterisk preceding a number indicates the existence of such a division in more or less perfectly organized form.

Criticize the proposed organization as to (1) completeness, (2) centralization, (3) improper relationships, (4) fixation of authority and responsibility, and (5) changes you would propose, and why.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The present state educational organization as found in the State of New York, with reference to the five points mentioned in problem 4. (*School Law* of New York.) See also *School and Society*, vol. 18, p. 409 (October 6, 1923), for list of Divisions and Bureaus.
2. The purpose of organization, work, and success of the legal division of the state department, as found in New York State.
3. The extent to which constitutional requirements in the different States compel the selection of the chief state school officer by popular election. Map results, and show what States which might change by legislative action have not yet done so.
4. The state examination system of New York as a means of school supervision. (Kruse; Judd.)
5. The increasing centralization of authority in the educational legislation of your State, over a period of years, and a valuation of the changes in terms of the principles stated in this chapter.
6. Read the article on the "Principles of State Educational Organization and Administration," by Bobbitt, and write a brief review of it in the light of the principles laid down in this chapter.

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DIVISION III

THE SCOPE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

CHAPTER XII

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Our educational evolution. When education at public expense began in this country, the free public high school had not as yet been evolved.[1] Up to about the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the whole range of public education, outside of a few cities, was represented by the short-term, ungraded, district school, with a few public academies in New England and the Southern States and the merest beginnings of a state university in but eight of the then twenty-four States. For another quarter of a century the short-term, ungraded, elementary school was the dominant characteristic of American public education. The early constitutions and laws naturally dealt with the schools as then existing, and, while frequently making provision for the care of the private academies and colleges, the chief interest, as expressed in these documents, was in the so-called "common schools" of the time.

Often this interest found constitutional utterance merely in a simple direction to the legislature to establish a "school or schools" in each of the school districts, townships, or towns of the State, leaving to the legislature the determination as to when and how this should be done. With the admission of the new States to the westward, with their congressional land grants for common schools and for a seminary of learning, it became customary to include constitutional mention of a state college as well.

Out of these so-called "common schools" — frequently referred to as such in both constitutions and laws — we in time evolved the full graded elementary school as we know it to-day. As later developments have come also all the special types of elementary schools which have been created from time to time to meet new educational needs, while the high school has been in part an adaptation of the older academy idea and in part an ex-

[1] The first American high school was established in Boston, in 1821. By 1840 there were probably not over 60 high schools in the United States. For 1860 the U.S. Commissioner of Education listed 361 high schools. (For distribution of these see map in author's *Public Education in the United States*, p. 198.) Grizzell (E. D.), in his study of *The Origin and Development of the High School in New England before 1865* (1923), finds evidence of the existence of more partial or complete high schools than are contained in the U.S. Commissioner's list.

tension upward of the advanced work of the common or elementary school. After the battle to establish general taxation for education had been fought and won, the term "common schools" was slowly extended, in the laws and in the thinking of the people — and at times this extension had to be confirmed by supreme court decisions[1] — to include the entire public school system below the university.

From the early beginnings just indicated we have expanded the provisions of the School Codes of our States, usually without the formality of amending the constitutional statement, to include all the essential features of not only elementary and secondary education, but of special-type schools, industrial and vocational education, supplemental and extension work, and higher and professional education as well (*Source Book*, pp. 345–46), and the right to make these expansions has been upheld by the courts (*Source Book*, pp. 336–41, 341–45). Our people have clearly conceived of the elementary and secondary school as constituting one common school system, with equal opportunity for all, and they have likewise conceived it to be the business of the State to keep the paths of intellectual opportunity open. Nearly all of our States have by now added the state university to the top of their educational ladder.

In this chapter we shall consider the main types of legal requirements relating to elementary and secondary education only, leaving to the chapters which follow a consideration of the other divisions of the field of public education.

Constitutional requirements. While at first the different state constitutions made only brief mention of education (*Source Book*, pp. 12–17), or were entirely silent on the matter, all States have now included in their constitutions some reference to educa-

[1] A good illustration of this is to be found in the celebrated Kalamazoo Decision ("Charles E. Stuart *et al vs.* School District No. 1 of the Village of Kalamazoo"; in *30 Michigan*, p. 69). After detailed consideration of the contentions and history involved, the Court summed up as follows:

"If these facts do not demonstrate clearly and conclusively a general state policy, beginning in 1817 and continuing until after the adoption of the present constitution, in the direction of free schools in which education, and at their option the elements of classical education, might be brought within the reach of all the children of the state, then, as it seems to us, nothing can demonstrate it. We might follow the subject further and show that the subsequent legislation has all concurred with this policy, but it would be a waste of time and labor. We content ourselves with the statement that neither in our state policy, in our constitution, or in our laws, do we find the primary-school districts restricted in the branches of knowledge which their officers may cause to be taught, or the grade of instruction that may be given, if their voters consent in regular form to bear the expense and raise the taxes for the purpose."

tion as an interest of the State to be looked after and safeguarded. In the New England States the mention is still brief; in the upper Mississippi Valley States the mention is longer and more specific; while in the Southern and Western States the constitutional article on education is long, detailed, and very specific as to what can and cannot be done.[1] Excepting some of the older and shorter constitutions, the article on education usually includes a mandate to the legislature directing it to create a system of public schools for the State;[2] the care and use of the state school lands and school fund are provided for; the type of state, county, and local school organization and administration to be provided is described; the minimum length of school term is commonly stated; taxation requirements, and how the state school funds shall be apportioned, are commonly laid down; the management and support of the state university are directed; and a more or less rigid prohibition against any form of aid for sectarian schools, or the permission of sectarian instruction, is clearly stated. A number of other constitutional requirements and provisions are found in the individual States, but the ones just listed are those most commonly included.

The constitutional mandate is always interesting, and varies much with the time and the character of the people who framed the constitutional document.[3] A few examples will illustrate these differences in character and conception.

Art. XI, Sec. 1. Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and other means of education shall be forever encouraged. — *Constitution of Michigan.*

Art. VIII, Sec. 1. The general assembly shall provide a thorough and efficient system of free schools whereby all children of this State may receive a good common school education. — *Constitution of Illinois.*

Art. VIII, Sec. 6. The legislature shall provide for the free instruction in the common schools of this State of all persons between the ages of 5 and 21 years. — *Constitution of Nebraska.*

Art. VIII, Sec. 1. Knowledge and learning generally diffused

[1] Compare, for example, the constitutional provisions found in the constitutions of Connecticut and California, Massachusetts and Michigan, Maryland and Mississippi, New York and New Mexico, Ohio and Oklahoma, or Vermont and Virginia. (See Bul. 47, 1915, U.S. Bu. Educ., for constitutions of all the States.)

[2] Sometimes this states the scope of the school system that may be provided, as in the case of California or Kansas, but usually "a system of free schools," or "a system of common schools," or "an efficient system of public schools" is all that is ordered provided.

[3] See paragraph on page 124, Chapter V, describing how the change in attitude toward education on the part of our people, with time, found expression in the stronger statements and the greater length of the constitutional article on education.

throughout a community, being essential to the preservation of free government, it shall be the duty of the general assembly to encourage, by all suitable means, moral, intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement, and to provide by law for a general and uniform system of common schools, wherein tuition shall be without charge, and equally open to all. — *Constitution of Indiana.*

ART. VI, Sec. 2. The legislature shall encourage the promotion of intellectual, moral, scientific, and agricultural improvement, by establishing a uniform system of common schools, and schools of a higher grade, embracing normal, preparatory, collegiate, and university departments. — *Constitution of Kansas.*

By way of comparison with the above, see also the mandate for Massachusetts (*Source Book*, p. 15, Sec. 2), written in 1780 and ever since retained, and that for the State of Osceola (*Constitution*, Sec. 1). The Osceola mandate is fully expressive of modern tendencies in constitutional requirements.

As nearly all the constitutional provisions relating to education are again restated, in one form or another, in the School Codes of the different States, we shall pass at once to a consideration of the usual legislative provisions, and to the fundamental principles that ought to underlie state legislation with reference to the scope and character of the educational system to be provided.

Common legal provisions. When one passes to a study of the legal provisions enacted by our different States for the organization, administration, and control of the schools in their various subdivisions, one is struck, especially in the district-system States, with the vast amount of detailed legislation that has been piled up. In addition to such necessary enactments as the defining of what shall be considered, for apportioning funds, as constituting an elementary or a secondary school; when kindergartens and high schools may or must be established; the minimum length of school term that must be provided; what shall constitute a legal school day and month; when fiscal years must begin, and forms for school accounting; what holidays are to be observed; when special-type schools or special forms of instruction may or must be established; who must attend school and for how long; who may be excluded from school, and for what reasons; what school subjects must be included in the course of instruction, and the language of the instruction; the prohibition of propaganda and sectarian instruction in the schools; and the types of educational advantages that must be provided[1] — all of which should properly

[1] All questions as to health and sanitary control, textbooks, religious instruction, types of teacher to be employed, and the compulsion to attend are here left to later chapters for consideration.

be determined by the State regardless of the subordinate unit for organization and control that is used, and all of which can be stated in short space and in simple form — we find, in addition, a large amount of other legislation relating to the details of organization and administration and supervision that are needless, and which, under a city or a county-unit form of organization, would be left to local by-laws or to appointed executive officers to determine and handle. In the county-unit States much of this superfluous legislation has been dispensed with (*Source Book*, pp. 193–95), but in the district-system States a vast amount of detailed legislation — for which there is no real need, aside from the continuance of the district system itself — is still retained on the statute books and forms the subject for debate and amendment and change each time the legislature meets. The result is an untold duplication of effort and needless waste of time and money on the part of the county, township, and district school officers.

By way of illustration of unnecessary school legislation which the district system occasions, and the types of educational duties required of district school officers which there is no need of their performing, we list the following powers and duties relating to the conduct of schools, imposed by law on the district school authorities of Illinois (*Source Book*, pp. 189–93).

1. To contract with teachers, and report names and contracts to the county superintendent.
2. To adopt and enforce rules and regulations for the government of the schools.
3. To visit the school and inspect the work of the teachers.
4. To direct what studies shall be taught, and textbooks and apparatus used.
5. To purchase textbooks to be loaned to indigent pupils.
6. To require statistical reports from teachers, and to deliver the same to the township treasurer.
7. To make an annual report to the township treasurer, for transmission to the county superintendent of schools.
8. To keep careful minutes, and submit them twice a year to the township treasurer for inspection.
9. To dismiss teachers for enumerated causes.
10. To classify and assign pupils, admit non-residents, and fix rates of tuition.
11. To transfer pupils from one district to another.
12. To suspend or expel pupils, for cause.
13. To purchase apparatus, library books, and supplies.
14. To grant special holidays, as deemed advisable.

15. To establish special classes, and kindergarten classes, when conditions and needs warrant such action.
16. To keep a careful record of all official acts, vote all money on aye and nay vote, and pay all bills by warrant signed by the president and clerk, and drawn on the township treasurer.
17. To pay the clerk for his services.
18. To make a financial report to an annual district meeting, and to transmit a copy to the township treasurer.
19. To provide the revenue established as necessary to maintain the schools of the district.
20. To have supervision of the schoolhouse, and permit of its use for other purposes.

With the possible exception of the last (no. 20), there is not a single duty in this entire list that inexpert school trustees should ever be called upon to perform. Yet the retention of such important legal powers by the school district trustees requires an amount of legislation, educational and clerical service, printed blanks and forms and postage, overhead supervision and correction, duplication of effort, and waste of time, energy, and money for which there is no valid reason. All the first nineteen duties, and often the twentieth as well, should be handled as a unit by county educational authorities, as in the case of cities with properly organized city school systems. Good educational organization for a State will be promoted in proportion as the administration of the schools is brought under larger units of organization, and as these larger units apply the same principles of organization and administration and supervision that have been found so effective by the cities. When this is done the need for much of the detailed legislation now found in our State School Codes will pass away.

Proper state requirements. What, then, it may be asked, are proper requirements for the State to formulate, in its School Law, regarding the conduct of elementary and secondary education? If we keep clearly in mind the fundamental theory that it is the business of the State to set standards, rather than to give minute directions; to fix by law the general minimum requirements that every community school should meet, leaving minor details to boards or executive officers to determine by uniform regulations (*Source Book*, pp. 326–29); to open the way by authorization and stimulation to communities to exceed the minimum, or to undertake new forms of educational effort; to keep in mind, in all its school legislation, the rapidly changing character of all public

education, and consequently to avoid rigid and inflexible requirements;[1] to desire, above all things, results, rather than to force the following of any prescribed method or plan, and hence to grant large freedom to communities in the choice of tools and methods of work and forms of organization, so long as the desired results are obtained; and to have as the ultimate aim of all state school supervision and control the transfer to subordinate units of supervision, as fast as they can be brought up to standard, the control of as many details of organization and administration as can well be delegated — we can then formulate principles of state action in the matter of elementary and secondary education that will seem sound.

The list of desirable state-control enactments, given on page 312, fall clearly within the province of the State when considered in the light of the above principles as to proper state action. Certain additional general regulations as to health requirements, the attendance of pupils, the control of pupils passing to and from school and while in school — regulations which we shall consider at greater length in Chapters XX and XXVI — are also proper matters for general state legislation.

The legal school subjects. A matter commonly defined by statute (*Source Book*, pp. 320–26), and often defined with an undesirable minuteness, is that of the subjects which must be taught in the public schools. It is perfectly proper that the legal school subjects should be enumerated in the law; the danger lies in the direction of too specific requirements, such as the school grades in which the subjects shall be taught, and the amount and the method of instruction. Such legislative requirements as that "arithmetic shall be taught in each grade of the elementary school course"; that "every public school teacher must give instruction in morals and manners every week"; that "no pupil shall carry more than four subjects at any one time" in a high school course; that the theory of evolution shall not be taught in connection with the teaching of biology in the high schools and

[1] It is very desirable that legislation should not be too detailed or too specific; but instead should be fundamental in character and should leave to the state board of education, or the state commissioner of education, working under its direction, power of interpretation, by means of uniform rules and regulations, and change of interpretation from time to time as changing needs may seem to require. The state board of education should be made in part a legislative body for this purpose, with power to enact rules and by-laws interpreting statutes. (See the constitutional provisions for the Iowa State Board of Education for a form.)

colleges;[1] or that "a course in the home-keeping arts shall be required of each female student in the secondary schools," are far too specific. They leave too little to local initiative and adjustment, and, in view of the rapidly changing character of American education and the course-of-study reorganizations now in progress, are far too rigid and too difficult to change. Such prohibitions of teaching as recently enacted (1925) by the Tennessee legislature, and copied by Mississippi (1926), making it unlawful "to teach any theory that denies the Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible," and aimed to prohibit the presentation of the theory of evolution as a phase of the teaching of biology in the high schools and colleges of the State, while probably within the clear legal right of a State, are nevertheless not within its moral right because such legislation strikes directly at the freedom of learning on which human progress has always depended. What is in question in such legislation is the right of a free people to freedom in education, unintimidated by religious prejudice and unrestrained by human bigotry.[2]

On the other hand, such specific but, at the same time, quite general requirements as the following are desirable, by way of both definition and authorization.

The course or courses of instruction for elementary schools shall include reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, the use of the English language, American and English literature, geography, history of the United States, citizenship training, manners and morals, conduct, nature study and science, music, drawing and art instruction, physical training, personal hygiene and health habits, and such other studies as may be included by city or county authority. In rural schools, single or consolidated, and in village schools, the nature study shall be related to agriculture; and instruction in manual work and the home arts shall be included in the instruction of all schools where facilities for such instruction can be provided, and must be included in all schools employing six or more teachers.

The subjects and courses of instruction for secondary schools shall be as approved by the city or county board of education having charge of such schools. City school districts must provide secondary school instruction in manual and household arts, and county school districts secondary school instruction in agriculture.

While languages other than English may be taught as part of the

[1] See article by Wm. E. Ritter on "The Move to Prevent the Teaching of Evolution in the Schools of California"; in *School and Society*, vol. 20, pp. 729–31. (Dec. 6, 1924.)

[2] See letter on "The Scopes' Case and the Constitutional Rights of the Teacher," by R. S. Woodworth, in *School and Society*, vol. 22, pp. 274–75 (Aug. 29, 1925), for a good statement of legislative rights as to school instruction.

course of instruction, above the sixth grade, the language of instruction otherwise in all schools shall be the English language.

Such requirements are both definite enough and elastic enough to provide for all needs, and have the merit of leaving the way open for changes and improvements in the future. In view of the probable early reorganization of the elementary and secondary curricula, this is especially desirable at the present time.

The ease with which new subjects may be added to the required course of study by action of the legislature is the chief defect of this plan. There has been a marked tendency, in our American States, for interested groups to go to the legislature and secure the addition of some new subject — temperance, peace, health, morals, humane education, bird protection, thrift, fire prevention, special-day observance, the state constitution, the Italian language, local history — to the required list. Following every war period there is a marked increase in such legislation. In many of our States the number of subjects required to be taught in the elementary schools has reached eighteen, twenty, twenty-two, or more subjects. By 1925 California topped the list with thirty-one subjects. On the other hand Arizona and Missouri required but four subjects, Delaware but five, and New Hampshire but seven. Finally, as a means of simplifying requirements, the California legislature adopted a law (1925) reducing the number of required subjects to an enumerated twelve,[1] with three additional subjects permitted to be added by local authority. The theory underlying this second limitation was to change the place of pressure from the legislature to local school boards, and to limit their ability to respond to this pressure. This feature of the law is good.

How far state courses may be useful. In some of our States uniform state courses of study have gradually grown up, with time,[2] and these have been made required for the schools of the entire State — large cities usually excepted. Not infrequently these courses of study have in turn been based on uniform state-series textbooks, sometimes even to the outlining of work to be done by citations to pages in the adopted texts. The excuse for such uniform requirements has always been that there are so

[1] The twelve required subjects are: reading, writing, spelling, language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States and California, civics, music, art, training for healthful living, and morals and manners.

[2] For a good history of the gradual development of state courses of study in one type State, see Rawles, W. A., *Centralizing Tendencies in the Administration of Indiana*, pp. 92–99. (Col. Univ. Contribs. to Hist., Econ., and Publ. Law, XVII, 1.)

many poor teachers and school officers in the State, who do not know what to do and who have little ability to find out for themselves, that the promulgation of such uniform courses and requirements leads to a general improvement of instruction. In low-salary States, where the percentage of trained teachers is small and the annual teacher "turn-over" is large, and where the supervisory officers are largely untrained and the supervision unprofessional or political in character, this may easily be true. In such States, usually due to conditions incident to the retention of the district system, uniform and rather detailed courses probably serve a useful purpose, provided always that rather liberal option is given to depart from these whenever a supervisory unit feels that it can do better for its children by so doing. In still other States general suggestive outline courses, not too specific in character and largely optional as to use, may also for a time serve a useful purpose.

The danger in the use of such state courses lies in the fact that the situation may easily be accepted as inevitable, and what should be a temporary help or an optional aid in time becomes a fixed state requirement, whereas the real remedy lies in the provision of a better form of educational organization, in the improvement of the conditions of supervision, in the betterment of the teachers in service through reading circles and summer courses and professional oversight, in the reorganization of the teacher-training institutions of the State, and in the raising of salary schedules so that a better type of teacher and supervisory officer may be drawn into and retained in the service. In proportion as well-educated and properly trained teachers and supervisors supplant less satisfactory types, larger and larger freedom and initiative in instruction should be accorded to the supervisory units of the State.

While the State may quite properly enumerate the subjects of instruction, and state authority may even issue suggestive courses of study in the different school subjects, the exact nature of the instruction to be given, as well as the tools to be used in giving it, should be entrusted, wherever possible, to the different supervisory units of the State to handle.[1] The detailed working-out of

[1] Of course this does not mean, in district-system States, that district school trustees should be allowed to formulate the courses of study for the district schools. In such States county courses of study, formulated by a county board of education, or even state courses if there are no properly qualified county boards, are necessary. What is meant is that the State should build up the supervisory unit, wherever this can be done, and with the coming of county-unit control, partial or full, should leave all such matters to the counties to handle.

courses of study ought to be one of the distinct functions of local school supervision, and one important place where the decentralization of State administration and control can take place with advantage is in the matter of fixed course-of-study requirements. In proportion as the teaching and supervisory forces of a State are improved, and as rational units of supervision are substituted in the counties for district control, local regulation of courses of instruction should take the place of any detailed state prescription or inspection.

Uniform courses not necessary. The effect of uniform state courses of study on good school systems is deadening in what ought to be one of the most vital phases of school work. Fixed courses of study are not necessary for satisfactory educational results; that which is taught is, after all, of less importance than the conditions surrounding the instruction; most progressive city school systems are substituting flexible for fixed requirements; from the point of view of pupil differences a fixed and uniform course of study is an educational impossibility; the results of check-ups and examination tests are largely meaningless, and tend to produce a deadening uniformity in instruction which good supervision tries to prevent; and such imposed courses defeat the aims and purposes of professional supervision and lead to inspection instead.

What has been said does not mean that there is no place for state helpfulness in the matter of planning what is to be done in the schools, in the construction of courses of study, or even in the partial standardization of certain forms or lines of instruction. On the contrary, there are large opportunities for state guidance through a state study of conditions and needs. Careful studies made in a State might easily reveal conditions that ought to be changed or improved. For example, rural children might be found markedly retarded in learning to read; the placing of subjects by grades might be far too diverse; instruction in the fundamentals might in cases be unduly prolonged; or instruction in content or expression subjects might be slighted. To study such conditions and to suggest remedies, in the way a research bureau in a city school system does, ought to be one of the important functions of a state division of elementary education. The remedy for any such undesirable conditions lies first in a clear statement as to the facts, and then in the formulation, in conjunction with the school superintendents of the State, of standardized

core curricula, and the issuance of these for trial use to see if they will not improve conditions. If the suggested courses are good they will, in time, be quite generally accepted; if they do not prove workable the different school units will have escaped having ill-adapted courses of study forced upon them. In so far as a state department of education can give leadership of this type it will prove both useful and helpful. It is to be regretted that too often the present tendency in state school administration is to make requirements before having studied the situation or experimented with the idea.

Our schools probably are approaching a time when the courses of study will be much more standardized, in broad essentials, than they now are, but we are not yet ready for any material crystallization of courses by state authority. Too much still remains to be experimentally established, and whatever standardization takes place should come as an outgrowth of the work of the profession. We are also probably moving toward a time when the details of instruction will be far more diverse than is the case to-day. A slow but progressive uniformity in main essentials, with large liberty as to details, is probably the line along which we can travel with the greatest safety and effectiveness.

The provision found in the Constitution for the State of Osceola (page 12) gives expression to these principles in brief and simple form. It says:

ART. IX, Sec. 13. The general assembly may, from time to time, change or add to the statutory school subjects, and the state board of education may issue suggestive courses and plans, but the detailed arrangement and working out of the courses of instruction, and the selection of all textbooks to be used, shall always be left to the different city and county units of supervision.

The Massachusetts law relating to instruction in both elementary and secondary schools (*Source Book*, pp. 323–24, Sec. 1), is also simple in form and flexible and desirable in type.

Secondary school courses. What has been said above applies equally to secondary school courses, be they either junior or senior high-school courses. The not uncommon provision that secondary school courses must be approved by the state board of education, or by some committee or body at the state university, has little to commend it, except possibly in the case of quite small schools under district control,[1] and much can be urged against such a re-

[1] It must, however, be admitted that there are, in many States, many small district high schools, with from one to three teachers and often only a partial high-

quirement for any school under adequate supervision.[1] Secondary education, even more than elementary education, is to-day in a state of flux, and no hard and fast lines ought now to be drawn, either vertically or horizontally, through the secondary school. Everywhere progressive schoolmen are experimenting, trying to adapt both the junior and senior high schools more closely to the needs of adolescent boys and girls, the demands of a rapidly changing social life, and the requirements of a modern complex commercial and industrial world. The best results probably, for a long time to come, will be obtained through experimentation in schools that are working laboratories. Some mistakes will doubtless be made, but they will be in no way comparable to the gains that may be made through freedom to experiment.

Differentiation of instruction, flexibility in requirements, experimentation, adaptation, and individual adjustment probably always must remain watchwords of the secondary school. While that which shall constitute a unit of instruction for credit purposes is subject to definition and standardization, and while certain experiments and topics for instruction (as in the sciences) will tend increasingly to become standardized by schoolmen themselves (*Source Book*, pp. 355–57), the type of offering a secondary school may make, and the arrangement of the courses of instruction it may offer, should remain largely a local matter. Frequent conferences of secondary school principals; a careful study of conditions and needs by state commissioners and research workers, with power to recommend rather than to enforce; an insistence that whatever is offered must be at least of a certain quality; and progress by general agreement and gradual standardization of practices — always with large liberty to individual schools to break with established practices and to do differently — is a better plan of procedure in secondary education than any requirement that courses of instruction must be approved by a state commissioner, a state board of education, or any committee or body at a state university.

school course. Where these are part of a county-unit school system they can be cared for easily and properly; where they are under district trustee control, with but little county oversight, they may well need some guidance from state sources. Under district control, pressure may need to be applied to force them to meet adequate standards, due largely to the unwillingness of the trustees to provide sufficient funds, or sufficient freedom in control to permit the principal and teachers to do so.

[1] Every state university, through its admission requirements and its power to receive or reject students applying for admission, has in its hands a form of control over the high schools of the State which is marked, and at times has been unfavorable to the best development of the schools.

State university and state board control. The great progress in secondary instruction in the United States, and the great development of the high school as an institution of our people, have been in proportion as the larger and better high schools have been able to break away from state board or state university control in the matter of their instruction. That the secondary school would have experienced any such expansion of its curriculum, or any such adaptation of its instruction to community needs as exists to-day in the schools of our better organized States, had the faculty of the state university retained control over it, there can be little question. The university tends to look at the secondary school far too much from the mastery-of-knowledge point of view, and knowledge of a somewhat traditional type at that; whereas the secondary school, while not disregarding the demand for accurate knowledge, must, first of all, be a community-serving institution (*Source Book*, pp. 347–50). The university, too, looks upon the secondary school as a preparatory institution and as an integral part of an educational ladder; whereas the secondary school, while fulfilling this part, must also look upon itself as an end in itself, and regard its preparatory functions as somewhat subordinate to community and human service. The aim and purpose and method of a course in chemistry or history or mathematics in the two types of institutions must often be quite different.

While supervisory control by the state board of education has in general been more liberal and more intelligent than that exercised by the state university, there is always danger that a reactionary board, possessing large authority, may attempt to exercise a degree of control over the schools which would be harmful in the extreme.

Proper state relationships. On the other hand, there are certain state supervisory functions, of a broad general nature, with which a state board of education ought to be entrusted. These will naturally be greatest in extent and scope in the district-system States, where there are many financially weak and partially developed high schools under district-trustee control, and least in the county-unit system States where there is proper supervision and more adequate financing. These general state supervisory functions relate to the organization, support, general character, and equipment of the high schools, rather than to the detailed approval of their courses of study. On some points — such as when and how high schools may be established; the mini-

mum conditions as to support; provisions as to tuition and tuition pupils; the qualifications of principals and teachers; and the designation of certain subjects of instruction which must be offered in different types of high schools — the State may very properly determine minimum requirements by general law. On other points, such as the conditions for qualifying for state-aid grants (*Source Book*, pp. 357–64); the minimum equipment permissible to different types of schools; the minimum number of teachers to be provided; that at least some one course offered shall prepare for entrance at the state university or the state agricultural and mechanical college; and that certain statistical information must be furnished as requested — these may properly be settled by uniform regulations enacted by the state board of education, with power to grant exceptions in special cases. In such matters as the detailed arrangement of the courses of instruction; how different subjects shall be taught; what textbooks or apparatus teachers must use; the checking up of the results of instruction by examination tests; the regulation of the hours of instruction, or requirements that every graduate must have studied certain subjects — these are types of general state regulations that ordinarily the schools will do much better without. So far as they are imposed, they should be imposed by the schools themselves, rather than by the State.

Aside from certain general and desirable regulations, such as have been indicated, it ought to be the function of the State, primarily, to investigate conditions, to study work done, and to advise as to desirable changes, rather than to legislate and compel. Legislation and compulsion should come only after mature consideration of a situation, and should then be expressed in general terms. In States where the high schools are well developed, and where the teachers and principals have had good professional training and are animated by a broad professional spirit, it is important that the State follow a liberal general policy toward the schools. In States where many small and weak high schools exist and the State must guide their development, the high schools should then be classified into groups, or types, and the different groups progressively emancipated from state control, except as to meeting minimum requirements, as fast as they attain the ability to direct their own affairs.

Stimulating the formation of high schools. One aspect of general legislation relating to high schools that is important is

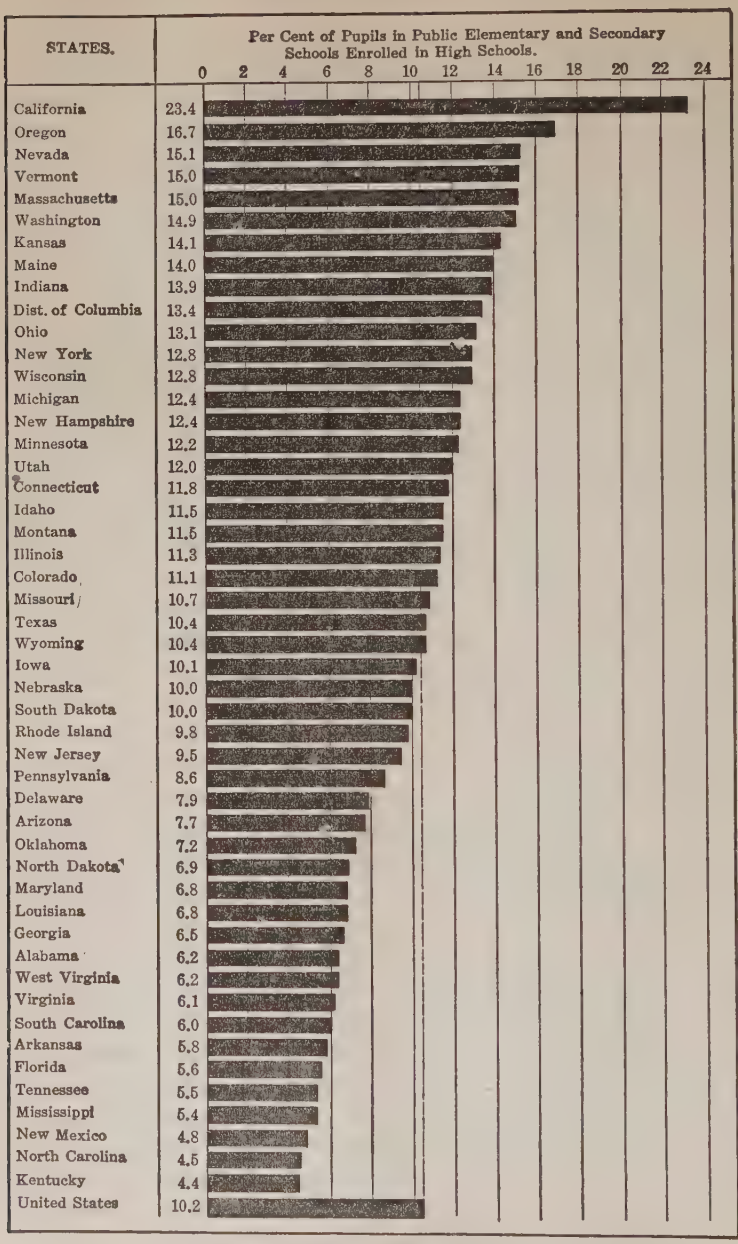

FIG. 51. PERCENTAGES OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN HIGH SCHOOLS, BY STATES

(U.S. Bureau of Education data.)

the formulation of conditions under which high schools may be created. That we are moving — rapidly in some States, as shown by Figure 51 — toward a time when high-school advantages will be provided for all children desiring them may be taken for granted. Our towns and cities now provide such advantages generally, and the consolidated-school and the county-unit movements both look to the provision of such for village and rural children. The function of the State in legislation is to lay down the conditions under which high schools may be formed, the amount of assessable property that a high-school district must have, the support that must be provided, the state aid that will be given, and the conditions under which free tuition for pupils in non-high-school territory must be provided. While high schools are usually regarded as an integral part of the common school system and funds for their support are not segregated, it is probable that a better development of both elementary and secondary schools might be obtained if the California plan of separating the funds were followed. The State should so arrange its aid as to stimulate development, place a premium on consolidation and the provision of high-school advantages, and force non-high-school territory to provide high-school advantages for their children in districts maintaining high schools. The ultimate end in district-system States is that every elementary school district will be annexed to some union high-school district, and in county-unit States that all community-center groupings will provide partial or complete high-school advantages.

Liberty as to special types of schools. So many different types of special elementary and secondary schools have been evolved, in the past twenty-five years, to meet special needs, that care should be exercised by a State not to be too specific in its legal definitions as to what particular types of schools or classes may or may not be organized. Instead of attempting to enumerate such types or forms, a better plan is to give city or county-unit school systems general authority to establish "such special classes or groupings of children as may enable the schools to provide instruction adapted to pupils' needs and to provide equal opportunity for all." The determination of what particular forms of special classes the State will stimulate and help to maintain can then be determined through the laws regulating the apportionment of funds.

Under such a general permission as the above any city or

county-unit school system, or large school district, could then provide, or unite with other school units in providing, special classes for the oral instruction of the deaf, classes for those of defective vision or the blind, speech-defect classes, classes for the instruction of superior or backward or "border-line" pupils, classes for incorrigibles and truants and misfits, opportunity classes, industrial classes or schools, agricultural schools, classes for other races where race segregation seems desirable, classes for non-English-speaking pupils, over-age classes, open-air classes, evening-school classes, vacation schools or classes, special art schools, etc., and might add special types of teachers, such as home teachers, vocational advisers, etc. — all without the necessity of going to the legislature for permission each time it is desired to provide some new form of teacher or instruction. The State may also very properly at any time require, by general law, that all communities of a certain size be required to provide any one of the above-mentioned special types of schools or classes.

The kindergarten and the pre-school child. A special form of permitted pre-elementary school instruction which has not yet been generally admitted to share in state school funds, or even been generally recognized as an integral part of the state school system, is the kindergarten. While the kindergarten enrollment has increased 50 per cent in the last decade, the percentage of all children of kindergarten age enrolled has increased but slowly, and is still small, as may be seen from the chart on the opposite page. While the question of whether or not kindergarten classes shall be included to share in the state school-fund apportionments for elementary schools is one which a State may very properly decide either way, as funds may or may not seem to permit, there is, on the other hand, no longer any question as to the desirability of permissive legislation, giving to any school community desiring to establish such classes the right to do so. Still more, while not directly aiding in their maintenance, the State may very properly require their establishment whenever and wherever there is a certain definite number of children of kindergarten age whose parents desire to have kindergarten classes provided for them.[1]

[1] While it is not as yet common to permit kindergartens to be established in this easy manner, outside of the cities, a petition showing that there are 25 to 30 children of kindergarten age (4½ to 6) living within one mile of an elementary school building, whose parents desire them to attend a kindergarten school, ought to be sufficient to inaugurate such an addition to an established school system.

FIG. 52. PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN, 4–6, ENROLLED IN KINDERGARTENS, BY STATES

(U.S. Bureau of Education data. Covers all kindergartens, public and private.)

Certain to be closely connected with the kindergarten years, in the future, are the pre-school years on the one hand and the first primary years on the other. The work of the school nurse, the home visiting teacher, the school clinics, school feeding, and the work of health centers and infant-welfare stations have all helped alike to reveal the very large importance, from both a physical and an educational point of view, of the pre-school years. As soon as the problems of child welfare and child hygiene are studied it is seen that any adequate attention to child health and child welfare, to be most effective, must go back into the pre-school years, and that the work must really commence with mothers and babies and lead up to a close connection with the kindergarten and the primary school. The creation of the Children's Bureau (p. 102), the enactment of the Sheppard-Towner maternity law (p. 59), the creation of divisions of child hygiene by most of our state governments, the establishment of a rapidly increasing number of city and county health centers for pre-school-child service, and the enactment of much recent legislation for school health work are among the more important recent evidences that a national awakening is already under way, with us, with reference to the importance of the care of children during the pre-school years, if we are to eliminate many disease defects from which school children suffer, and are to produce stronger and more capable children of such ages as the school deals with.[1]

The problems of child care, feeding, health, nutrition, diseases, abnormalities, preventive hygiene, and mental hygiene, and the dissemination among parents of proper ideas as to the care, nurture, training, and instruction of their children, are of tremendous importance to a nation. It is both an educational and a public-welfare problem, and one closely connected with the school. The possibilities of service, in the work of parental guidance and infant hygiene, through a redirected and downward expanded kindergarten[2] are very large, and the way should be left open by the State for any community that desires to do so to begin to render such service.

[1] "If educators would succeed in leading the next generation to the success of which it is potentially capable, they must enter the homes and help the young parents in whose care are those first five years, so important for the laying of a firm foundation of health and good habits. To furnish such guidance, educators must study the children during their first years in school." — Town, in Univ. Iowa, *Studies in Child Welfare*, vol. 1, no. 4.

[2] These possibilities have been well set forth by Gesell, in his *The Pre-School Child*, which see.

Probable future educational reorganizations. We have recently witnessed a marked reorganization of the upper years of the public school system, changing the organization in most of our cities from an 8–4 to a 6–3–3 basis. This gives us the elementary school, the junior high school, and the senior high school (*Source Book*, pp. 351–55). Proposed in its beginning largely as an administrative solution of a crowded-building problem, but in part as an attempt to provide a form of departmental instruction for the upper grades of the grammar school, the junior high school has since passed through a number of phases in its development. After a period of hesitation and experimentation, it has been adopted generally because of its superior educational advantages as an institution for meeting the special needs — physical, mental, social, and moral — of early adolescence. The result has been the creation of a new institution designed to meet the special biological and psychological needs of young people in their early teens.[1] Along with this development has come an even more recent extension upward of the senior high school to cover the first two years of the college, with a probability that the eventual reorganization will be a 6–4–4 type. Much of this development has taken place without special legislation, or under permissive legislation,[2] and in it the cities have as usual been the leaders. The development, too, is by no means complete, and legislation relating to the junior high school should be kept flexible for the present, as the school is still in evolution, and what it will be a decade hence is not at all certain.

There is also a probability that, beginning as an administrative solution of another crowded-building problem, a further reorganization will in the near future take place in the elementary school, which will result in the formation of a combined kindergarten-primary school, beginning at four or four and a half, and including the first two years of the present elementary school course, followed by a four year drill-and-skill school with a classroom teacher type of organization. This in turn will lead on to the junior high school, with a type of educational organization standing midway between the class-teacher organization characteristic of the drill-and-skill school below, and the individual-

[1] See especially Pechstein and McGregor's *The Psychology of the Junior High School Pupil*, where the psychological and social aspects of the junior high school have been particularly well set forth.

[2] See especially the monograph by Terry and Marquis. (Bul. 29, 1924, U.S. Bu. of Educ.)

study type of instruction characteristic of the full adolescent senior high school above. This would then give a 4–4–4–4 type of educational organization. For such a type many excellent psychological and educational reasons may be advanced,[1] and opportunity for cities to work at such a reorganization problem clearly ought to be kept open by the State.

The real function of the State. The real function of the State in the matter of the control of elementary and secondary education, as in other phases of educational endeavor, is, as has been stated clearly in Chapter V, that of serving as an active, energetic agent working for the improvement of educational conditions throughout the State. The main work of the State and its agents, then, should be the study of conditions, conference, advice, and the publication of facts and results, with a resort to legislation only when that which should be done has become so clear that there can be little question any longer about the matter. In certain matters relating to minimum requirements the State should formulate and promulgate what may or may not be done, being careful always to see that the way is left open for departures from established practices, and for experimentation in new directions and with new procedures. The State can best serve its subordinate units — the district organization excepted — if it does not attempt to exercise too close a form of control.

To carry out such a service to the schools of a State calls for especially well-trained and capable commissioners of elementary and secondary education in our States. These positions should be filled by the most efficient and most capable persons to be found. The traveling-agent conception of these positions must be changed to that of the central-office student of educational problems. Living in hotels and Pullmans, traveling on trains and busses, and the continuous visiting of schools and making of speeches are not conducive to close and careful thinking. We need a student conception of these positions, rather than that of the traveling salesman. Most of the petty problems that now so largely monopolize the time and energy of these officers should be relegated to city and county authority for handling, thus freeing them for the more important and more fundamental matters with which they alone should deal.

[1] See especially the article by Hardy, cited in the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show that the provision of the Osceola mandate, providing for "equal opportunities for all," is superior to the Indiana form (and that of other States) of "equally open to all."
2. In what ways are the Osceola and Massachusetts mandates superior to those generally found in state constitutions?
3. In the Kansas case (Board of Education *vs.* Dick; *Source Book*, pp. 336–41) what conclusions are to be drawn from the court's decision as to the high school being a part of the common school system of the State?
4. Contrast the simplicity of district school administration under the county-unit organization of Alabama (*Source Book*, pp. 193–95) with the full district system as found in Illinois (*Source Book*, pp. 187–93).
5. Would you say that the character of a State's course of study requirements indicates much as to the standards maintained in teacher training, supervision, and salaries, and the rate of teacher-turnover?
6. If the legislature of Tennessee was fundamentally wrong in the prohibition of the teaching of the evolution theory, as contended by Woodworth, what would you say as to a law prohibiting the teaching of Bolshevist doctrines in the schools? Distinguish between the principle involved in the two cases.
7. Have you any personal experience with uniform state courses of study that would indicate a different conclusion as to their formulation and use than the one expressed in the text?
8. Why should the type of offering a high school may make, and the detailed working out of its courses of study, remain largely a local matter?
9. At what stage in the development of a State's secondary school system might inspection and approval of courses in the high schools by the state university prove of real value?
10. What authority should a state commissioner of secondary education have, as he goes about the State visiting the high schools? What is the purpose of his visitation?
11. Justify the distinction between schools or classes which the State will help communities to support, and the schools or classes which are permitted to exist but not supported. What differences in state policy do the two types represent?
12. Read the article on "A Right System of Schools for an American Commonwealth" (*Source Book*, pp. 311–15), and state how far the principles laid down in this chapter agree or fail to agree with it.
13. Do the same with the article on "Are the Functions at Present Fulfilled by the High School Compatible?" (*Source Book*, pp. 347–50.)
14. Show how the traveling-salesman conception of a state commissionership is a stage in the development of a better plan, and that the shifting of duties as better ideas of the office evolve is practicable.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Infant-welfare organizations and work, and the pre-school child.
2. Provisions for organization and support of kindergartens in the different state school laws.
3. Statutory elementary school subjects, and types of requirements.
4. State control of secondary school courses of study.
5. Look up and chart on a map the attitude of the States as to use of the Bible in the schools.
6. Do the same for legislation relating to corporal punishment.

7. Legal provisions for high-school education for rural children.
8. The legal status and support of the junior high schools in the States.
9. Provisions for free high-school tuition for non-high-school-territory pupils.
10. State provisions for the classification and approval of (*a*) state graded schools; (*b*) state high schools.
11. The work of the state commissioner of secondary education.
12. The range in size and types of high schools in certain selected type States.
13. State courses of study; their nature; and state requirements as to studies to be taught.
14. The California plan of complete segregation of elementary and high schools as to formation, control, finance, and the certification of teachers.

PROBLEMS

1. Assume two States, one small, sparsely settled, relatively poor, and with no large cities, as Vermont or South Carolina, and the second State a large, wealthy, agricultural and manufacturing one, as Illinois or California. Plan the scope of an elementary, secondary, and higher school system for each type of State that will emphasize the important elements and be within the financial possibilities of the people to support. What would you leave out in the first that you would include in the second, and why?
2. Assume a State which retains the district system, with large powers given to the district-school trustees, and many small and partially developed high schools, most of which are inadequately financed. Draw up a plan for classifying them, for purposes of control and emancipation from control, and formulate the regulations for the inspection and control of each class which you would impose.
3. The state university of State X has for long examined and approved all high-school work in the State, and accredited the schools. The State has also, for some time, employed a commissioner of secondary education, who has devoted his time to somewhat similar work. Due to criticism of the character of the inspections by the members of the faculty of the state university, the legislature has just passed a law depriving the state university of the right to continue the work, and turned all inspection and approval over to the state board of education to handle. Draw up a series of regulations, such as this board ought to adopt, defining what it proposes to do, that will be in harmony with the principles laid down in the text, assuming either:
   (*a*) That the high school system of the State is well developed and financed; or
   (*b*) That there are many weak district-system and partial high schools, with inadequate financing, as well as many strong city high schools.
4. Assume that the organization of district and union-district high schools in a State has proceeded so that the adjoining drawing represents conditions in an average county. All high schools are sup-

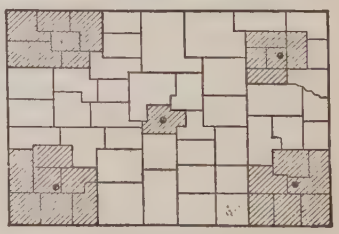

FIG. *i*.

ported entirely by local tax on the high-school districts. Pupils within the high-school districts have free tuition, and the parents of pupils from outside have to pay tuition for their children. Draw up a plan for a general law by which the tuition charge for all non-high-school-district pupils will be made a general tax charge on the non-high-school territory of the county, and high-school tuition thus be made free for all high-school pupils in the county. Arrange also for inter-county transfers of pupils and funds.

5. Draw up a general state plan for the organization and the financing of an expanded (downward) kindergarten, by the city and county-unit school systems of a State.
6. In 1920, as shown by the Federal Census, there were 1,967,651 boys and girls from 14 to 17 years of age not in any school. Assuming an average of 30 pupils to a class and 500 to a high school, how many additional classrooms and buildings and teachers would be required to care for these in day secondary schools? At $100 per capita, estimate the yearly expense for maintenance. Estimate the cost for the high-school buildings needed, at a capital outlay of $800 per pupil.

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CHAPTER XIII

HIGHER AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

Development of the state university idea. The idea of the creation of a state university seems to have taken root early in the States to the South, and the National land policy, begun with Ohio in 1802, of granting townships of land for the endowment of "a seminary of learning" in each of the States (page 39), fixed the idea in all of the States admitted to the Union after 1802, though the actual creation of the university was in many cases for a time deferred. By 1825, eight of our American States — Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan — had laid the foundations of future state universities to crown their educational systems. By 1850, fourteen of the then thirty-one States, and one Territory (Utah), had made a beginning of a state institution of higher learning. Though the great period of state university founding came after 1850, and the great period of state university expansion after 1885, the beginnings were clearly made early in our national history. For a long time small, poorly supported,[1] politically controlled, afflicted with violent denominational controversies, and similar in character to the church colleges about them and often inferior to them in quality, one by one the state universities have freed themselves from the incubus of political control on the one hand and denominational interference on the other, and have set about rendering that service which a state university can and ought to render.

After the creation of the new land-grant colleges, as a result of the enactment of the Morrill Act of 1862 (pages 42), a new era in the development of higher education by the State began. Eighteen States added the land grant to the endowment of their existing state universities and combined the two institutions;

[1] As illustrative, the State of Ohio gave no state support to Ohio University (at Athens, founded in 1802 and opened in 1808) until 1881, though it permitted it to conduct a lottery in 1817, and loaned the institution $5000 in 1838. Ohio State University (at Columbus, founded in 1870 as a land-grant college) received no state support before 1877. Iowa appropriated $10,000 to its state agricultural college (at Ames) on its establishment (in 1869), but gave nothing further for six years. The University of Missouri (founded in 1839 and opened in 1847) received its first aid from the State in 1867.

five of the original States (since reduced to three) gave the grant to privately founded institutions already established within their borders; and the remaining twenty-seven established separate agricultural and mechanical colleges. In addition, a few of the eighteen States which originally centralized have since founded branch agricultural colleges. The stimulation given to state higher educational effort by the Morrill land grants was large indeed. Small and feeble state universities were given fresh life, new and vigorous institutions have been created on the basis of the grants, agriculture and engineering have been developed as new learned professions, and the States have been so stimulated to make large and rapidly increasing appropriations for their universities that to-day the state universities largely overshadow all but the best endowed of the older denominational and non-state institutions. As President Pritchett has well said:[1]

> The rise of these great [state] universities is the most epoch-making feature of our American civilization, and they are to become more and more the leaders, the makers of our civilization. They are of the people. When a State university has gained solid ground, it means that the people of a whole State have turned their faces toward the light, it means that the whole system of State schools has been welded into an effective agent for civilization.

State university distribution. From the point of view of the distribution of State institutions of higher learning over the Nation, we find a state university in Maine and one in New Hampshire, and then not again, as we move southward through the old "original States," until we come to Virginia. From Virginia and West Virginia southward, and from these States and Ohio westward, we find a state university in every State in the Union (*Source Book*, pp. 407–13). Of the original States not having an organized state university, we find a state agricultural college in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, while Vermont, New York, and New Jersey give the federal appropriation for agricultural and mechanical arts to endowed institutions within their borders to be used in providing such instruction. Some form of a state institution of higher learning is thus seen to be an accepted feature of the state educational system in all but three of our States, although it is in the North Central and the Western States that the state university has attained its largest and its best devel-

[1] Pritchett, Henry S., in the *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 105, pp. 741–53. (June, 1910.)

opment. While some of the States which have no state university probably are too small or too poor to warrant the establishment of such an institution, in others better situated the question of the creation of one to meet the higher educational needs of the State comes up from time to time for discussion.[1]

Practically every State has been called upon to decide the question of whether or not it is able to provide a system of higher education, in addition to supporting its elementary and secondary schools and the various forms of supplemental and vocational education it may need. Some States have been much more fortunately situated than others in having denominational or endowed colleges within their borders that have in part supplied this need. Obviously, such relief from the whole burden is not likely to be permanent, however. With the growth of the Nation, the increase in population and wealth, the rapidly mounting percentage of young people who want to go to college, the rising cost of higher education, and the tendency of all endowed institutions to limit their numbers to correspond with their resources, the need for some State provision for the higher education of its youth will become more and more pressing with time.

Importance of the university to the State. The state university has been well termed "the soul of the State" (*Source Book*, pp. 435–39). It is primarily the business of the state university to provide leadership and to furnish standards for the enterprises of democracy. In times of agitation and change and the inauguration of new state undertakings, leadership and service are particularly the mission of the state university. The strength of this institution lies in its close relations to the State, and the faculty of a state university bears a relationship to the State not sustained by professors in endowed or denominational institutions. The State may properly demand of its university many forms of

[1] The question has come up from time to time in Pennsylvania, with reference to the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Pittsburgh. The best recent case is the report of a special commission, created by the 1922 legislature in Massachusetts, "to inquire into and report upon the opportunities and provisions for technical and higher education within the Commonwealth" and especially to consider the wisdom of establishing a state university in Massachusetts. This question has been under discussion for some time in this State. While reporting (1924) against the proposal, largely on the grounds of its cost, the commission recommended the creation of a number of state scholarships in the endowed institutions, and the creation of a state system of junior colleges, as an experiment to see if this would not supply all state needs. See digest of *Report*, in *School and Society*, vol. 19, pp. 166–68 (Feb. 9, 1924).

special service, both in the instruction of young men and women to become servants and agents and administrators and scholars for the State, and in the advancement of forms of knowledge upon which the welfare of the State depends. In times of unrest and change, in particular, the university must remain true to its course, and men, trained in history and politics, in law and government, in pure and applied science, in medicine and engineering, and in ethics and education must throw the force of their influence and intellect in directions tending to secure the proper progress of the State and the Nation, so that the cost of such progress — in a democracy always large — may be reduced to a minimum. As President Van Hise once said (*Source Book*, p. 439):

> Times of unrest, and of changing ideas and ideals, are above all the times when the university should be most effective in the guidance of public opinions.

In a recent magazine article one of our state university presidents set forth the present position of our state universities, and the need for bringing the scientific knowledge of the universities into working relationship with the political power of the State, as follows:[1]

> Politics needs a better underpinning of facts. Politics needs more laboratory workers and fewer log-rollers. Theoretically, at least, a state university should be the rallying ground and repository for the power needed for the effective management of the life of the State. A state government is the rallying ground and repository for the power needed for the effective management of the life of the State. Obviously a State must contrive to harness both the power of the government and the knowledge of the university if it is to achieve "the good life" for its citizens. A State dare not allow the knowledge of its university to languish for lack of power, or permit the power of its government to run amuck for lack of knowledge.

Wholly aside from the training of leaders for the institutions of democracy, and the formulation of standards for democracy's undertakings, the state university gives large returns to a State in a purely economic way. Discoveries in pure science have laid the foundations upon which many labor-saving and epoch-making applications have been made. In the fields of agriculture, veterinary science, engineering of all kinds, economic geology, chemistry, and medicine — to mention only the larger and more important subjects — the discoveries and their applications have

[1] Glenn Frank, in *Century Magazine*, May, 1925.

been so great that, if only one professor in a hundred advanced knowledge and the other ninety-nine merely transmitted it, the cost for the maintenance of the institution would have been returned to society many times over.[1] In government, public administration, education, social welfare, and morals the returns also have been large. Reflecting the spirit of the times without yielding to it, serving material needs while at the same time standing above them, establishing standards on the basis of careful scientific study, and preparing leaders for democracy so that progress may be more intelligent and less costly, the American state university, as a unit or in its several branches, stands to-day as the crown of the systems of public instruction which our different American States have created.

Special university problems. Assuming that a State provides higher and professional education for its youth by establishing some type or types of a state university, six main questions dealing with the university in its relation to the State, and to the schools beneath and coördinate with it need to be considered here, namely: (1) the scope of the institution; (2) support; (3) control; (4) division of the institution; (5) relation to the secondary school system of the State; and (6) decentralization of the lower work of the institution. We shall consider each of these problems briefly and in order, and shall leave to Chapter XXVII all consideration of the relation of the State to denominational and endowed higher educational institutions.

1. Scope of the university. Beginning originally as a small arts college, our state institutions have in time added professional instruction until to-day most of them maintain many professional schools. The number of such schools is in part determined by the wealth and needs of the State, in part by the age of the university, and in part by the number of professional schools maintained by non-state agencies within the State. One of our larger Middle Western or Western state universities might be expected to offer, in addition to a well-developed arts college and instruction in pure and applied sciences, professional instruction in most or all of the following lines: agriculture, architecture, commerce, dentistry, economics, education, engineering in its

[1] An old but still good article on this point is "The Farmer's Debt to Science," by Frank Bicknell, in *The Review of Reviews* for August, 1907, on the work of the Iowa State Agricultural College at Ames. See also Edwin E. Slosson's *Creative Chemistry*, published by the Century Company, New York, 1919, for many examples of the value of university research.

different branches, forestry, government, household arts, journalism, law, medicine, mining, and pharmacy. Furthermore, there would be a large summer school or summer quarter, and a large and growing university-extension division. Such a university may represent an investment in grounds, buildings, library, and teaching equipment of from five to fifteen millions of dollars, and may cost from one or two to six or eight million dollars a year to maintain. Its student body may number from three or four to ten to fifteen thousand.

The recent rapid growth in scope and size[1] of our state universities has been one of the marked features of American education, and there is much to indicate that this growth will continue, even if at a slowly accelerating rate.[2] There is every reason to think that, unless a decentralization of the lower collegiate work of the university is effected, our state universities before long will be literally swamped with students and instructional expenses.[3]

[1] A few examples will illustrate this growth, using statistics for full-time regular students only.

University of	1885	1895	1905	1915	1920	1925
California	197	1781	3294	6434	11071	16294
Illinois	247	814	3597	5439	8250	11212
Iowa	234	1133	1560	2680	4277	5082
Michigan	524	2818	3832	5833	8458	9422
Minnesota	54	2171	3633	4484	7437	10170
Nebraska	142	1397	2728	3832	4411	5930
Texas	151	630	1235	2574	4202	4810
Wisconsin	313	1520	3010	5128	6846	7760

[2] A careful and conservative study of probable university growth was made by a faculty survey committee of the University of Minnesota, and was published as Bulletin 25, 1920, by the University, under the title of *The Growth of the University in the Next Quarter Century* (50 pp.). This estimated 15,000 undergraduates by 1945, with 5000 of these as freshmen — a very conservative estimate.

[3] The Institute of Public Service of New York recently made estimates of the probable development, during the following thirty years, of a number of State and endowed universities. The figures as given out for a few of the larger institutions were:

University of	Students Estimated for		
	1920	1930	1950
California	11893	22000	43000
Michigan	8560	14000	24000
Illinois	8549	14000	26000
Minnesota	8275	16000	31000
Wisconsin	7294	12000	20000
Ohio State	8023	12000	23000
Chicago	10880	17000	29000
Columbia	9144	13000	20000
Pennsylvania	6585	11000	20000
Harvard	5373	7000	10000

That these figures also are conservative may be seen by comparing them with the figures given for 1925 in the previous footnote.

2. Support of the university. An examination of the income[1] from productive permanent funds, fees, and benefactions reveals how very large a proportion of the annual cost of all state university instruction and maintenance must come from the proceeds of some form of public taxation. The old seminary-township funds yield hardly enough income to-day, in the case of our large state universities, to pay for the cleaning or heating of the buildings. Similarly the income from the proceeds of the Morrill land-grant funds, in most institutions of the sort, would hardly pay the salary of the dean of the college of agriculture, and in others scarcely the salary of one assistant professor. The annual income from all permanent endowment funds of an average state university, at five per cent, would provide only from one fourth of one per cent to one to two per cent of the annual maintenance cost, while in the state institution having the largest permanent endowment funds (California) this income now provides only about five per cent of the annual maintenance charge.

The agricultural and mechanical colleges, either as separate institutions or as divisions of the state university, now receive $140,000 yearly from the Federal Government (page 54) for agricultural and engineering instruction; all R.O.T.C. institutions (page 85) carry certain grants for military instruction; and some small contributions from other sources come to all these institutions. Certain amounts, materially increased in recent years, are also derived from student fees. The great bulk of the support of a state university, however, comes from the proceeds of one form or another of public taxation.

To provide this annual support three main plans have been tried, namely, (1) annual or biennial legislative appropriations on a submitted budget; (2) a mill or fraction of a mill annual tax, or its equivalent from state funds; and (3) a combination of these two plans. The legislative appropriation for support and for buildings, based on a submitted budget, has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages lie in the flexibility of the plan and its capability of expansion to meet new needs and growth; the disadvantages lie in the uncertainty of the granting of the amounts asked for, the variations in income granted as between different legislatures, the necessity of "putting through" each appropriation measure, and often the "log-rolling" between the

[1] See the statistical volume in the *Biennial Survey of Education*, issued by the U.S. Commissioner of Education, for detailed figures.

various higher institutions of the State in the annual or biennial scramble for funds. On the other hand, with a proper state budget law in effect, the biennial necessity for presenting and justifying the university demand for funds may be a real advantage, and the contest between the different state institutions may be largely eliminated.

As a means of obviating the disadvantages of the biennial appropriation plan a number of our States have changed to a so-called "millage tax" — a mill (10 cents on the $100), more or less, of the State's taxes being "ear-marked" as for the support of the state university, or for a number of state higher educational institutions.[1] This plan was first employed by Michigan in 1871, by Wisconsin in 1876, and by Indiana in 1883, and has since been extended to a number of state institutions. The mill tax gives a more certain income, and largely avoids institutional rivalry for appropriations, but with universities and teachers' colleges growing in size, and the cost for instruction in both increasing as rapidly as has been the case during the past decade, the increases in property values in a State have not been sufficient to meet the changed conditions, and supplementary or deficiency appropriations have usually had to be resorted to to increase the millage tax. It has generally been necessary also to supplement the millage tax by special appropriations for needed buildings, though commonly a small proportion of the tax is allocated regularly for building maintenance and extension.

The millage tax is less in favor[2] than it was two or three decades ago, in part because costs and growth have outrun all earlier calculations, and in part because of the breakdown of the old property tax (Chapter XVI) as a means for state financing. Even a fixed continuing appropriation, with a definite annual or biennial increase, has been found inadequate.[3] Instead, the tendency

[1] For example, in Indiana a state tax of 7 cents on the $100 has been levied annually to constitute an educational institution fund, and the proceeds from this have been divided — two fifths to the state university, two fifths to the state agricultural and mechanical college, and one fifth to the state normal school.

[2] In a poll of state teachers' colleges having the millage tax (27 in ten States), Whitney (*Educational Supervision and Administration*, vol. 11, pp. 473–80) found that 74 per cent of the presidents of these institutions favored the millage tax as a means of support, while 24 per cent did not, with 2 per cent undecided.

[3] A good illustration of this is found in the case of the University of California, where the state appropriation was fixed at a 3 mill tax on the basis of the 1911 assessment, and a 7 per cent annual increase guaranteed. By 1922 this amounted to an annual appropriation of $4,788,949, whereas the total of all grants for that year amounted to $9,680,904, the difference being covered by supplemental appropriation.

to-day is to rely more and more on a budgetary statement of needs and legislative appropriations, as more likely to provide the changing and increasing funds which the state institutions of to-day require.

The question of fees. How large a part student fees will ultimately play in the support of a state university is as yet an unsettled question, but there is reason to believe that there will be an increase in both the number of institutions levying such fees and in the amounts charged. Originally beginning with the idea that higher education should be free, university after university has with time been permitted to add matriculation, incidental, registration, and general-expense fees[1] to cover in part the costs incident to providing instruction. These have been increased gradually, with time,[2] and since the close of the World War a number of state institutions have added a tuition fee as well,[3] and have usually made this higher for non-residents than for residents.

With the expansion of the universities, the increasing cost for all forms of instruction, the development of junior colleges that provide instruction analogous to and better than that provided by the universities a generation ago, the change of the university from an arts college to a group of professional schools, and the growth of the idea that there comes a time in higher education when the gains to the individual as contrasted with those of the State are such that he may properly be called upon to contribute something to the cost of his training — we may expect to see both fees on the one hand and scholarships on the other become more and more common in our institutions of higher learning.

It must be acknowledged, however, that such theory as to student fees for university instruction is as yet based rather on the need of the institution for additional funds than on any sound social reasoning or facts as to relative costs and values, and

[1] These fees have sometimes been attacked in the courts as being a tuition fee when tuition was supposed to be free, but have generally been upheld as not being a tuition charge, but rather as an expense charge incident to preparation for instruction. See State *ex rel.* Priest *vs.* Regents of the University of Wisconsin, *54th Wisconsin*, p. 159, for a case in point.

[2] See article by Sears, in *Educational Review*, for Jan., 1923 (vol. 65, pp. 30–31), for a statement of the fee increases, historically, for a number of state institutions, and also the article by Holst, in the same number (pp. 35–39), giving the character and distribution of the fees now charged.

[3] By 1923, 23 out of 68 state-supported universities in the United States levied a tuition fee, varying from $7.50 to $300 a year, with an average of $73.21 and a median of $45.00. Eleven state universities levied a registration fee, 26 an incidental fee, and 26 a matriculation fee. See table by Holst, in *Educational Review*, Jan., 1923, p. 35.

that an equally good argument can be advanced for the assumption of such costs by society because society profits most by the skill, the advance in knowledge, and the improvement in living and government which highly educated men give to it in return. As one thinker on the problem[1] has well stated:

> The training of a leader through the medium of a university course is not for his personal ends alone. He is being trained to serve many, far more than he can serve with less training.... From college, professional school, and graduate school these men go out into the world's service to be the large burden-bearers of our American life.... When a great doctor, engineer, teacher, scientist, or statesman passes, the multitudes suffer more losses than the immediate family of the genius concerned.

3. Control of the university. As our institutions of higher learning were created, it became the universal custom to provide for a special board of trustees or regents for the control of each, and the appointment of this board was usually left to the Governor of the State. The state university usually was established first, followed by the normal school, the land-grant college, more normal schools, and many special types of educational or charitable or reformatory institutions. These were created, from time to time, in response to some real or imagined need, or to some local demand for a state institution, and without either their foundation or their location being a part of any well-thought-out state plan for special and higher education.[2] In the early days of each institution, during what might be called the struggle-for-existence period, these individual boards of trustees rendered an important service in guiding its destinies and its development, and in securing for it an established place in the state's educational system.

The early struggles of these institutions at times developed intense loyalties and animosities, both among students and communities, which in time led to legislative lobbying for appropriations, buildings, support, and expansion at times not warranted by actual needs. The result has been conflicts between the land-grant colleges and the state universities which often have resulted

[1] Suzzallo, Henry, "The Effective American University System"; in *Proceedings National Education Association*, 1923. Also in *The Educational Record*, vol. 4, pp. 157–64. (Oct., 1923.)

[2] See the careful study by H. C. Humphreys, *Factors Operating in the Location of State Normal Schools* (Teachers' College Contributions, no. 142, 1923) for a study of the influencing factors in the location of our state normal schools.

in bitterness of feeling and intense rivalry in development; to strife among the normal schools and between them and the universities; at times to an unnecessary duplication of instruction and a haphazard development of institutions; and to the creation of factional groupings of the people and their representatives in the legislature which have hampered the proper development of higher and special education within the State.

While these institutional boards of trustees have constituted an interested and devoted agency for university control and government, and while they still render the best service we to-day receive, there is, nevertheless, reason to believe that, at least in States which have a number of state higher educational institutions, we are probably soon to pass to some more unified form for the control and development of higher education, with a view to establishing better working relations and a better coördination of effort between the different State institutions. The exact form which this development will take is as yet uncertain, though the movement has already clearly begun. Many different plans will be tried, many mistakes probably will be made during the experimental period, and probably no one uniform plan for unified control will finally be decided upon. It is likely to be a trying period for those responsible for the development of higher education, but there is little question that the public which supports these institutions is ready and impatient for better working relations between the institutions of the State.

Beginning with Oregon, Iowa, and Montana, in 1909, nine States[1] had, by 1921, attempted to find some solution of the problem of unified control. The different plans varied much in detail, but fall under four main classifications, as follows:

1. Replacement of all institutional boards by one state board (usually called state board of education, or administration), with an administrative officer (Idaho) or without one (Iowa, Kansas).

2. Unification of the control of all state institutions under one state board (state board of education), each institution having a small local board and a president, but all to be parts of an administrative organization known as the university (Montana, New York), with a chief executive officer of the state board (chancellor) over all, with large (Montana) or small (New York) directive authority.

[1] Oregon, Iowa, and Montana (1909); Idaho (1912); Kansas, and the Montana revision (1913); Missouri (1916); Washington, and the Kansas revision (1917); Alabama (1919); and Utah (1921). In each of these States, excepting Idaho and Missouri, the state agricultural college is separate from the state university, while Idaho has a separate state technical institution.

3. An unofficial conference of institutional representatives to try to agree upon workable coöperative plans (Missouri).

4. The creation of boards of higher curricula to supplement, but not replace, the separate institutional boards (Alabama, Oregon, Washington, Utah), and to consider matters of efficiency and economy in the state institutions.

As the foundation grant and subsequent legislation have quite generally given to each institution large powers for development and expansion, the duplications of work which have come about with time have naturally been extensive. These have been particularly costly in the fields of engineering, commerce, and the training of teachers. Because of these large granted powers, and of the institutional rivalry which has encouraged independent development, the results accomplished in coördinating the work of the institutions have as yet not been very fruitful. Montana probably has accomplished most in this respect, and this largely due to the board's first executive chancellor (Elliott) who guided its efforts in worthy directions. In Iowa[1] and Kansas something has been accomplished in the direction of putting the institutions on a sounder business basis, and also in the presentation to the people and the legislature of the need for more adequate support for what the State has proposed to provide.[2] Better working relations, too, have been established with the normal schools, and normal-school control has been better unified.

On the other hand, the Kansas situation recently (1924) revealed all of the weaknesses of such centralized control in the arbitrary dismissal of the chancellor of the state university, at the direction of the Governor, with the result that a succeeding legislature (1925) restored the former type of non-paid board for

[1] In an effort to obtain light on their problem, the new Iowa State Board asked the U.S. Bureau of Education to study the problem for them, and advise as to action. The result was the report entitled *State Higher Educational Institutions of Iowa*, published as Bulletin 19, 1916, of the U.S. Bureau of Education (223 pp.). This report recommended the establishment of major lines and service lines for each institution, as agriculture and English for the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. With regard to engineering — the most pressing problem everywhere — the survey recommended as the most satisfactory plan the union of the two engineering schools in some one place and the creation of a highly expert engineering university.

[2] "There is one truth in this connection which needs to be driven home with the utmost emphasis. It is this, that the most inefficient thing any university management can do is to secure men by training and temperament capable of accomplishing large things, either as investigators or instructors, and then deny them the very tools necessary to make their talents count. The waste of human talent in the smaller or less well-supported universities to-day, especially among the younger men, probably far exceeds any other waste connected with their management." (Chas. A. Shull, in *School and Society*, vol. 5, p. 125.)

local institutional control as a means for taking the university, agricultural college, and state teachers' college out of politics.[1]

4. Division of the university. This question is closely connected with that of control. In Montana the four separate institutions — university, land-grant college, school of mines, and normal school — have all been united (for supervisory and business control) to constitute the so-called University of Montana. Each institution has a president, and over all is a chancellor of the university, who has his office at the state capitol, and who is responsible only to the state board of education and acts as its executive officer. In California and elsewhere, the reverse of this process is taking place, but probably with a somewhat analogous unified organization being evolved as time goes on. In California a branch agricultural college, a number of branch agricultural experiment stations, and a southern branch of the state university have been established, with the original board of regents in control of the university and all its branches. Similarly the state board of education has replaced the individual boards of trustees for the seven normal schools, and these have been transformed into teachers' colleges under centralized control.

While it is as yet too early to predict what type of unified organization will be developed eventually in States having a number of state higher institutions, certain lines of development and certain principles of action seem to be growing clear. These are:

1. That some form of unified control will be evolved, and a real state policy in higher education will in time be worked out.
2. That where there is but one normal school or teachers' college in a State, it probably will be grouped with the university and the land-grant college under one board of control; where there are several such institutions, normal-school control probably will be placed with the state board of education, with or without the university being included in the centralized control.
3. That the nomination of faculty members for each institution, and the general control of instruction therein, will be placed with the president of each institution.
4. That for expert advice on educational questions, small professional councils will be created, probably by representation from the faculties of all the institutions concerned.
5. That the general control boards should be small (5 to 9 members), that they should be appointed (or elected) in a manner analogous to that approved for state boards of education (page 291), and that no member should have any official connection with any state institution

[1] See note on in *School and Society*, vol. 21, pp. 378–79. (March 28, 1925.)

to be brought under the board's supervision and control. *Ex-officio* constitution or representation should not be employed.

6. That this board should be given an independent budget, sufficient to enable it to employ experts, clerks, and an executive officer, and to conduct investigations.

7. That the functions of this board should be to study conditions and needs, to advise institutions as to desirable changes or procedures, to hold conferences, to make rulings within its powers, to control finances, to approve major appointments and policies, and to make recommendations to the legislature as to desirable legislation.

8. That this board should not be a salaried board, devoting all its time to the state work, but that in honorarium and duties and powers it should be analogous to a state board of education.

9. It may be that, in time, the state boards of education we now have may be evolved to the point where it may be possible to entrust them with the supervisory control of all education, from the kindergarten to the university, though at present this stage has not been reached.

On the other hand, it is clear that up to the present, speaking generally, the best control and the control freest from political influences has come from local boards of regents or trustees, deeply interested in the development of the particular institution under their care. Until centralized boards can be assured of freedom from political direction and control, and until they learn to embody in their procedures the best forms of corporation control, universities will be loath to give up their separate boards of trustees.

5. Relation to other parts of the educational system. In the working out of our democratic school systems, with an educational ladder leading from the kindergarten to the university for all who can use it, we have probably made the ladder too easy to climb. At first admission to the universities from the high schools was on examination, but with the establishment of the accrediting system[1] this test was largely abolished. High schools now were examined and accredited by the state university or by some state official or board, for certification for entrance to the university, and then admission to the university, without further test, was assured to any recommended graduate of any accredited high school. In a number of States this privilege was next extended to all graduates of accredited schools, without the requirement of a special recommendation, and in a few States such gen-

[1] First begun by the University of Michigan, in 1871, and by 1890 common throughout the Upper Mississippi Valley.

eral admission for all high-school graduates was made mandatory by state law.

Our recent studies of intelligence, as well as the work done by students in colleges, have thrown a flood of new light on the problem of university admission, and we now see that the wide open door for all who desire to enter probably is a mistake. Just as a university graduates students who ought not to go on for a master's or a doctor's degree, so every high school does and ought to graduate students who should not go on to college. That every student likely to profit by college training ought to find entrance easy may be regarded by now as an established principle, and his inability to enter is a reflection on the organization of a school system which prevents his doing so. On the other hand, it is a still greater reflection on the organization of a school system when the lazy and the unfit can crowd in, and pass through the university and "gain the insignia of a power and usefulness which they do not really possess." While keeping the door open for talent and capacity, our higher institutions may be expected, more and more, to set up new types of admission conditions and requirements that will tend to keep out the incompetent, the unprepared, the indolent, the characterless, and those devoid of seriousness of purpose and unlikely to profit by the instruction provided. Hampering legislation should not prevent or obstruct such restrictions on admission.

The whole matter of college admission requirements is to-day in a state of flux. The inadequacy of the old entrance examination to sort out desirable students has been so thoroughly proved that it has been in large part abandoned. The accrediting of high schools, while useful as a stimulus and by way of enforcing minimum standards, breaks down when all graduates are allowed to go on to college. Even the standardized units for admission are fast breaking up and being replaced by new content and quantity definitions. Certainly to-day is not the time for a legislature, a state board, or a state agent or commissioner to impose much in the line of uniform regulations on the universities in the matter of their relations to the secondary schools beneath them. The erection of proper standards for teachers, equipment, administration, scope of instruction, and recommendation of graduates constitute far better lines along which to work at the present time.

6. Decentralization; the junior college movement. In the preceding chapter (page 329) brief reference was made to the

upward development of the high schools to include the thirteenth and fourteenth years of instruction, or the lower half of the college course. This development seems by now to be so well under way in the United States[1] that it may be accepted as a certain ultimate expansion in American public education. The very rapid growth of our universities, the great cost and difficulty of duplicating them in a number of places in the State, the fact that the greater number of university students are in these two lower years, and that these years represent a continuation of the general and cultural work of the high school — these and other considerations are pushing to the front the question of the decentralization of the first half of the older college course, the reduction of the freshman and sophomore years to a largely self-sustaining preparatory department, and the development of the university as a group of professional schools beginning at the junior year. This would establish junior college advantages in numerous centers in the State; would carry collegiate education to numbers not now possible of reach; would in time largely pass over much of our present type of university extension work to the junior colleges to handle; would probably result in better collegiate instruction than the universities, with their large classes, can any longer provide; would tend to end general and cultural training at twenty, instead of twenty-two; and would enable the universities to concentrate their efforts on research and the more costly types of professional instruction. This advanced type of university work requires large and expensive library and laboratory facilities and the best of professors, but does not need to be provided for such large numbers of students or in so many places in a State.

Recently a number of our States have recognized this new development by enacting legislation to further it. The California Junior College Law of 1921, and the Michigan Junior College Law of 1923, are types of recent legal provision for the establishment of a series of junior colleges throughout the State. The movement may be expected to extend somewhat rapidly to most of the States. These new institutions will bring to the doors of the people the opportunities for a type of collegiate education at least as good as our fathers enjoyed, and it is not improbable

[1] See especially the detailed study of the development, made under the direction of Professor Leonard V. Koos; *The Junior College* (2 vols.), published in 1924 by the University of Minnesota. A digest of this study, with some statement of tendencies, was published later by Ginn & Co.

that, in time, the A.B. or some other degree, such as Associate in Arts, will be granted at the completion of the course. This would then result in the development of a secondary school in the United States analogous to the best of the secondary schools of Europe.

The junior college development now taking place in our States is as yet chiefly a local development, but the tendency in legislation is to restrict establishment to centers which can adequately support these colleges, and to give the final approval for their establishment to some state authority. There seems also to be a tendency in legislation to give to the state university or to the state board of education some control over the selection of instructors and type of instruction to be provided. During the formative period of their development this probably represents a desirable form of control, but it is likely that, with time, these institutions will become strong enough to demand and obtain about the same independent status that the high schools in our better developed States have to-day come to enjoy.

A completed state school system. The ultimate conclusion of this development would mean, for most of our States, a state university and an agricultural and mechanical college, separate or combined, consisting of a group of professional schools beginning at the junior year and offering a high grade of professional and technical instruction to the select youth of the State to prepare them for the professions, the higher grades of state service, and as research workers. Other specialized higher educational institutions may also be developed, such as the engineering university proposed by the survey commission for Iowa (see footnote 1, page 347).

At from a dozen to thirty to forty places in the State there would be junior colleges, offering good collegiate training in many lines, and preparing for many types of professional and public service and for a high grade of citizenship, and giving to the people of their territory large university-extension opportunities. Beneath these, and leading up to entrance to them, would be a number of community high schools ending at the twelfth year, and leading to these in turn a still larger number of junior high schools ending at the ninth or tenth year. Still beneath these, and leading to entrance to them, would be numerous town and consolidated rural elementary schools, covering the first six to seven years of public school instruction, with small rural schools

only where they could not advantageously be combined with existing consolidated or town schools.[1]

The municipal university. Another somewhat recent development, and one that promises expansion with time, is the creation of the municipal university. We have for long had the City College of New York, the University of Cincinnati, and a number of privately endowed, but city-located, universities. Within recent years there has been a tendency for a further extension of the municipal-college idea. Sometimes this has taken the form of the expansion of a city normal school, as the Harris Teachers' College in St. Louis, the Detroit Junior College, and the Cleveland School of Education; and sometimes it has come about by the taking over of an older denominational college and the transformation of it into a municipal university, as the Municipal University of Akron (Ohio).

Rather more frequently the movement has taken the form of the expansion, through gifts and favors and municipal encouragement, of some denominational or non-sectarian coeducational institution already located in the city, and the transformation of this into an institution for city collegiate instruction, university extension, and general municipal service. The University of Southern California, in Los Angeles, and Boston University form examples of such a change of a denominational institution, and Washington University, in St. Louis, and the University of Pittsburgh of the transformation of non-sectarian, co-educational institutions into city-service universities, but without the city in either case assuming control or voting actual support.

As our cities grow in size and wealth, and as their needs for instruction and guidance increase, we may expect to see some form of municipal collegiate and higher instruction become more and more common. This tendency being evident, legislation to that end should be easy to obtain, as long as a city is able to make such a development without impairing the instruction in its elementary and secondary schools beneath.

State supervision of degree-conferring institutions. While the whole question of the relation of the State to private and denominational effort to provide education belongs properly to Chapter XXVII, and is left until that time for treatment, there is one

[1] See page 460 of the author's *Public Education in the United States*, or page 293 of the author's *Introduction to the Study of Education*, for a chart showing how this would be worked out.

phase of the relation of the State to such institutions and instruction that belongs properly here, and that is state supervision of degree-conferring institutions in order that standards may be enforced as to terminology and the conditions under which degrees may be granted. As yet but a very few of our States have done anything of real value in this direction. The general practice has been to leave private and denominational effort free to conduct the higher education it provides in any manner it sees fit, the only restraining force being that of public opinion. As a consequence, many bad situations have been permitted to exist. Low standards have been maintained; high schools, business colleges, and junior colleges have been called universities and been permitted to confer degrees; so-called universities, consisting largely of an office force and some correspondence work, have been allowed to grant degrees freely; and at times degrees have been sold. The District of Columbia[1] has been one of the worst offenders in the matter of low-standard institutions and degree selling, and apparently without much possibility of remedy from Congress.

New York State has for long formed a notable exception to this general condition of affairs. There the governing organization known as the University of the State of New York was early given power to standardize instruction and to exercise supervisory control over all schools and colleges in the State. In consequence requirements for school, college, university, or professional school have been clearly defined, and degrees are conferred according to standard definitions as to equipment and work. Efforts to institute a somewhat similar supervisory control in other States have usually been bitterly opposed by affected interests, and attempts by state boards of education to prepare lists of standard colleges, for purposes of teacher certification, have at times had to be abandoned because of similar opposition.

In 1910 Congress created the position of Specialist in Higher Education in the Bureau of Education, and Dr. K. C. Babcock was appointed to the position. The absence of any uniformity in standards in higher education in the United States, and the resulting confusion, was an outstanding problem that appealed to him and he set about solving it. Selecting the single standard of the

[1] See especially "Sham Universities," in *Seventh Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*, 1912, pp. 154–63, and an article on "Control of Degree-Conferring Institutions in the District of Columbia," in *Educational Review*, vol. 51, pp. 64–77. (Jan., 1916.)

ability of an institution to prepare students for graduate work, he classified the existing colleges into four groups, based on the time it would take their graduates to obtain the M.A. degree at the larger universities. He spent a year on the problem, examining documents, visiting institutions, and conferring with authorities, and finally prepared a tentative classification and distributed it to the institutions classified, with a request for criticisms before final revision and printing. Before the report could be revised and issued the work was suddenly terminated by an Executive Order from the President of the United States (February 19, 1913), ordering the Bureau of Education to cease further efforts at college classification.

As a result of the repeated thwarting of efforts to classify by official action, we have fallen back on unofficial classification and regulation through the force of informed public opinion; that is, by the formulation of standards by those interested in establishing and maintaining them, and the gradual acceptance of these by the state universities, the larger and more important endowed institutions, and later by state departments of education.[1]

The American Council of Education (Washington) has recently taken the lead in this matter. In 1921 a conference was held on the subject of the standardization of colleges and universities, as a result of which committees for the formulation of common minimum standards for colleges, technical institutions, junior colleges, and teacher-training institutions[2] were appointed. The National Conference Committee on Standards of Colleges and Secondary Schools has also published lists of accredited higher institutions. By such means we are slowly moving toward a standardization of terminology and procedure which will be accepted eventually by all the better organizations and institutions, and which may render unnecessary any state supervision of degree-conferring powers beyond the suppression of degree-selling and irresponsible institutional corporations. There is nothing inherently wrong, however, in state formulation of standards and state supervision of

[1] The importance of the work initiated by Dr. Babcock is not likely to be overestimated, though its publication was at the time prevented. Every year since the problem has come nearer to a satisfactory solution, and to-day so many standardizing agencies are at work that a college has little chance now to mislead the public as to what kind of work it is prepared to do.

[2] See *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, 1920–22, vol. I, pp. 68–74, for the standards for a "college" as reported by the sub-committee on college standards. (Same report in Bulletin 34, 1923, U.S. Bureau of Education.) The Council has since issued (1924) a pamphlet containing *Standards for Accrediting Colleges, Junior Colleges, and Teacher-Training Institutions* (11 pp.).

degree-granting institutions.[1] Our States have enacted "blue-sky laws" and provided for corporation commissioners to protect the buyers of stocks and bonds, and the same idea might quite properly be applied to the buyers of the evidences of an education.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show what the development of political, religious, and scientific independence by a state university means for the conception held by a people of the place, purpose, and function of such an institution.
2. Until recently we have not been able to secure a very high type of citizen for our public boards and commissions. Show how the university can serve the State by giving training that will tend to remedy this defect in our public service.
3. Suppose a State abolished its state tax on real and personal property, and raised all its needed revenue from corporation and income taxes, licenses, and fees, and that the state university had previously been supported by a millage property tax. How could it be arranged to continue to support the university in some fixed manner, without reverting to legislative appropriations?
4. Does it seem probable that our States can, or should, afford free university instruction to all who ask for it?
5. What effect will the development of junior colleges in the state and professional schools in the university probably have on tuition? On numbers?
6. Should a State educate free, at cost, at partial cost, or exclude those who desire to come to its university from outside the State? Why?
7. If tuition charges were to be imposed and increased, why would it then be very important that the number of scholarships be materially increased?
8. What are the chief objections to and advantages of making the state board of education, if properly constituted, the board for university and normal-school control?
9. In France and the German States university control is under a state minister for higher education, and as a division of the state ministry for public instruction, and without any lay board to work with or through. What would be the objection to such a plan in the United States?
10. What objections and advantages do you see in the Montana state board and chancellor plan? To the Iowa-Kansas plan of a paid lay governing board, without an executive officer?
11. Assuming the principles of action stated on pages 348–49 to be true, in what direction are we tending in the matter of higher educational control? What will be the advantages, and what dangers will we face?
12. Three main plans have been employed in the constitution of individual governing boards for the State universities, namely, appointment by the

[1] Oregon recently (1921) provided for the standardization of its colleges and normal schools by the U.S. Bureau of Education, and, in case of the failure of this Bureau to do so, has provided for the creation of a state representative standardizing body for the purpose. (*Oregon Laws*, §4950). The U.S. Bureau has since done the work, using practically the standards proposed by the National Conference Commission on Standards.

Governor, *ex-officio* members, and election by the alumni residing within the State. State the advantages and disadvantages of each plan.

13. What are the present tendencies in the matter of university admission requirements?
14. Almost every university draws the bulk of its students from within a relatively small radius: is this an argument for junior-college development?
15. Considering the great advantages in location of a municipal university for extension work, late afternoon and evening classes, lecture service, and practical facilities in business and the industries, what types of service ought to be strong features of its work?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Investigate and report upon the organization and work and usefulness of the Iowa State Board of Education.
2. Do the same for the Kansas State Board of Administration.
3. Investigate and report upon the work of the Washington Board of Higher Curricula.
4. Investigate and report upon:
   (*a*) Recent junior-college legislation.
   (*b*) State plans for supervising and accrediting the work of the junior colleges.
   (*c*) A few typical junior-college developments, comparing these with the work of: (1) the smaller denominational colleges about them, and (2) with the state universities of a third of a century ago.
   (*d*) The New York State plan of supervision of degree-conferring institutions.

PROBLEMS

1. Investigate the problem of the attitude which the older non-state universities ought to assume toward the creation and maintenance of a state university, considering such factors as student population, existing collegiate facilities, prior needs of the elementary and secondary school system beneath, costs, ability to provide, and similar factors. See especially the Carnegie *Survey of Education in Vermont* (1914), and the Massachusetts *Special Commission Report* (1924) for discussions of the problem. Compare also with educational costs (public schools and universities) in such States as South Carolina, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico.
2. Consider, as a substitute, a university of New England, resting on either the high schools or state systems of junior colleges, and formed and supported under a state-treaty compact by all the six New England States, or such compacts for three States each.
3. Formulate a plan of organization for a state higher education board for a State having a university, a land-grant college, four teachers' colleges, and a polytechnic school of junior-college grade. Assume the retention of the local boards, and indicate the powers and duties of such a state board, and also the powers and duties of the local boards.
4. Assume a similar State, but assume that the local boards of control are abolished, and the state board of education is reconstructed and given supervisory control of the entire public school system, from kindergarten to university, after the Montana plan. Indicate the organ-

ization and the distribution of powers and duties under this type of organization, and the personnel required for proper administration.

5. Investigate the question of tuition fees in state-supported higher institutions, and formulate a policy, based on the results of the investigation.
6. Devise a plan for some state control of the formation and development of a junior-college system for a State, so as to insure the largest local liberty for development consistent with the maintenance of proper standards as to instruction, equipment, and support.

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CHAPTER XIV

SUPPLEMENTAL AND EXTENSION EDUCATION

In providing for a system of public instruction in our States the emphasis was first laid on some form of higher education, as being an older and a well-established type, and then later on the general education of all in the rudiments of learning in elementary schools. Soon the system of general education was extended upward to provide secondary education for those in the cities, and later in the towns, with a more recent extension to many rural communities as well. We have thus provided — except in the matter of secondary education for all rural children — for the general education of every child regarded as of school age.[1] Within recent years an effort has been made to extend the public school system so as to include instruction not only for those of the so-called school age not attending the regular day schools, but for adults as well. It will be the purpose of this chapter to describe briefly the more important forms which this extension movement has taken in our States, and the scope of supplemental or extension education which a State may be justified in providing for its youth and its people.

Evening-school instruction. Originally evening schools were provided by our cities to meet the needs of those unable, because of their work, to attend the day schools. Adopted early in our educational history,[2] they continued until about the beginning of the present century much as they began — offering instruction which paralleled that of the day elementary and high schools. It was for long regarded as a necessity to provide such instruction in order that young people who had to work during the day might still obtain the rudiments of an education in the evening schools. These schools accordingly offered instruction in reading, arith-

[1] This has been set differently by different States, and varies all the way from 4 to 21, though 5 to 18 and 6 to 20 are the more common age limits fixed by our States.

[2] Providence is said to have established an evening school as early as 1810, and Louisville in 1834. Baltimore organized six evening schools in 1840, and New York City began their organization in 1847. The first general state law for evening schools was enacted by Ohio, in 1839, followed by Massachusetts, in 1847. In 1848 New York City opened an evening school for girls, as did Cincinnati in 1855. The first public evening high school was opened in Cincinnati, in 1856, and similar schools were opened in New York City in 1866, Chicago and St. Louis in 1868. Philadelphia in 1869, and Boston in 1870.

metic, language, history, and other elementary school subjects, as well as in the older book-type of high-school instruction, to such pupils as voluntarily came to them for it.

Since about 1900, our evening-school instruction has been materially changed in type and generally expanded in scope. With the enactment of compulsory attendance laws,[1] and their more recent somewhat general enforcement, the need for providing duplicate evening elementary schools for children at work during the day has largely disappeared. Such children are now required, in all States enforcing a good compulsory school-attendance law, to attend the day elementary-schools regularly until they are fourteen, or in some States sixteen years of age. In consequence, evening elementary school instruction is now largely confined to the provision of the elements of an English education for the foreign-born, and the offering of opportunities for special training to those beyond the age of sixteen who missed educational advantages during what ought to have been their school years.

As this change has come, the evening elementary school has turned from the teaching of youth to the teaching of adults and illiterates. While the evening high school has grown vastly in importance as a continuation and a vocational school, it has in consequence materially changed in character. Although continuing to offer cultural studies for those who have completed the elementary schools, or who have partially completed them and have obtained somewhat equivalent advantages through experiences in practical life, the evening high school tends more and more to become a vocational continuation school for studies along scientific, technical, home-arts, commercial, and industrial lines. While some pupils still use the evening high schools to continue their education and to prepare for college or for a technical school, the large majority now attend them to attain greater efficiency in the occupations in which they are engaged. Technical, home-arts, trade, and business studies are now in greatest demand. The enactment of the Smith-Hughes Law (page 63) has resulted in a marked expansion of the evening high school along vocational lines. Another new class — adults engaged in business and industry — are now asking for continuation-school instruction in the evening schools of our larger cities.

[1] Three States had enacted such laws by 1870, 13 States by 1875, 26 by 1890, and 31 by 1900. By the latter date such laws were common in the Northern and Western States. As late as 1890, however, but one State (Connecticut) had required attendance at school during the entire period the schools were in session.

Extending the compulsory-education period. Entirely new conceptions as to educational needs have come to us as a people during the past quarter-century. As our civilization and political life have grown in complexity, as our place in world affairs has become larger and more difficult, as the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship have increased, as our social and industrial life has become more extended, and as production has come to be more specialized and the possibility of change from one vocation to another more limited, we have come to see that both the nature and the extent of the education offered young people in preparation for life must both change and increase. As these truths have become recognized by our people, we note the extension of state requirements for attendance at school. The leaving-age has accordingly been increased from twelve to fourteen and sixteen, and in a few States to eighteen years of age — unless the pupil has completed all or a substantial part of the elementary school course, and in some cases the secondary school course — and the required period of attendance at school each year has been increased from a few months to the full term the schools are in session.

This legislation has been enacted in the interests of the State, as well as in the interests of the child. During the years nominally devoted to high school, the youth passes from boyhood or girlhood into manhood and womanhood. The habits and ways of childhood and youth give way to the thoughts and ideals of adult life. It is a period during which the character of most young people is given its "set," and without school training the new adjustments are far too frequently made also without the guidance of home, church, or society. To provide educational and social direction during this transition period has been one of the purposes of the extension of school oversight and control.

When one realizes that only about seventy-five per cent of our young people between fourteen and sixteen years of age are attending school, and that only about thirty-five per cent of those between sixteen and eighteen are registered in any kind of school, one can appreciate more readily the importance of extending the school period by legislation. These years are too important as formative and training years to be neglected, while the money value of the earnings during these years is small. The industries, finding the unskilled labor of these youths unprofitable,[1] either dis-

[1] It has been estimated (Cooley) that 90 per cent of the wage-earning jobs open to youths under eighteen are undesirable from the point of view of offering oppor-

card them, pay them small wages, or establish schools to provide them with needed additional training. Since only the large employers can or will provide additional training, and since the provision of such training puts a handicap on the industry or employer providing it, general legislation to protect youths from exploitation and the State from danger has been made necessary, and the result has been the enactment of a number of state part-time educational laws.

Part-time school laws. In 1910 New York enacted a permissive part-time schooling law. In 1911 Wisconsin passed a compulsory part-time education act which, as since amended, requires that all youths between fourteen and seventeen must either attend an all-day school or be regularly employed and in attendance at a continuation school for eight hours per week and for eight months of the year. Ohio in 1913, Pennsylvania in 1915, and Indiana in 1916 enacted part-time laws, the one in Pennsylvania [1] being the best of the three. Little more was done during the War years, but in 1919 fourteen States, in 1920 five, and in 1921 one enacted part-time instruction laws. By 1922, twenty-one States had enacted part-time education laws that were state-wide in their application, and twenty-two other States were helping to maintain some form of such instruction. These laws apply to young people over fourteen years of age who are employed, and require attendance at some form of part-time public school instruction until the youth becomes sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen years of age, the time required being from four to eight hours per week at special day-time classes, and usually for the full number of weeks that the public schools are in session. The part-time school thus deals with boys and girls who have left the regular public school permanently, with their schooling admittedly incomplete and inadequate.[2]

A good statement as to the real purpose of part-time school

tunities for personal development and preparation for any sort of skilled employment, "but," says Cooley, "I know from practical experience with thousands that when the job is hooked up with the school the number of 'dead-end' situations is vastly diminished, and the 'dead-end' jobs cease to be the very great menace they otherwise constitute." (R. L. Cooley, in *Industrial Arts Magazine*, May, 1920.)

[1] This was known as the Cox Child-Labor Act. It required attendance for 8 hours per week at a part-time continuation school of all youths, 14 to 16, having work permits, except those in farm and domestic service. Boards of education were compelled to establish such classes when twenty or more minors were so employed.

[2] In 1926 a bill was proposed in the Massachusetts legislature to merge part-time and vocational education by requiring pupils between 14 and 16, out on work permits, to work half time and go to school half time, thus continuing schooling up to 16.

legislation was recently made by one of our state commissioners of vocational education,[1] in the following words:

> The compulsory part-time act is drawn in the interest of the thousands of working boys and girls who have in many cases been compelled to relinquish the privilege of completing the full-time high-school course so freely provided by a generous public.
>
> It was enacted by the people of the State because they realized the danger that democracy runs in permitting these children to pass through the most critical period of their moral development, in most cases without a guiding hand competent or willing to give them the instruction that will make them safe for themselves and for democracy, and make democracy safe for the world.
>
> While the part-time act may appear to some to be autocratic in its compulsory features, which would impose fines upon and imprison parents and employers who violate its provisions, it is, in reality, thoroughly democratic in principle.
>
> Most people will agree that one of the main functions of government is to protect the weak. In this instance, the children at work, burdened at too early an age with the responsibility of self-support or the support of others, are the weak whom the act would protect from exploitation by individuals, organizations, or economic conditions. In reality, the compulsory part-time education act is a manifestation of democratic government at its best.

The courses of instruction are designed to meet the worker's needs, the subjects are arranged in short unit-courses. intensive study is provided for skilled workers, courses to teach skill to the unskilled are offered, oral and written English is emphasized, instruction in the care of health and the duties and responsibilities of citizenship are provided, individual counsel and vocational guidance are available, and permits for work and school-enrollment certificates are combined.[2] A fully organized plan for part-time instruction in a city would provide classes to meet seasonal and irregular employment conditions, as well as alternating attendance at school and employment at work, and all would be closely related to vocational counseling and guidance, and to

[1] Dr. Edwin R. Snyder, of California, in an Introduction to a *Syllabus of a Course on the Part-Time Education Law of California*, published by the University of California, 1920.

[2] Mr. O. D. Evans, principal of the Boston Continuation School, states the aim or function of the part-time school as follows:

1. Conservation and extension of the education already acquired.
2. Provision of opportunity for pre-vocational experience to aid in the choice of a vocation.
3. Vocational guidance and follow-up work.
4. The establishment of an efficient employment bureau.
5. Tying school work with the job.

employment supervision. The following principles of action relating to part-time education seem by now to be fairly well established:

1. That part-time education should be organized as a part of the public school work; that it should be closely related with the issuance of working permits, industry supervision, and vocational counseling; and that it should be regarded as continuation education to be incorporated under the high-school organization and supervision.
2. That the establishment of part-time classes be made compulsory, with compulsory attendance up to eighteen, except where a secondary school course has been completed earlier.
3. That attendance at continuation or part-time classes be required for not less than eight hours a week and 320 hours a year.
4. That the instruction to be provided be sufficiently adapted to individual and group needs to provide for all types of workers, and that short unit-courses be made a special feature of the work.
5. That attendance at such instruction be in the day time, and be counted in the legal hours which minors may be employed.
6. That preparation for good health and good citizenship, as well as for greater efficiency in industry, be kept as important functions of such instruction.

The most difficult phase of the problem of part-time education is the magnitude of the task. Although the number of boys and girls in such schools increased from 53,000 in 1918 to 299,842 in 1926, this enrollment was less than one eighth of the number, fourteen to seventeen years of age, reported by the Federal Census of 1920 as not attending school of any kind. Another difficulty is the wide variety of needs to be met, requiring a wide variety of courses and instruction. Still another difficulty is the ease with which boys and girls, with only a little training, can find profitable employment at good wages without the necessity — except under legal compulsion — of further school attendance. Despite these obstacles, however, the part-time school is developing rapidly as a service agency both to youths and to industry, and the idea is enlisting the coöperation of many large employers of youthful labor.

Americanization and citizenship classes. The World War brought seriously to our attention the fact that we had been permitting to come to our shores large numbers of the foreign-born who had come largely for gain, and who, even though they took out citizenship papers, cared little for us, our democratic institutions, or our government. While we have provided schooling for such of the children of these immigrants as chose to attend the public rather than parochial schools, the Americanization of

the adults was left to chance. The outbreak of the World War revealed that we had been reposing in a false security, and that in consequence we faced a vast social and racial problem involving our national security and unity and the preservation of our national ideals. National safety and national welfare alike demanded that, as a Nation, we make a systematic and organized endeavor to educate the foreign-born in the principles and ideas of our democracy, using the English language as our one common tongue.

At first only a war measure,[1] Americanization soon attracted country-wide attention. The National Commission on Illiteracy soon recommended that all the school machinery of the land be utilized in the teaching of the foreign-born with a view to the promotion of their assimilation into the national life. A number of States have since enacted laws providing for Americanization work as a state educational undertaking. Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, Ohio, and South Dakota were leaders (1919) in this movement. Other States have since followed the lead of New York in providing (1917) for courses in the state institutions to train teachers of adult immigrants, and requiring (1918) the education of illiterate minors in evening schools. Other States, for example, California, have provided for Americanization teachers' certificates, asked the colleges of the State to offer the needed training, and provided for the work by putting it under a state commissioner of immigration and housing; while still other States, in an effort to handle the problem, forbade the foreign-language school in the State.[2] The enactment of legislation restricting the coming of the foreign-born to the United States, and the later enactment of additional legislation still further limiting numbers and shifting the source of future supply from the south and east to the north and west of Europe,[3] will give

[1] The Census of 1910 had shown that there were 5,516,316 people in the United States who could not read or write, but this attracted very little attention. When the War came, of approximately 10,000,000 men drafted, about 700,000 could not sign their names. The serious impairment of military efficiency resulting from approximately 1 in 13 being unable to use the common language of the country made Americanization and literacy a matter of national importance, and after the War the schools were asked to continue what the Army had begun.

[2] In 1921, a "Resolution to make English the Controlling Medium in Elementary and High Schools" was introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative Fish. (House Resolution no. 72, 67th Congress, 1st Session, p. 93, April 26, 1921.)

[3] In 1920, largely as an outcome of our War experiences, Congress passed an immigration act limiting new arrivals to 3 per cent of those already here from each Nation, as shown by the 1920 Census. After a careful subsequent study of the

us an opportunity, if the legislation is not broken down, to make substantial headway during the coming decade in the assimilation of those now here and those still to come.

The importance of these Americanization classes is very large, and much should be made of them by the State and the Nation. Such classes and instruction, for the present at least, should be assumed as a necessary part of the State's system of public instruction,[1] and the work should no longer be entrusted to such agencies as the labor unions, the churches, the Y.M.C.A., and similar organizations, useful as their efforts in the past have been.

In such classes the teachers occupy a very important place. Since they become the interpreters of America and American ideals to the foreign-born, they should be selected with care and expected to represent the best of America. Their approach must be intelligent and sympathetic, as allegiance to the country is to be won rather than commanded. It is an educational problem that calls for very astute handling.

The entry to citizenship in the future should be through these classes, and the old formal, easy, and political naturalization by our judges should be forever a thing of the past. The completion of an Americanization and citizenship course of study, involving learning the use of English and gaining familiarity with the peculiar genius of American life and institutions, and graduation from such a course, under public school control, should become a prerequisite to naturalization by a court.[2] The diploma ought not be too easy of attainment, and the ceremony of naturalization should be one of dignity. Legislation to this end is not only a right and a duty of the State, but, still more, as we shall point out more fully in Chapter XVIII, it is an obligation of the Nation to see that the States provide such training and to assist them in so doing.

The elimination of illiteracy. Closely connected with Americanization and citizenship classes are the illiteracy classes, to

matter, the House Immigration Committee framed what became known as the Johnson Bill, which was enacted and went into effect July 1, 1924. This reduced the quotas from 3 per cent to 2 per cent, and changed the basis from those here in 1920 to the number here in 1890. This reduced the yearly arrivals from 357,801 to 161,990, and distinctly favored the north and west of Europe, from which our earliest immigrants had mostly come.

[1] Massachusetts and New York have made good beginnings on state plans, while many large cities, all over the Nation, have organized good instruction. See Irwin, E. J., *An Americanization Program*, for descriptions of city work.

[2] Except, of course, those foreign-born of good education who can give evidence of such to the school authorities, plus the ability to use and understand English.

the organization of which the revelations of the World War gave a new impetus. Although the Census of 1910 had informed us that there were 5,516,316 persons in the United States, ten years of age or over, who could not read or write, and that of these 1,650,163 were foreign born, with an additional 155,388 native-born of foreign-born parents, it made but little impression. Although the total illiterates in 1920 were 584,258 less than in 1910 — a decrease easily accounted for by the work of the army-camp schools — many of our cities and States have now undertaken an extensive campaign for the entire elimination of illiteracy within a decade. It is the foreign-born whites in the North and West, and the Negroes and Mexicans of the South and Southwest who constitute the great bulk of the illiterates,[1] and it is in these sections that the greatest efforts have recently been made. Illiteracy, like citizenship, is a national problem, and one that the Nation might well assist the States in solving.

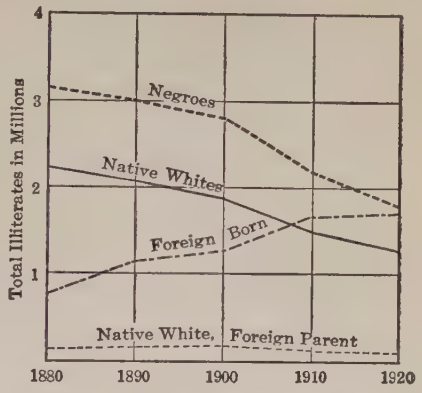

FIG. 53. WHO CONSTITUTE OUR ILLITERATES

The enforcement of the compulsory education laws for the children can prevent a further increase of illiteracy among them, but what is called for is the establishment of night schools for adult illiterates, and the enactment of continuation-school laws for illiterate minors, which will require them to continue under part-time instruction a certain number of hours per week until they reach the age of twenty-one, or until the standard of proficiency represented by the sixth grade is reached.

New York has recently taken the whole matter of illiteracy

[1] The distribution of illiterates 10 years of age or over, by decades, has been:

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
All persons	17.0%	13.3%	10.7%	7.7%	6.0%
Native whites	8.7	6.3	4.6	3.0	2.0
Foreign-born whites and of foreign parentage	12.0	15.3	14.5	13.6	13.9
Negroes	70.0	57.1	44.5	30.4	22.9

and citizenship properly in hand by the enactment (1923) of a revision of the election law — based on an amendment [1] to the state constitution (1921) — which placed with the Regents of the University of the State of New York (State Board of Education) the sole authority to prescribe rules and regulations for the issuance of certificates of literacy to all new voters — native and foreign-born — in the State. Without such a certificate of literacy no new voter (after January 1, 1922) may be registered for voting. These certificates, which must be issued through the offices of the superintendents of schools throughout the State, are to be presented as evidence to the election boards when registering. They may be based on the diploma of graduation from an eight-grade elementary school, or any higher school in which English has been the language of instruction; or they may be granted to those who have completed the sixth grade of the public schools, or its equivalent, or to those who successfully pass a literacy test provided by the state department of education.[2] This is a most commendable type of state legislation, and one that should be followed generally by our States. Were Congress to enact a general law requiring ability to read and write English intelligently (sixth-grade standard) for all aliens, at the time they take out their final citizenship papers, and for all persons for voting at a Federal election, a nation-wide campaign for literacy and an intelligent electorate could be waged.

In different places a number of other plans have been tried, in an effort to reach the illiterates and the foreign-born, with a view to influencing the home toward American standards. Some of the plans which have proved quite effective are the home teacher, in California [3] and elsewhere; the community-center and mothers'-aid organizations, in many places; the logging-camp schools of the Northwest; the "Moonlight Schools" of the mountains of

[1] This amendment was first proposed in the constitutional convention of 1894, and has been under discussion ever since. It was finally adopted at the November election of 1921, by a majority of 264,211. It reads:

"After January 1, 1922, no person shall be entitled to vote by attaining majority, by naturalization, or otherwise, unless such person is also able, except for physical disability, to read and write English, and suitable laws shall be passed by the legislature to enforce this provision."

[2] See article by J. R. Voorhis, in *Educational Review*, vol. 67, pp. 1–4 (Jan., 1924), which gives samples of the New York State Regents' literacy tests for the use of the ballot. Also see article by J. C. Morrison, in *Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 12, pp. 145–55 (Sept., 1925), which reproduces tests given.

[3] See R. F. Gray, on "The Home Teacher in California"; in *School and Society*, vol. 12, pp. 330–34 (Oct. 16, 1920), describing the California law of 1915 and the work of the visiting teacher.

Kentucky;[1] and the schools for the children of migratory laborers, in California and elsewhere. Sometimes this work has been under the special direction of the state department of education, sometimes under a state commission on immigration and housing, sometimes under the state department of labor or child welfare, and sometimes under other state agencies. Wherever placed, the work represents the interest of the State in the education of the illiterate with a view to their better assimilation into our American life.

Adult education. Compared with England, Denmark, and France, the United States has as yet done little in the matter of adult education, though very respectable beginnings have been made. What has been done has been chiefly establishment of citizenship classes, efforts at the elimination of adult illiteracy, evening lectures in the schoolhouses on topics of general interest, farmers' institutes, agricultural extension under the Smith-Lever Act (page 57), and university extension by our state universities. What has so far been accomplished probably marks only a good beginning of what the next quarter-century is likely to witness in the extension of educational advantages among our people. The more important phases of adult education which are likely to be given large state encouragement and support in the near future may be briefly mentioned here.

The community center. The tendency to use the schoolhouse as a center for the social and intellectual life of the community is becoming common, and is finding expression in state legislation making it mandatory on the part of school trustees and boards of education to permit of its use for such purposes. In some of our cities a marked development of the community-center school has been made, and in nearly all the movements for the improvement of rural education the idea of making the consolidated school a center for the life of a natural community of both people and children has been prominent (*Source Book*, pp. 386–94). As new schools are erected the tendency has been to so build them that they may serve not only as a home for a good consolidated school, but also as a center for a good community life.[2] To this end an auditorium, a branch library, domestic science equipment, and playgrounds are as essential as classrooms. Our best con-

[1] See *Moonlight Schools*, by Cora W. Stewart (Dutton, N.Y., 1922), or Bulletin 20, 1913, U.S. Bureau of Education, which describes the same experiment.

[2] See the author's *Rural Life and Education*, Chapters X and XIV, for a description of the community-center consolidated school.

solidated schools also have a garage, shops, teacherage, superintendent's house, and kindergarten and high school, and a few have also developed a community lecture course and a community Sunday School and church.[1] Under a proper county unit of educational organization, as has been pointed out in Chapters IX and X, such schools would become the common type instead of being as exceptional as they are to-day.

Lecture courses at the schoolhouses. These are not uncommon in our cities, where they are paid for from public funds. They are seldom found in small places or in the rural districts, except in connection with a good community-center consolidated school. The public schoolhouse offers a natural center where all types of people may meet, and the community-center school will find the lecture a useful form of adult education. Much of the agricultural and university extension work can be carried on in this way.

Adult instruction. By this term is meant the organization of classes for the regular instruction of those who are beyond the legal school age. Such classes, except in the form of university extension classes, are not as yet very common in America, even in our cities, and where they do exist they are largely confined to vocational instruction, so far as classes under public auspices are concerned. Under institutional auspices, such as Chautauquas, the Y.M.C.A., and correspondence schools, we find a wide variety of forms of adult education, much of which is very valuable. Under private auspices we find much that is quackery, or propaganda with a purpose. Evening-school instruction of adults, beyond the necessities of the elimination of illiteracy or preparation for citizenship, has as yet, speaking generally, received but little support from public funds except along vocational lines.

As education in a democracy is primarily education for citizenship and for social and industrial efficiency, the education of adults is likely to remain subordinate in importance to the education of youth; but with increasing wealth and intelligence; with a realization of the need of the development and extension of rational thinking, especially along social, economic, and political lines among our people; and with the growth in numbers and influence of Workers' Educational Bureaus and Associations for

[1] See the description of the Sargent School, in Colorado, and what it provides for the community life, in the author's *Rural Life and Education*, Revised Edition (1922), pp. 339–46.

Adult Education, we may expect to see the scope of our systems of public instruction gradually extended to include more and more of the forms of adult education now under private or institutional auspices.[1] The importance and desirability of adult education, in a modern democratic form of government, is not likely to be overestimated, and adequate provision for its encouragement, under public or under institutional and private auspices, cannot safely be overlooked by the State. The demand for adult instruction is with us rapidly growing, and a wide program of education for citizens of all ages and occupations who cannot secure instruction in the schools or colleges is likely to be one of the developments of the future. In such forms as agricultural instruction, home-economics extension work, general university extension, and library advantages, our States have already begun to finance an extensive system of adult education. We shall examine each of these, briefly, in order.

Agricultural and home-life extension work. This type of adult education has already been described in Chapter IV (pages 57–59) as a phase of the educational activity of the Federal Government, coöperating with the States. The importance of farmers' institutes (*Source Book*, pp. 398–402), home and farm demonstration work, boys' and girls' club work, and home-economics work with the women on the farms is very large. While varying somewhat in character in the different States, in accordance with varying agricultural needs, the returns from the work[2] have been beyond expectations.

University extension. In this work England has for long been a leader, though recently the United States has developed rapidly along this line. In this country, its beginnings in organized form probably date from the inauguration of Chautauqua university and its extension work, in 1885. The University of Wisconsin, 1892, was the first state university to undertake this service, although it was not until 1906 that the university (*Source Book*, pp. 402–05) organized the work under an Extension Division. The International Correspondence School of Scranton, Pennsyl-

[1] The courses for adults offered by the Y.M.C.A., twenty or more years ago, in such subjects as banking, accounting, salesmanship, advertising, and house decorating, form good examples of types of work that have since largely passed from institutional to public auspices.

[2] For a good description of the extension work of one agricultural college, as a type, see outline of work of the University of Tennessee for one year, in Chapter VII on "Educational Extension," in *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, U.S. Bureau of Education, 1920–22, vol. II, pp. 220–22.

vania, the pioneer privately organized extension institution, began its work in 1893. Between 1906 and 1913, inclusive, twenty-eight collegiate institutions organized university extension work, and twenty-one other institutions reorganized the work they had previously begun. Since 1913 the idea has spread all over the Nation, so that to-day universities, colleges, normal schools, technical schools, and professional schools are engaged in this form of educational work. Their offerings are extensively advertised,[1] much effort is now being put into the work, and many of our state universities to-day speak of their "state-wide campus." While at present most of the extension work of the country is done by institutions of collegiate rank, a few state departments of education have recently organized some form or forms of extension service.

In Massachusetts, which as yet has no state university, a State Division of University Extension was organized by law, in 1915, under the State Department of Education. Being independent of university control the Division has marked freedom in the matter of courses and offerings, with the result that every man and woman in the State has been made a prospective university-extension student. Classes have been organized anywhere, and at any hour. The evening-school instruction has not been duplicated. Short unit-courses have been the rule. Both correspondence and class instruction are used. The effort to carry the work throughout the State has been so successful that there is scarcely a town where study centers have not been organized, or a post-office where correspondence students do not receive their instructions.[2] At the end of the first year the Massachusetts enrollment was a little over three thousand; five years later it was well above one hundred thousand.

Chicago and Columbia, among endowed universities, have done important work in extension teaching, and Harvard has recently laid plans for a large extension service. Among the state universities the leaders have been those of California, Florida,

[1] See the advertisements in any of the illustrated magazines. See also *Application of Commercial Advertising Methods to University Extension*, by Mary B. Orvis, published as Bulletin 51, 1919, U.S. Bureau of Education, 38 pp., illd.

[2] An extensive plan for state extension service has also been prepared for Pennsylvania by the State Department of Public Instruction, but so far lack of funds has prevented its development. Utilizing the services and plants of the forty-five colleges and universities and thirteen normal schools in the State, it is proposed to organize the extension work along the lines of general extension work, adult education, public school relations, survey service, lecture service, study clubs, and research work.

Indiana, Minnesota, Oregon, Pennsylvania State College, and Wisconsin. Many normal schools and teachers' colleges also have organized special extension courses for teachers. The bulletins issued listing the instruction to be offered include numerous courses on all types of historical, literary, artistic, commercial, economic, political, scientific, engineering, and educational subjects. Study groups are formed, instructors appointed, lectures given, examinations held, and credit certificates issued for completion of a course. Following the lead of the privately organized correspondence study schools, most of the state institutions have also organized correspondence courses, with credit certificates on completion of the work. While this work lacks the personal contact with an instructor, its appeal has been very great,[1] and a serious type of student has been attracted to it.

The extension work of our universities, colleges, normal schools, teachers' colleges, and professional schools has been accepted as an integral part of their work, is financed as a part of the institutional budget, and hence has been assumed as an extension of the educational service of the State. The great bulk of the work is a form of adult education, and a form certain to expand, for some time at least, as rapidly as budgets can be expanded to provide for it.[2] There is every reason to think, too, that much of what is now done by our state universities will in time be passed down to the rising junior colleges and to the teachers' colleges, since by using these institutions many more people can be reached, and the work can be done more economically as well.

Library extension service. In connection with the work of university extension, many of the institutions send out what are known as "package libraries" to the study groups. These contain books, pamphlets, and bulletins along the proposed lines of study. Somewhat similar to this is the assorted box of books sent out by state libraries, to communities within the State applying for them, and containing fifty or more assorted books on particular subjects. This idea was originated by New York, in

[1] For the last year for which records are available, California and Pennsylvania State had approximately 5000 correspondence students, Chicago 7000, and Wisconsin 25,000. From 1893 to 1923 the International Correspondence School enrolled approximately 3,000,000 students, chiefly in industrial subjects.

[2] See article by F. F. Nalder, on "The Opportunity and Demand for University Extension"; in *School and Society*, vol. 6, pp. 344–49, giving the experience of California

1893, and was taken up by Wisconsin, two years later, and expanded into a state-wide system. Minnesota and Iowa also were early engaged in the work. These boxes are applied for by number from a catalogue, are deposited in some store or house or post-office, are loaned to the community for a few months, and are returned to the state library at the end of the loan period, when another box may be obtained. The state library, which usually pays the express charges each way, thus helps to create small circulating libraries in communities where public libraries do not exist. New York, with its state library service organized as a division under the State Department of Education (as in Osceola, which see); Wisconsin, with an active Free Library Commission, which organizes libraries throughout the State, manages the traveling libraries, conducts a legislative reference department, and maintains a state library training school (*Source Book*, pp. 394–98); and California[1] and Ohio, which have organized state-wide library services and county library systems — are examples of States which have done notable work of this type.

The next extension of the library service has come through the organization of county libraries, which have in turn established branches throughout the county. The community-center consolidated schools form natural centers for library service. The county library may obtain loans from the state library as needed. The State and the county thus coöperate to supply library service to the people of the State living outside of the cities having city libraries. The county library, fitting in as it does so well with a county-unit school system, is generally regarded as the solution of the problem of providing library facilities for village and rural communities,[2] providing at the same time another form of adult education which is both cheap and useful. In but few of our States has library service as yet been well developed, and nowhere has the saturation point been reached.[3] The extension of public library service to the high school, with the appointment of

[1] See a good brief statement on the excellent work in organization of State and county library service in California, under the title of "Universal Library Service," by Milton J. Ferguson, in *School and Society*, vol. 11, pp. 703–05. The maintenance cost for 1924–25, for county libraries alone, was $1,353,094.

[2] See here the volume by Harriet C. Lord, on *County Library Service*, published by the American Library Association, in 1925. (206 pp.)

[3] So popular have the parcel-post package libraries become that state library commissions no longer dare to advertise them because their appropriations will not supply the books, so great is the demand. One woman recently wrote the Wisconsin Free Library Commission that she had read eighty books to her husband the preceding winter while he was milking their cows.

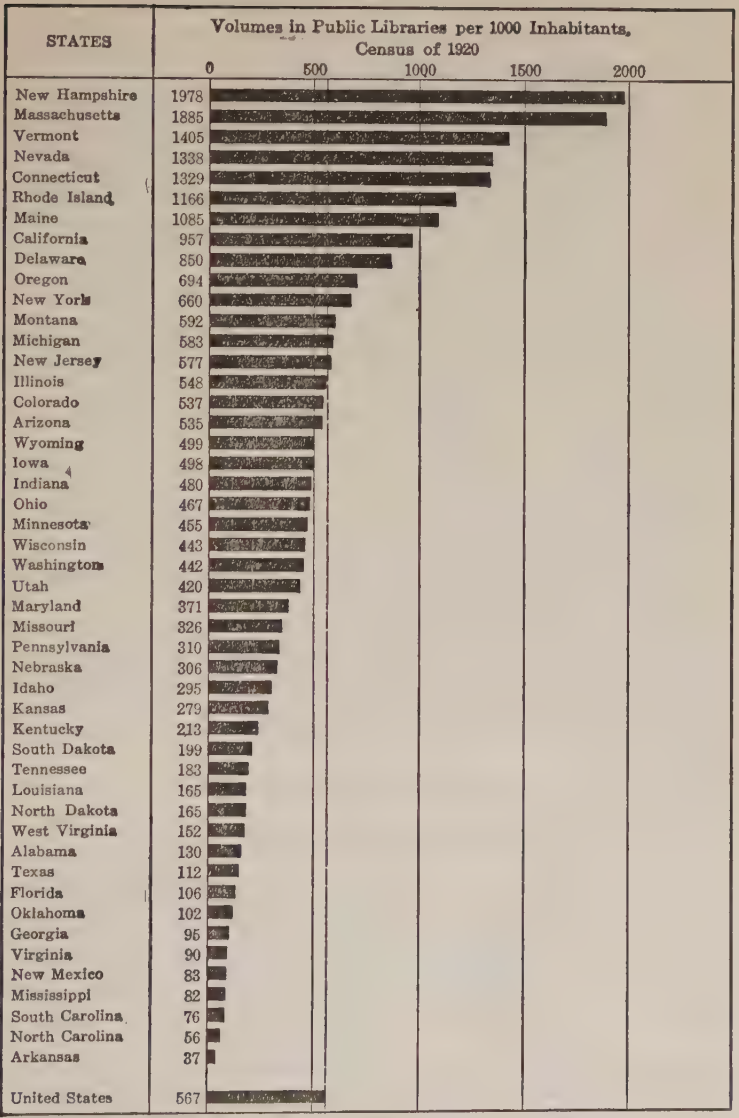

FIG. 54. VOLUMES IN PUBLIC LIBRARIES, BY STATES, PER 1000 INHABITANTS

teacher-librarians to render service there,[1] has been another important recent development.

The ultimate goal of the library-extension idea involves a central state library, containing a large collection of books and the more important collections; a series of county and city libraries, having close working connections with the central library; branch city libraries, as needed; and a branch county library in connection with each village and community-center consolidated school (Chapter X, page 262), or in central places if consolidated schools are lacking, and in connection with each public high school and junior high school. A library program for a State might well be based on the following principles:[2]

1. The library is an educational institution made up of various agencies, the two most important being the school library and the public library.
2. The school library should be the heart and center of the school work.
3. It should be so used as to train pupils to use a public library intelligently.
4. Pupils should be so instructed as to want to read books that are worth while.
5. There should be a collection of books in each schoolroom suitable to the age and purposes of the pupils.
6. Teaching children to read is of little value unless they are taught what to read, and are provided with the right kind of books.
7. The public library should serve as a continuation school for those who have finished their school life.
8. Public libraries should be supported by public tax, as are the public schools.
9. Librarians should be as specially trained for their work as are teachers for theirs.
10. All people should have easy access to libraries.

It should then be made easy for any citizen of the State to borrow, through his local branch, any loanable volume in the city, county, or state library. With the low rates for books sent locally by parcel post, the State and the counties can well afford to assume the carrying charge as a part of their budget for public education.

[1] See an article by Joy E. Morgan, "The High School Librarian and the Teacher-Library Movement"; in *School and Society*, vol. 11, pp. 188–91, describing the rise of the teacher-librarian and the requirement of state library certificates for.

[2] As formulated by Sherman Williams, President (1922) of the Library Department of the National Education Association.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What world forces have operated to produce the changes in our national life, described on page 363, which in turn have operated to cause the enactment of legislation extending the compulsory school age to sixteen or eighteen?
2. If the compulsory school age is to be extended to fifteen or sixteen for all, what light is thrown on the problem of junior high school reorganization and courses of instruction by such legislation?
3. Show how the present-day tendency of young people, leaving school at fourteen or fifteen to go to work in large factories, offices, or stores, has created an educational problem of a new kind.
4. State the arguments, from both education and industry, for part-time education laws.
5. What is meant by short unit-courses?
6. Why will the enforcement, for a quarter of a century, of the Johnson (1924) Immigration Law largely remove the problem of the education of illiterate immigrants?
7. It has been established that the labor of an illiterate adult averages at least fifty cents a day less in value than would be the case were he able to read and write. Assuming this statement to be true, what is the annual loss in the United States due to illiteracy, based on the figures of the last Federal Census?
8. Is it possible to proceed too rapidly in the process of Americanization? Explain your opinion.
9. Just what do we mean by the assimilation of peoples into our national life? How does this assimilation differ from amalgamation?
10. Show how both illiteracy and citizenship are as much national as state problems.
11. How would a general literacy election law enacted by Congress help in the solution of the problem?
12. About how far can a State go, wisely, in the regulation or control of private adult instruction, even though it is known that the instruction is propaganda harmful in its nature?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Of what does the evening school instruction consist in some school system that you know?
2. What provisions are to-day being made in our evening schools for adults engaged in business or industry?
3. What is at present offered in the part-time education courses, in some community you know?
4. Forms of working permits, where part-time education laws are enforced.
5. Citizenship instruction and naturalization procedure.
6. Part-time schooling legislation in selected States.
7. Certificates of literacy for voting.
8. Work being done, in any State, under the Smith-Lever Act.
9. University extension work in some State; its costs, and effectiveness.
10. The county as the unit for library extension.
11. State Laws relating to the education of physically handicapped children.
12. State Laws relating to the education of mentally handicapped children.

PROBLEMS

1. Assume that a city resolves to enforce the compulsory attendance laws and carry all children along in school on full time until their sixteenth birthday, and all between sixteen and eighteen on full-time schooling if unemployed and part-time if employed. Assume also that its present enrollment is as shown in the following table. What additional facilities will need to be provided, allowing 10 per cent of census for attendance (to 15) at private and parochial schools.

Years	School Census	Enrolled in Public Schools
6–7	9000	6500
7–8	8900	7000
8–9	8800	7800
9–10	8700	7000
10–11	8650	6800
11–12	8600	6550
12–13	8500	6200
13–14	8350	6000
14–15	8200	4800
15–16	8100	3200
16–17	8000	2000
17–18	7900	1500

2. Suppose that, instead of part-time schools, the State put all youths under seventeen or eighteen years of age into full-time day schools. In an investigation made in Milwaukee (1920) it was found that the weekly earnings of the 8078 youths under seventeen employed in the city under work permits averaged $10.58, or a total earnings of $4,445,754 per year. At $125 per capita per year for instruction, the additional cost would be $1,009,750. Capitalize this sum, at 5 per cent, to find what this would require for Milwaukee if the cost were covered by an endowment.
3. Plan a literacy law and test for new voters for any State.
4. Plan a system of general state library service for a State.
5. About what would the educational extensions described in this chapter cost, in addition, if added to the public school system of your State, or any picked State? How would you finance the additional costs?

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CHAPTER XV

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND GUIDANCE

Early history of the movement. In a certain sense all education is vocational in that it aims to prepare one for some form of usefulness in life. Training to be a scholar or a citizen might be considered as vocational, and still more might one designate as vocational education the training given in the professional schools of our universities. To-day, however, we restrict the use of the term to the specific training of the youth of the State to do well certain specific things by teaching them the processes involved and the practical applications of knowledge — chiefly science and art — to the work of the vocation they expect to follow to earn their living.[1] Used in this sense, vocational education is an application of technical knowledge to the ordinary vocations of a modern industrial world. As such, it is a product of the industrial revolution and the break-down of the age-old system of apprenticeship training,[2] and represents another of the more important recent extensions of educational advantages to the masses of our people who labor with their hands. Vocational education tends to correct many of the evils of modern industrial life; it puts the worker in possession of a great body of scientific knowledge relating to his work which shops and offices cannot give; and it keeps him, for several years after he becomes a wage earner and at the most impressionable period of his life, under the directing care of the school.

Although the leading industrial nations of western Europe

[1] "Whenever the term vocational education is used in this Report, it will mean, unless otherwise explained, that form of education whose controlling purpose is to give training of a secondary grade to persons over fourteen years of age, for increasing efficiency in useful employment in the trades and industries, in agriculture, in commerce and commercial pursuits, and in callings based upon a knowledge of home economics. The occupations included under these are almost endless in number and variety." (*Report of Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education*, vol. 1, p. 16.)

[2] "Large-scale production, extreme division of labor, and the all-conquering march of the machine, have practically driven out the apprenticeship system through which, in a simpler age, young helpers were taught, not simply the technique of some single process, but the 'arts and mysteries of a craft' as well. The journeyman and the artisan have given way to an army of machine workers, performing over and over one small process at one machine, turning out one small part of the finished article, and knowing nothing about the business beyond their narrow and limited task." (*Report of the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education*, vol. 1, pp. 19–20.)

had been engaged in the development of important systems of vocational education for half a century, the movement enlisted almost no interest in the United States until after 1900. The first decade of the present century was given over largely to investigation and discussion and the awakening of an interest in the problem, and the next decade to the establishment of a national system of vocational training. Largely since 1910 — partly because of expanding world commerce and increased competition in world trade; partly because of the realization that the battles of the future are to be largely commercial battles; and partly because of the dawning upon the American people of the conception, first thought out and put into practice by Imperial Germany, that that Nation will triumph in foreign trade, with all that such triumph means to-day in terms of the happiness and welfare of its citizenship, which puts the greatest amount of skill and brains into what it produces and sells — we have accepted thoroughly the idea that vocational education for our workers is an important obligation of the State.

The first trade school in the United States was established privately in New York City, in 1881, and by 1900 some half-dozen schools of the trade or industrial type had been founded privately in different parts of the country. In 1906 Massachusetts created a State Commission on Industrial Education, and later provided for the creation of certain industrial and district agricultural schools. In 1907 Wisconsin enacted the first trade-school law, authorizing the creation of industrial schools by the cities of the State (*Source Book*, pp. 379–85). In 1909 New York similarly permitted its cities to organize trade schools. After a number of sporadic efforts, in different parts of the country, a number of reports by special committees and associations urging state (*Source Book*, pp. 375–79) or federal action, and the introduction of a number of bills in Congress which failed of passage (page 62), a presidential commission was appointed (1913) to investigate the whole matter of national aid to vocational education. On the basis of its *Report* (1914), pointing out the urgent social and educational need for a system of vocational training (*Source Book*, pp. 370–74), the Smith-Hughes Act (page 63) was finally [1] enacted into law (1917) and the beginnings of a truly national system of state-aided vocational education were made.

[1] First introduced at the close of 1914, as prepared by the Commission, but not enacted until over three years later.

One strong feature of the new schools which were provided for was that they were to be an integral part of the existing public school systems of the States, thus preserving the unity of the public educational system (*Source Book*, pp. 365–70), and not a separate and competing organization, as had been proposed in some of the earlier bills before Congress. This new addition to our state systems of public instruction promises to bring us educational returns beyond expectations, and financial gains out of all proportion to its costs.

Organization of the work. The American legislation has been based on the best Continental European experience, and is typical of national legislation for similar purposes elsewhere. A federal board for vocational education, of seven members,[1] was created to administer the Act. Each State was required to determine whether or not it would accept the provisions of the Act.[2] To coöperate with the federal board in carrying out the Act, each State was required to designate some responsible state board (usually the state board of education),[3] which was to prepare plans for approval by the federal board, showing the details of the work for which the State expected to use the federal appropriations.

The law was purposely made very flexible and very elastic. It dictated neither to the States nor to the schools, but offered a scheme for coöperation instead. It aided only schools under public control, but left these free to work out any varying kinds of training suited to the needs of their communities and the State, subject to approval by the federal board for that State. In consequence, while there is a general similarity in plans as between different States, there are also many variations and individual differences. The aim has been to get training started and given, and to leave freedom for adaptations to local needs. This local adjustment requires careful study, experimentation, and time. The Minneapolis vocational survey[4] is an example of the

[1] The Secretaries of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, and the United States Commissioner of Education, *ex-officio*, with three others to be appointed by the Senate, for three-year terms — one to be representative of agriculture, one of commerce, and one of labor. This representative idea has been found useful, and been copied by many States.

[2] As significant of the National interest which a decade and a half of discussion had awakened in the question, every State had signified its acceptance of the provisions of the Smith-Hughes law within five months of its enactment.

[3] Of the 48 States, 35 designated the state board of education to act, 11 created a state board for vocational education, 1 designated the state board of agriculture, and 1 the state high-school board.

[4] See "The Minneapolis Survey"; in *School and Society*, vol. 4, pp. 408–10, for a digest of the findings

study that is needed locally, and the chart given below shows what such a study revealed as to needs in one American city.

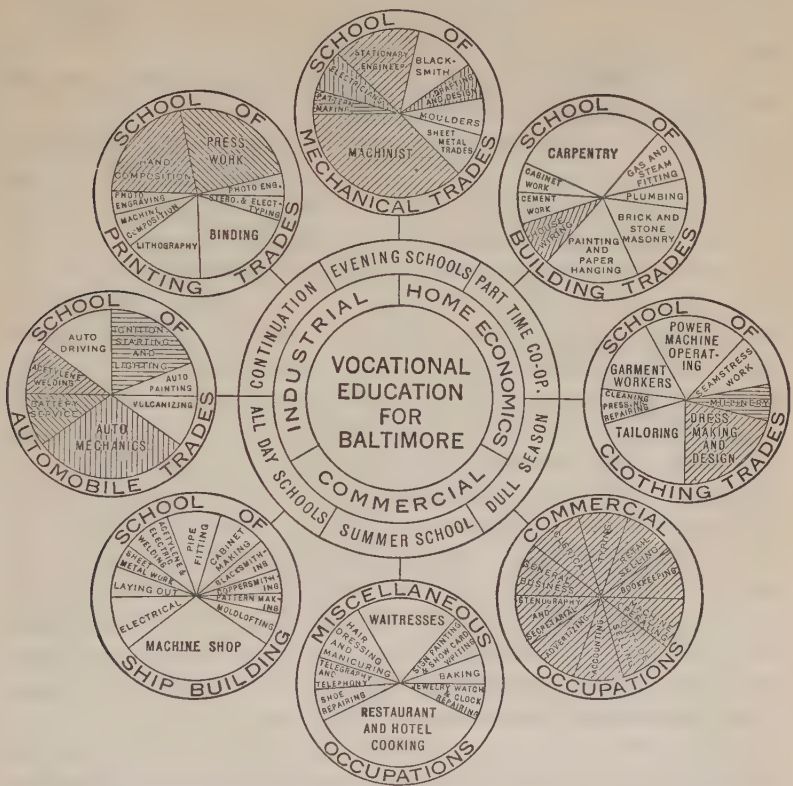

FIG. 55. THE ORGANIZATION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR A LARGE CITY

This diagram, based on a survey made, shows that for Baltimore there are three divisions of vocational education that must be supplied, and with six types of vocational schools (inner ring), and that there are eight main fields of employment (outer rings). The proportion of workers in each occupation is shown as segments of each outer circle. Shaded areas represent occupations for which the schools offered training in 1925; unshaded areas where training is needed.

Scope of the instruction. As illustrative of the general character of the vocations to be trained for, a few of the more common ones may be mentioned. These are:

In agriculture: The work of general farming, orcharding, dairying, poultry-raising, truck gardening, horticulture, bee culture, and stock-raising.

In the trades and industries: The work of the carpenter, mason, baker, stonecutter, electrician, plumber, machinist, toolmaker, engineer, miner, painter, typesetter, linotype operator, shoecutter and laster, tailor, garment maker, straw-hat maker, weaver, and glove maker.

In commerce and commercial pursuits: The work of the bookkeeper, clerk, stenographer, typist, auditor, and accountant.

In home economics: The work of the dietitian, cook, housemaid, institution manager, and household decorator.

That this list is illustrative only may be seen from the statement that, in 1922, there were fifty-eight occupations for women and nearly one hundred for men for which vocational instruction was offered under the Smith-Hughes aid grants.

There are three types of instruction aided under the Vocational Education Act, namely, (1) the all-day or continuation school; (2) the part-time day school; and (3) the evening school. To help direct the vocational work of these schools more intelligently many States have provided for special or advisory boards, composed of representatives of both employers and labor, to confer with the public educational authorities in immediate control. Both the employer and the trade-unionists thus have a voice in the control of the vocational work given in these schools, and the instruction offered is in consequence far more likely to be directed by the needs of industry and the worker than would be the case were the school alone to have oversight of the work. Only men who have spent their lives successfully in the occupations know what the requirements are, and can wisely select experts to meet these requirements in the training of others.

1. *The all-day industrial school* is usually two years in length, and is intended to give a good preparatory course for the trades. The school day is usually eight hours long, with a half-day on Saturday. This gives ten per cent more schooling in two years than the ordinary high school gives in four years, and a trade in addition. It is not intended that the instruction shall displace apprenticeship training, but that it will shorten it and make the training far more effective. In these day continuation schools a sound preparation for the skilled occupations is given, as well as mechanical insight and general industrial outlook. The great lesson at present to be drawn from a study of existing vocational schools, of all types, is that the programs of work are as yet tentative,[1] that much valuable experimentation is being carried on,

[1] See the recent study of vocational education and guidance made by the National Society for the Study of Education, and published in their Twenty-Third *Year Book*, Part II, 1924.

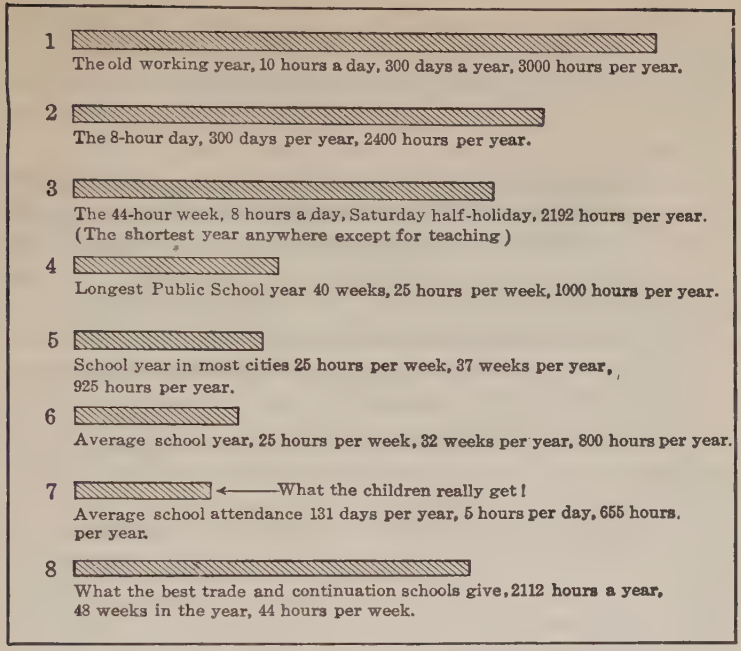
1
The old working year, 10 hours a day, 300 days a year, 3000 hours per year.
2
The 8-hour day, 300 days per year, 2400 hours per year.
3
The 44-hour week, 8 hours a day, Saturday half-holiday, 2192 hours per year.
(The shortest year anywhere except for teaching)
4
Longest Public School year 40 weeks, 25 hours per week, 1000 hours per year.
5
School year in most cities 25 hours per week, 37 weeks per year,
925 hours per year.
6
Average school year, 25 hours per week, 32 weeks per year, 800 hours per year.
7
←What the children really get!
Average school attendance 131 days per year, 5 hours per day, 655 hours,
per year.
8
What the best trade and continuation schools give, 2112 hours a year,
48 weeks in the year, 44 hours per week.

FIG. 56. A YEAR'S WORK IN INDUSTRY AND IN SCHOOL

and that the most successful instruction exists where the greatest flexibility in presenting the work is allowed. There is every reason to believe that this type of school will ultimately become the general type for the continuation of the education of those who propose to go into industry, basing its work on certain prevocational instruction given in the junior high schools. In addition to general and specific trade training, these schools also give instruction intended to help the pupils to appreciate their civic responsibilities, to protect and build up their health under employment, to use their leisure time intelligently, to obtain desirable attitudes toward their work and employers, and to understand some of the important relationships and economic principles pertaining to commerce and industry.

2. *The part-time classes*, previously described in Chapter XIV, have approximately the same aims, but have to deal with those who have already gone to work and can give but a few hours a week to vocational training. The instruction must of necessity be much abbreviated, and less satisfactory in results, though there is already evidence of a tendency to change this in time to

the half-time basis for pupils on working-permits, the pupil working half time and going to school half time, thus carrying the pupil along under the guidance of the school up to sixteen years of age.[1] This plan requires two sets of pupils for each job, and is the coöperative work-study plan applied to part-time education.

3. *The evening school* provides instruction for two distinct classes of workers, namely: (1) a number of advanced workmen who need special instruction in related subjects to increase their efficiency, such as trade mathematics, trade drawing, scientific principles, and the like; and (2) many helpers and assistants who have but a limited background of practical experience and who need instruction in tool manipulation, methods of construction, and fundamental principles underlying the work they are trying to do. To be successful such evening-school teaching must be both suitable to needs and flexible in character, with plenty of good equipment for use in the classes.

Special training for agriculture. Long before vocational education had been accepted as a part of our national undertakings, it had been begun in the subject of agriculture. As early as 1888 a publicly-supported agricultural high school was established in connection with the University of Minnesota, and by 1898 there were ten such schools in the United States, and sixty by 1909. In addition, by this same year, courses in agriculture had been added to 346 other-type high schools. In an effort to promote vocational instruction in agriculture in schools of secondary grade, a number of our States provided, in the days before the Smith-Hughes Act, for the creation of special county or district schools of agriculture. Alabama, California, Georgia, Virginia, Oklahoma, and Massachusetts are examples of States which established state or district secondary schools of agriculture, and Wisconsin, Michigan, and Maryland of States providing for the creation of county schools of agriculture.

After about 1908 the introduction of agricultural instruction into regular secondary schools began and soon became common, and since the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Law this development has been so rapid[2] that it now seems probable that voca-

[1] See note in *School and Society* for Feb. 27, 1926, on the proposal for this before the Massachusetts legislature.

[2] The number of public high schools reporting instruction in agriculture was 19 in 1900, 52 in 1905, 465 in 1910, and 609 in 1918 — the first year of the Smith-Hughes law. By 1920 the number had increased to 1375, and by 1926 to 4371. Of the 4371 schools, 3081 were regular day high schools, 197 were part-time schools,

tional instruction in agriculture in the regular high schools will obviate the need for special secondary schools of agriculture. Coupled as this day-school instruction must be with directed or supervised practice in agriculture — mostly "home-project" work — the result is a very effective type of vocational instruction for youths from fourteen to eighteen years of age who are attending high school, and at the same time maintaining close contact with the home farm. Part-time classes also have been organized, usually as short-course and off-season instruction for those unable to attend the regular day schools. A number of evening-school agricultural classes have also been formed for adult farmers (829 by 1926), but, since this latter form of instruction approaches that given under the Smith-Lever Act as agricultural extension, the tendency has been not to interfere with what the agricultural colleges are doing under this law.

A marked recent development in vocational instruction in agriculture has been the provision of state supervision for the work. At the time of the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act only five States employed state supervisors of agricultural instruction, although such instruction was then given in the high schools of thirty-nine States. By 1923 there were forty-two full-time and twenty-seven part-time state supervisors, with the number increasing yearly. The work, however, as is true of other forms of vocational education, is increasing too rapidly and is too diverse in character to be supervised properly on a state-unit basis. The next step, already taken by New York[1] and a few other States, will be the provision, by general state law, for the employment of city and county supervisors of agricultural instruction, and the decentralization of the supervision of this work, as has already been done with the trade-school instruction. This will leave to the State its proper function of inspection, suggestion, conference, and local stimulation to new activities, while to the city and county supervisory units will be given the details of planning and supervising the work. The county-unit in agricultural instruction, as in many other forms of educational organization and administration, thus becomes the logical unit for use.

Progress under the Smith-Hughes Act. An analysis of the first eight years' work under the Act shows that there were, in

and 50 were evening schools. Another interesting change was that, in 1916, 40 per cent of the students studying agriculture in the high schools were girls, and in 1922 only 13 per cent were girls.

[1] See the New York Agricultural Supervision Law.

1926, a total of 326 state directors or supervisors of vocational education employed by the forty-eight States, that the number of schools of all types operating under the Smith-Hughes provisions had increased to 7930, that 19,635 teachers were employed in the work, and that the total enrollment in these schools was 884,007. The total cost for maintenance had increased in the eight-year period, from $2,739,933 in 1918, to $20,951,497 in 1926, with $2,227,242 additional for the training of teachers for the work. Of the maintenance costs in 1926, 28 per cent came from federal funds, and the remainder from state and local sources. This is shown in Figure 57, which reveals the same stimulation of the States and

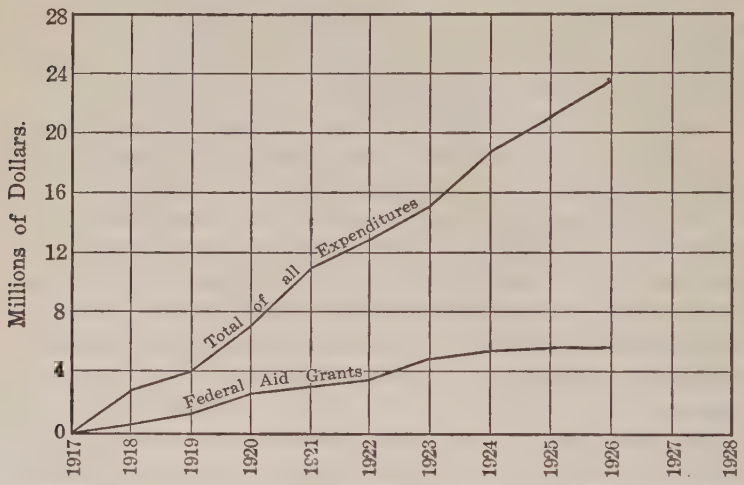

FIG. 57. GROWTH OF FEDERALLY-AIDED VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS, 1919–25

their subdivisions to educational activity that has previously been noted as a result of the agricultural-college and Smith-Lever grants. Of the pupils enrolled, 23 per cent were in all-day vocational schools, 45 per cent in part-time (Chapter XIV) day vocational schools, and 32 per cent in evening vocational schools. Distributed another way, 61 per cent of the enrollment was in trade and industrial courses, 26 per cent in home economics courses, and 3 per cent in agricultural courses. While steady growth in all lines was reported, the most outstanding feature of the development has been the growth of the general continuation (all-day) school, and the trade and industrial and the home-economics courses.

Another marked aspect of the development has been the increasing recognition that vocational education is too great a task for the school alone, and the increasing willingness of business and industry to coöperate with the school in the preparation of properly qualified workers. The earlier attitude that an employer could not afford to release his employees during working hours for schooling is rapidly being replaced by the feeling that a company cannot afford not to do so. The best of the coöperation, in general, comes from the largest firms, since these appreciate better the importance of the varied training, wider skill, and more wholesome attitude toward work which the school can give their workers.

Guidance and follow-up service. Still another outstanding development of the work has been the accumulated evidence as to the importance of a closely connected vocational guidance and follow-up service for young workers. More and more this is becoming an integral part of the work of the day continuation and the part-time school, and a number of our States and many of our cities have organized broad and comprehensive plans for the vocational guidance of their youth.[1] With the extension of the compulsory school-attendance age (Chapter XVI) the schools are instituting training and placement and a follow-up service for the boys and girls who are placed under their direction by the compulsory attendance laws. Vocational-guidance instructors study pupil abilities and capacities and guide them to employment, while school-and-job coördinators visit the youth on the job, assist the teachers in connecting the activities of the school and the occupation, advise with employers, and, when the youth has outgrown the particular job, find another one better suited to his or her capacity. The vocational-guidance and placement counselor, and the school-and-job coördinator, are thus new types of members of the educational organizations of our cities and counties which are needed for educational service, and to the employment of which, where they are needed, the laws of our States should not interpose objections.[2] In fact, vocational

[1] See Section I of the *Twenty-Third Year Book*, Part II, 1924, of the National Society for the Study of Education, where the Pennsylvania state plan of educational and vocational guidance, and a number of city plans, are described.

[2] Connecticut, in 1913, probably was the first State to authorize definitely the addition of vocational-guidance teachers to the schools. By 1924 we find New York State not only authorizing the employment of vocational-guidance counselors, but also providing for material State aid toward the salaries of such. See note in *School and Society* (Oct. 11, 1924), pp. 474–76.

guidance has by now become of such importance that a vocational-guidance counselor should be found in connection with every large cosmopolitan high school.

The existing defects of the vocational work lie chiefly in the lack of development of proper instruction in the homemaking arts and in commercial education of a good type, and a very serious scarcity of properly-trained teachers for all phases of vocational instruction. An earnest effort is being made to remedy these defects. The last phase of this problem we shall return to in Chapter XXII.

Objections to vocational education and guidance. Despite much discussion as to whether or not vocational education and guidance are legitimate phases of public education — a discussion now fortunately subsiding, as the importance of the movement has become clearer — and the contention, still advanced by some, that this type of instruction tends to supplant the public school, to substitute a narrow education that will limit the possible futures of young people, and to prescribe for them careers without prospect of growth or development, the schools have nevertheless met a real need, viewed from the point of view of either youth or industry. They promise to revolutionize industrial preparation in the United States, and to give us in time a truly national system of vocational education and placement for those who are to work in our industries, offices, on the farms, and in the homemaking occupations.

One of the best answers to the above objections has been made by Snedden, who points out that the entire scheme of vocational education in no way supplants the public school, as entrance to it is based on the completion of the public school compulsory requirements, and entrance to the vocational school is optional with pupil and parent. He says: [1]

> No youth may enter a vocational school until he has reached the point where he is equally free to enter the shop or the office as a full-time worker, or to spend his (or her) days exclusively at farm or home work. To the charge sometimes made that the specialized vocational school is "narrowing," it is a fair retort to question whether it is more "narrowing" than the place in the department store, the specialty in the factory, or the daily routine of office, farm, or home. For these are certainly the prevailing alternatives.

[1] Snedden, David. "Publicly-Supported Vocational Education; Is it Undemocratic?" in *Manual Training Magazine*, vol. 18, pp. 321–24. (April, 1917.)

Another answer is to be found in the results of the army intelligence tests, as applied to the men drafted for service in the World War. These showed that only 30 per cent of the young men had the natural ability that enables one to go through the ordinary high school. Of the remaining 70 per cent of "grammar-school ability," there were many who had capacity for education along industrial lines — that is, an education in practical things as contrasted with book learning. For this 70 per cent we have made little or no provision in the past. In all probability 75 per cent of our youth have in the past been left at the grammar-school age without facilities for advancement.

By some there has been objection to the vocational classes on the ground of the expense involved, by some that it is not the province of the school to provide them, and by some that they are not needed and are an interference with the apprenticeship system of labor. As to the first, it would seem that pupils going into industry have as much right to the training they need for their future vocations as have pupils entering business or the professions. That education for these was organized first is no argument that it represents the only kind of vocational training the public school should give. The objection of expense, and the contention that such instruction does not lie within the province of the public school to provide, have been well met in the following clear statement of principles involved, made by the United States Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, who is *ex-officio* a member of the Federal Board of Vocational Education. In a recent address defending vocational education in the public schools from attack on the grounds of expense, he demonstrated that the cost was really very small as yet — about fifteen cents per capita per year — and added:

> If vocational education is worth while, certainly as a Nation we can afford the price of such education. Our only concern is to know that it is worth while. If it is, expenditure on account of such education is in the nature of an investment which will yield large dividends year to year through the progressive increase of labor, skill, and industrial efficiency.
>
> Men of affairs the country over are being impressed with the fact that the cost of training labor on the job is one of the great industrial costs, but they know that the cost of inefficiency and lack of training is very much greater, and that labor must be trained, whatever the cost. If they or the community do not provide such training they must compete with the foreign producer whose labor is vocationally trained at public expense, nor can we as a Nation adequately supply

our own needs for the product of labor, if we neglect to provide for the training of labor.

The cost of providing this training is just as properly a charge upon the public revenue as any other form of education. In the interests of labor itself such training cannot be devolved upon the employer. Organized labor is perfectly right in insisting that vocational education shall be under public supervision and control, so that the interest and welfare of the worker as well as the employer will be taken fairly into account. The cost of such training certainly should not be put upon the individual worker unless we are prepared to abandon our traditional policy of providing free education and equality of opportunity for our youth. We cannot in fairness continue to provide specialized education free to the few who propose to enter the professions, while denying education to the many for the commoner vocations.

As to the earlier opposition of organized labor, this has rapidly given way as a better understanding of purposes has come about. No longer do we have the schools called "scab schools." The old system of apprenticeship training has broken down, and during the years of our recent prosperity it has been almost abandoned in many trades. In few trades, according to a recent report,[1] were there as many apprentices in 1920 as in 1910. The apprenticeship system, too, is unsatisfactory as a means of training, is very wasteful of time and effort, never was a very effective institution,[2] and in but few trades to-day is it being carried on with any real success. Without training of some sort and guidance as to occupations, the "turnover" in the trades due to a "hire-and-fire" system is large, as well as very costly[3] to both

[1] A recent *Annual Report of the Associated General Contractors of America* declares that the young men of this country are not learning the building trades through the old system, and that only the structural iron workers and plumbers had as many workmen in 1920 as in 1910.

[2] "To appreciate modern requirements and opportunities for trade training we must free our minds of traditional beliefs regarding apprenticeship. The so-called 'halcyon days of apprenticeship' never were. . . . I have diligently searched the authorities, and cannot find that there ever was a time in England, the cradle of apprenticeship, when men entered apprenticeship much more readily than now because inspired by a desire to master a trade. . . . During the long apprenticeship period little of mathematics or book learning was taught, and there was complaint, as in our days, that so far as acquirement of skill was concerned the apprenticeship period might have been much shorter. It was made long that production might be cheaper. During all these centuries, England, by fixed policy and legislation, made low wages and this sort of apprenticeship the basis of her foreign trade and her commercial prosperity. She made herself supreme in skill and commerce, but her workmen paid the price." (H. E. Miles in *Mechanical Engineering*, August, 1921.)

[3] The American Engineering Council, in the *Report of the Commission on Waste in Industry* (1923), declared that the "hire and fire" system costs the metal trades in this country alone at least $100,000,000 a year. There is an estimated cost of from $50 to $250 for each employee "hired, trained, and separated." At $50 only, applied to 2,000,000 employees in the metal trades industry alone, the annual wastage is $100,000,000.

industry and the public, and to the latter the cost must of necessity be passed on ultimately.

Money value of vocational education. The *Report* of the Presidential Commission on National Aid to Education (1914) said that there were in this country, in round numbers, 12,500,000 persons engaged in agriculture, and 14,250,000 persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, of whom not over one per cent had had any adequate preparation for what they were trying to do. Assuming an increased production value of only 10 cents a day to result from training these people, the additional production income would be $750,000,000 a year, and at 25 cents a day it would be $1,875,000,000 a year.

In the World War, France required every factory of any size engaged in government contract work to introduce vocational training, as did England also through a clause in the war-time contracts. It has been established that the production increase resulting amounted to twenty per cent.

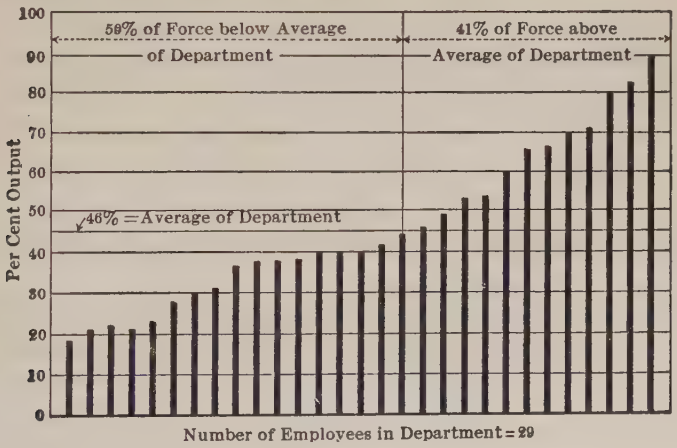

FIG. 58. VOCATIONAL EFFICIENCY IN A SMALL SHOP

One of America's best production experts made a study of production in the United States for the Federal Department of Labor, the result being a composite of many studies as a cross-section of American industry. The results,[1] for an average small shop, are shown in Figure 58. He found that all workers averaged

[1] As reported by H. E. Miles, in an address before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, and published in *Mechanical Engineering*, August, 1921.

only 46 per cent efficient, with a range in efficiency from 18 to 90 per cent, and that the average of 59 per cent of the force is only 38 per cent efficient. A 20 per cent increase in production by education would save $1,000,000,000 a year in payrolls, $2,000,000,000 in wholesale costs, and $3,000,000,000 in costs to the ultimate consumer. Figure 59 gives the results of a few weeks of training, in a factory noted for its efficiency, and shows something of what can be done.

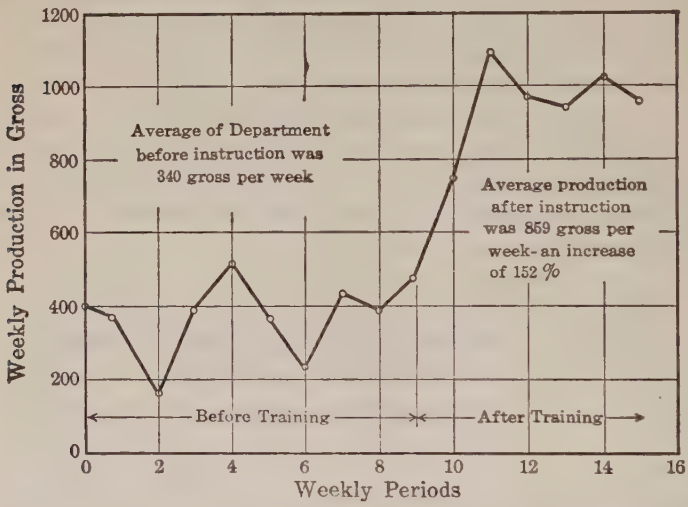

FIG. 59. INCREASING PRODUCTION BY CORRECT TRAINING METHODS

About a million new young people are now needed annually by our industries, and this number is increasing yearly. If we assume two years of vocational education beyond the compulsory school age (15 or 16 years) as a minimum, this would require that at least 2,000,000 youths be constantly in training, whereas the number in all-day vocational schools, in 1926, was only 51,010. Yet this type of school is the most effective agency so far devised for the training of that 70 per cent of all our children who cannot or will not continue in the regular courses of the high school, and who have, at the rate of a million a year, been entering industries for which they were but ill-fitted and in which there can be but little hope of their advancement.

State development of vocational education. The values of vocational education have been much better realized by Europe,

until recently at least, than by the United States. Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and France for long were leaders, with the German States and Switzerland[1] most prominent of all. Denmark has long been noted for its vocational instruction in agriculture;[2] the German States for trade and commercial education;[3] and France for instruction along the lines of agriculture and industrial arts. The Presidential Commission in its *Report* described the German system in particular,[4] pointing out the close relation of a good system of vocational education to National prosperity, and urged that we "sell more brains and less material" in our dealings with foreign lands. The rewards of proper training of our working classes, they pointed out, "offered in world trade are beyond comparison. They are to be measured in money, in intellectual advancement, in national spirit, and in heightened civilization." Germany, before the outbreak of the World War, as a result of a half-century of effort in developing vocational education for its workers, was rapidly moving toward the elimination of the untrained man in all the vocations, whereas in the United States, at that time, the Commission found that "probably not more than 25,000 of the eleven or twelve million workers in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits have an opportunity to acquire an adequate training for their work in life."

The questions of expense, then, are not the questions to give us concern as a people. On the contrary, we cannot as a Nation afford not to spend very liberally for all forms of vocational education. The expense should be regarded as a very profitable investment rather than as an outgo or a burden, and this attitude toward the financing of the work should be taken by legislatures and all tax-controlling bodies. We have by this time begun the remedying of our earlier shortcomings, and have established what many keen observers think promises to be the best of all national systems of vocational training; we have made a good

[1] See particularly the following Bulletins, issued by the United States Bureau of Education:

Beckwith, H. *German Industrial Education, and its Lessons for the United States.* 154 pp. Bulletin 19, 1913.

Glynn, F. L. *Some Trade Schools of Europe.* 76 pp. Bulletin 23, 1914.

Tate, W. R. *Some Suggestive Features of the Swiss School System.* Bulletin 56, 1916.

[2] See especially Foght, H. W. *The Danish Folk High Schools.* 93 pp. Bulletin 22, 1914, U.S. Bureau of Education.

[3] See Farrington, F. E. *Commercial Education in Europe.* 258 pp., New York, 1914.

[4] *Report of the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education*, vol. 1, Appendix A.

start in its development; and in a decade or two we may expect to have a truly national system of continuation-school education for the workers of our Nation. This will give our workers a training that will tremendously increase their productiveness and efficiency, enable industry further to increase their wages, allow them to buy comforts and happiness beyond the possibilities of the peoples of most countries, and greatly increase the national wealth, thus in turn affording a basis for gifts and for taxation for many other forms of education and helpful human-welfare services.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What conditions in our national life made us as a Nation uninterested in vocational education, before 1900, when the leading European nations had been developing vocational education systems for half a century?
2. Show the relation of good vocational training to national contentment and prosperity. From this point of view, is a good system of vocational education a national necessity?
3. What is the importance, from an educational point of view, of vocational education being made a part of the regular public school system? What arguments could be advanced: (*a*) for separate organization? and (*b*) for a unified organization?
4. Could the Smith-Hughes Law have been other than flexible and elastic, and have been successful? Why?
5. What types of prevocational work do we find in the junior high schools to-day?
6. Would the more rapid development of continuation-school attendance seem to indicate that this school may in time be our chief resource for vocational education? Would this be a desirable outcome?
7. Explain just what is meant by "selling more brains and less materials in our foreign trade."
8. From the few figures given, might we infer that an extensive system of vocational education might finance all other educational costs, through the gains it gives us?
9. Show how a nation to-day needs a good system of vocational education from the points of view of: (*a*) education of youth for effective earning and living; (*b*) morality, and the conservation of youth; (*c*) national preparedness; (*d*) national prosperity; and (*e*) holding its own in foreign trade.
10. Show that a high wage-scale and a high basis of living in a nation engaged in foreign trade are only possible to that country whose workers are well trained for vocational work.
11. Would the use of apprenticeship training in a nation, as England used it (page 396, footnote 2) to build up her foreign trade, be possible to-day in any progressive State? Why?
12. One of the difficulties faced almost everywhere is that boys and girls, with only a little training, can leave the school shops for good employment. Only in generally dull times is the situation otherwise, and only by compulsory-attendance laws can any great numbers be made to attend even the part-time instruction. What solution do you see, even with time, for this difficulty?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. The discussion, at about the time the Page and Davis bills (page 62) were before Congress, of the danger of creating a parallel and independent system of vocational education.
2. The *Report of the Presidential Commission*, the Smith-Hughes Law, and the establishment and outline of policies and work by the new Federal Board for Vocational Education.
3. The development, present condition, and probable future of the county or (district) school of agriculture, in the States which have tried the plan.
4. The best unit for the supervision of agricultural instruction, and state tendencies, based on a study of the New York Agricultural Supervision Law.
5. The corporation school, using selected examples, and its work.
6. The personnel work of any large store or corporation.
7. The continuation-school provisions in the laws of (*a*) Indiana, (*b*) Massachusetts, (*c*) New York, or (*d*) Wisconsin.
8. The character, present development, status, and costs of the Smith-Hughes work in your State.
9. The same as the preceding for industrial school work.

PROBLEMS

1. As superintendent of schools you recommend the employment of a vocational adviser for your high school, and an adviser and job-coördinator for your continuation part-time and evening-school work. Some of your board and a leading newspaper oppose the idea as being wasteful of funds, unnecessary, and clearly beyond the functions of the public school system. Formulate your argument to meet these objections.

SELECTED REFERENCES

The literature on vocational education and guidance is enormous, and only a few of the more illustrative and more easily obtained references are given here. Many States have published material of much value, but no attempt has been made to list this here.

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Brewer, J. M. *The Vocational Guidance Movement.* New York, 1918.
One of the most useful of the many books on the subject.

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Chapter XXII gives a good, brief, and general discussion of the problems in the administration of vocational education.

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What it is; its divisions; vocational counseling; selected references. Just what its title implies.

Holt, W. S. *The Federal Board for Vocational Education; Its History, Organization, and Activities.* New York, 1922.

Kelly, R. W. *Training Industrial Workers.* Boston, 1920.

Lutz, R. R. *Wage-Earning and Education.* 208 pp. Cleveland, 1916.
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A series of studies as to how industrial plants train their employees.

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The problem, and how to handle it. A very useful book.

Prosser, C. A., and Allen, C. R. *Vocational Education in a Democracy.* 580 pp. New York, 1925.
The nature, principles, and functions of vocational training, and its relation to general education.

Snedden, D. *Vocational Education.* New York, 1920.
A general introduction to the subject.

2. *United States Bureau of Education Bulletins*

(*a*) Describing special schools or work.

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Foght, H. W. *A Half-Time Mill School.* 23 pp. Bulletin 6, 1919.

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Jones, A. J. *The Continuation School in the United States.* 157 pp. Bulletin 1, 1907.

(*b*) Describing schools as existing, at the time of publication.

Lane, C. H., and Crosby, D. J. *The District Agricultural Schools of Georgia.* 32 pp. Bulletin 44, 1916.

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A Trade School for Girls. 59 pp. Bulletin 17, 1913.

(*c*) Special descriptions of foreign work.

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Foght, H. W. *The Danish Folk High Schools.* 93 pp. Bulletin 22, 1914.

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Myers, G. E. *Problems of Vocational Education in Germany.* 42 pp. Bulletin 33, 1915.
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3. *Important reports*

Burge, H. G. *Our Boys.* Albany, 1921.

A study of 245,000 boys, 16 to 18 years of age, who are employed in New York State. Made for the New York Military Training Commission.

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Federal Board of Vocational Education. *Part-Time Coöperative Courses* Bulletin 78, 1922. 31 pp.

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National Society for the Study of Education. *Agricultural Education in Secondary Schools. Eleventh Yearbook*, Part II, 1912. 101 pp.

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Results of the investigation by the national committee, and their recommendations. Volume I (207 pp.) general report and appendices, and most important. Volume II contains evidence given at hearings.

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Simmons, L. V. T. "The Problem of Vocational Education as Carried out in the German School System"; in *School and Society*, vol. 5, pp. 639–46. (June 2, 1917.)

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Consult, in each volume, special articles on Agricultural Education, Commercial Education, Home Education, and Vocational Education. These are valuable summaries of progress.

DIVISION IV
FINANCING THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

CHAPTER XVI

FUNDS AND TAXATION

I. ENDOWMENT FUNDS

Early endowment funds. Endowments for education are almost as old as the settlements in America, and go back to still earlier precedents in England and Europe. In the early New England Colonies, where land was plentiful and money scarce, the first land endowments for education in America were made by both the towns and the Colonies. Town land endowments became common in colonial times, and state land endowments after the beginning of the national period. Connecticut and New York both set aside lands to create a school fund before 1800, and Connecticut sold its "Western Reserve" in Ohio (page 17), in 1795, for $1,200,000 and added this sum to its school fund. New York similarly, in 1805, devoted the proceeds of the sale of half a million acres of state lands to educational endowment. Other States early began to build up permanent school funds, and by 1834, when Massachusetts created its permanent school fund (*Source Book*, pp. 443–46), nearly all the original States had laid the foundations of such endowments.[1] Lands, lottery proceeds, marriage- and tavern-license fees, dog taxes, and taxes on the banking privilege were among the most frequent sources employed. All these represent forms of indirect taxation, and were valuable in accustoming the people to the idea of school support. In the development of permanent endowment funds in the new States, the Federal Government rendered valuable assistance through the reservation of school sections and university lands for educational purposes, as has been described in detail in Chapter II.

The early idea, which for a time seems to have been generally entertained, that the income from the land grants, license fees, and permanent endowment funds would in time support the necessary schools, had to be abandoned as it came to be realized how little yearly income these lands and funds actually produced and how rapidly the population of the States was increasing. With

[1] Sometimes these funds were created and accumulated for years before any use of the proceeds was provided for by law. The Delaware fund, for example, accumulated for twenty years before the legislature provided for the use of the income for the support of schools.

the continued increase in the cost for schooling since that early period, the proceeds of these first endowments have, in most States, now come to carry an increasingly insignificant part of the annual cost for education.[1] As will be seen from Figure 60, in but three States do they now produce over ten dollars per year per child; the average for the whole country is but $1.23; in twenty-three States the annual income is $.62 or less; and in twelve States it is $.30 or less. In most States, too, these are slowly diminishing amounts. Despite the small per capita sums obtained, nearly all the States continue, as they began, to distribute the income equally per child, however small the share may be. It would now be better, where it is possible to do so — at least in all the States having less than one dollar per capita income, and probably those with less than two dollars as well — to abandon entirely the equal general distribution of the income and reserve the money for some special purpose.[2]

Lost endowment funds. In quite a number of our States the actual income from endowment funds is less than reported, small as the reported sums are. This is due to the fact that the funds have been partially or wholly lost as a result of the fortunes of war (Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee); through inattention and mismanagement on the part of State officers charged with their care (Mississippi, Wisconsin); to their having been squandered by the legislature of the State (Louisiana, Michigan); or to their having been invested in State bonds that were never paid when due (California). Consequently, instead of actual funds in the form of sound interest-bearing securities, the income from which reduces taxation, we find to-day only "perpetual obligations" upon which the State has pledged itself to raise yearly, by general taxation, the equivalent of the interest on the lost funds.[3] The investment of the school fund has commonly been left to the dis-

[1] See article by Swift, F. H., on "Declining Importance of State Funds in Public School Finance," in *School Review*, vol. 29, pp. 534–46 (Sept. 1921), which gives statistical data as to present-day yields. In 1890, the public schools of the United States derived 5.45 per cent of all revenue from permanent endowment funds; in 1905 the amount was 4.37 per cent; and in 1925 it was 1 50 per cent.

[2] Having been given for the benefit of all, the people continue to demand their equal share, however small this share may be, and regardless of the larger benefits that might accrue to the State by the use of some better plan for its distribution. For example, the income might be better used as an equalization fund. (See *Osceola Code*, Sec. 5, 111, 116.)

[3] See, for example, the Article on Education in the state constitutions of Kentucky, Louisiana, and Tennessee, where the debt has been recognized. California, Michigan, and Wisconsin are examples of other States where a part or all has been lost, without the loss having been given constitutional recognition.

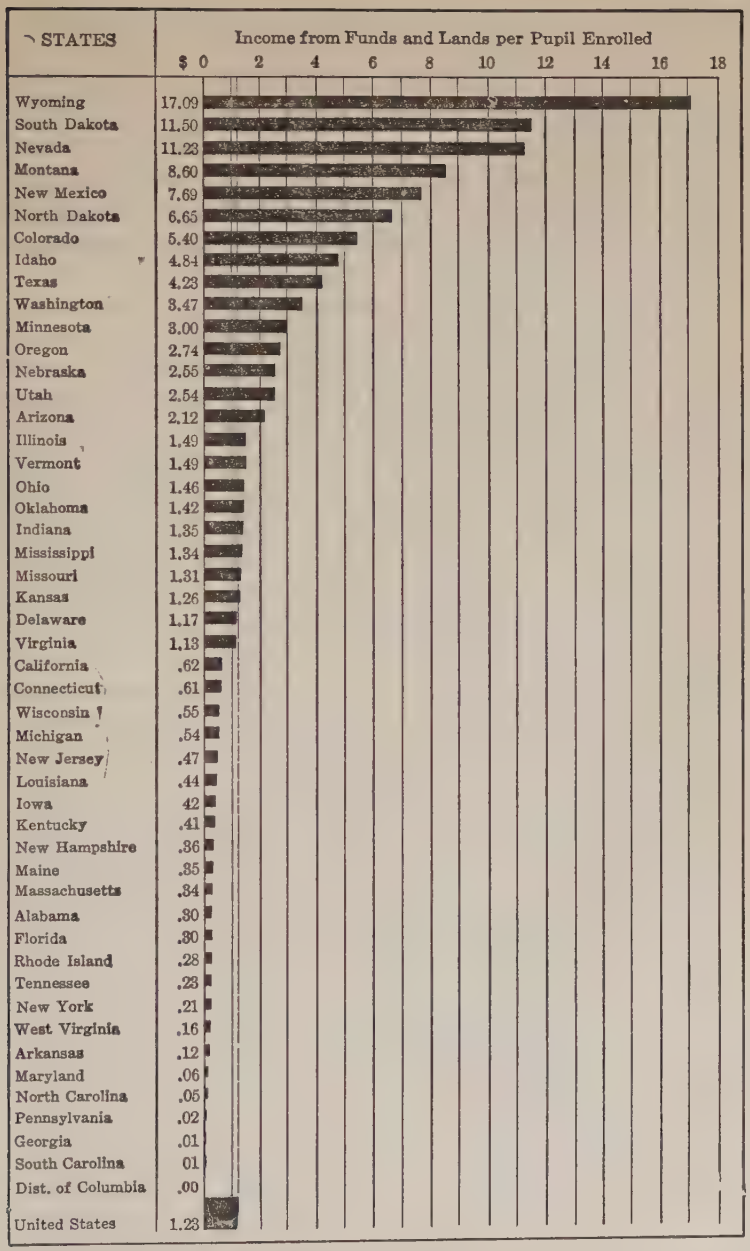


FIG. 60. INCOME FROM LANDS AND PERMANENT FUNDS

Based on per pupil enrolled, public elementary and secondary schools. (U.S. Bureau of Education data, 1920; but slight changes since.)

cretion of certain state officials, and always subject to direction by the legislature. The result is evidenced frequently in incompetent management, the lack of any proper accounting, poor or improper investments, the repudiation of debts and misappropriation of funds by legislatures, and the loss of much actual money.[1] What was originally intended to be an endowment to draw interest forever, and thus reduce the cost to the people for their systems of education, has been improperly invested by instructions from the legislature,[2] or has been "borrowed" by it to pay bills and thus reduce State taxes some year or years.[3] As a result, the people must, for all time in the future, pay an annual tax to provide the interest income that should properly come to them from investments. In the Southern States the losses came largely as a result of the Civil War, when the property in which the funds were invested was destroyed, but elsewhere the losses have occurred through "borrowings" by the legislature, through virtual repudiations of maturing bonded debts, by the issuance by the legislature of a "non-transferable and non-maturing certificate of indebtedness" to the school fund in payment,[4] and in other cases because the State failed to redeem the state bonds in which the money had been invested when they became due.[5]

There has been but little money invested in the much safer

[1] See Swift, F. H., *History of the Permanent School Funds in the United States*, for the story by States. See *Source Book*, pp. 71–79 for a brief summary, and pp. 52–57 for a summarized history of the waste of the Surplus Revenue Fund.

See also Swift's *Federal Aid to Public Schools*, Bulletin 47, 1922, U.S. Bureau of Education, pp. 35–39, for a summarized statement as to the chief state losses.

[2] For example, in 1907, the California legislature directed the State Controller and State Treasurer to transfer $250,000 from the School Land Fund to the General (current expense) Fund "to be held as an investment for the benefit of the common schools," the State to pay 4 per cent on the "loan." This was done to avoid raising the needed sum by a general tax. That it will ever be repaid is very doubtful.

[3] In 1889 the Colorado legislature, being hard pressed for funds, ordered the State Treasurer to pay appropriations and bills from the moneys in the State permanent school fund, and to issue "certificates of indebtedness" therefor to the fund, bearing 4 per cent interest. This was done until $1,225,975 had been expended. The debt was not recognized for 20 years, despite repeated urgings by the state school officers. In 1909 twenty-year funding bonds were issued in recognition of the debt. In addition, the State has since invested other of the permanent funds in highway bonds of the State, bearing 3 per cent and 4 per cent, until two thirds of the permanent fund has been so "invested."

[4] A number of States hold such evidences of debt — Arkansas, California, Illinois, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Ohio, Tennessee.

[5] In California, for example, $1,526,500 of state school-fund money was invested in the State of California 20-year 6 per cent bonds of 1873. When these came due, in 1893, no redemption was made by the State, though the interest has been paid since on an equivalent "non-maturing non-transferable certificate of indebtedness." Much additional money has recently been invested in State highway 4 per cent bonds, which probably will share the same fate at maturity. These funds are virtually lost.

bonds of the United States, even where permitted, for more than half a century, largely because of low interest yields. Where investment in the bonds of subdivisions of a State has been possible the fund has often been used by state investing authorities to buy in bonds of counties and municipalities that could not be sold in the open market because of their low interest rates, because of either the unwise nature of the investment or because of some defect in the bonds — thus "helping out local subdivisions in their development" on a true political basis. Politically-elected superintendents of public instruction and officials of state teachers' associations have given practically no attention to this problem, and but little is generally known or printed in any State as to the history of the sale of the school lands or the investment of the permanent school funds. When one investigates the matter, however, one frequently unearths a history of misappropriation and losses and neglect (*Source Book*, pp. 447–51) which leaves but little pride in the administration of these earlier trusts. In only a few of the older States (*Source Book*, pp. 451–54) do we find evidence of continuous good management.

Endowment fund policy. To safeguard what remains of our permanent school funds we should follow the plan commonly used in the case of university funds, and place them for care and investment with those most interested in their preservation. This would be the state board of education for state school funds, just as it is the board of regents (or trustees) for university funds.[1] The investment should then be restricted to certain types of securities, investment in bonds of the State itself being prohibited,[2] and losses in investments should be made good from income before the income can be appropriated for use.[3] The following provisions from the Constitution of Osceola (Section 7) set forth our best experience in the handling of permanent endowment funds:

> The management and investment of the state school fund shall be in the hands of the state board of education, and the general assembly shall have no power to appropriate, borrow, loan, or invest the principal or the income of such fund, under any pretense whatever; nor shall the state board of education ever invest any of the principal of the fund in

[1] When we compare the security and good investment of university funds, on the one hand, with the usual investment of common school funds on the other, the contrast is marked indeed.

[2] Because the State cannot be sued by itself to collect the principal at maturity, nor can the legislature be made to pay the debt.

[3] This is desirable to fix attention on losses, and to fix responsibility for poor investments and thus insure greater care.

any bonds of this State, nor shall any of the principal of the fund be invested in bonds of any subdivision of this State, except where such bonds meet the savings-bank and trust-fund requirements of the State, and where adequate provision for their redemption has been made. This fund shall remain forever inviolate and irreducible, and any losses which may occur in its management must be replaced from income by the state board of education.

Shall we further build up such funds? In view of the many serious losses that have occurred in the management of our permanent educational funds, it may be questioned whether it is any longer advisable to build up such funds. It must be remembered, however, that most of the losses occurred in an earlier period of our history, when honesty and efficient service were not as prominent characteristics of public officials as is the case to-day, and also that the losses have been largely traceable to legislative "borrowings" or to the unwise investments of public officials who had no special interest in education itself. Probably the great majority of our people to-day find it difficult to comprehend the fact that "investing" the accumulated school-fund principal in state warrants, issued to pay state expenses or debts, or in the highway or state-house bonds of a State, is very likely to prove an absolute squandering of the money and not an investment at all. Many people who would not buy oil or mining stock will willingly exchange good gold for what are almost certain to turn out to be scraps of paper, if only the name and promise of the State is printed on the paper. With individuals, who can sue or otherwise embarrass the State in its future financing, the State must of necessity be honest, as its credit must be preserved, but when the State loans funds to itself, spends the money for perishable things, and must tax the people to repay its loans, a "certificate of indebtedness" is such an easy method of getting rid of a troublesome debt that it is almost certain to be resorted to. While court action may always be resorted to in cases of mismanagement or to obtain facts,[1] the courts cannot compel a legislature to restore wasted funds, regardless of what the state constitution

[1] "The money due the school fund cannot, by any legislative contrivance, be kept out of it, nor can any legislative scheme be framed that will preclude the courts from ascertaining the facts. No official statement can preclude the proper authorities and erect a barrier between them and the way to a recovery of money which the constitution imperatively ordains shall inviolably and without diminution be preserved for school purposes. A statute making the statement of the county auditors as to the amount of school funds held in trust by their respective counties, when approved by the superintendent of public instruction, 'conclusive evidence of the facts therein contained,' is unconstitutional." (Board *vs.* State, 129 *Indiana*, 282.)

may say as to the inviolability of the fund. The remedy lies in such a constitutional provision as has just been given.

The further building up of these permanent school funds should be encouraged, though ordinarily it would not be wise to tax the people to build them up. Unless the taxation is large, the final result would be insignificant.[1] There are, however, many unexpected and occasional sources of income that should not be used for current expenses. It is as true of a State as of an individual that "windfalls" should be saved. There are likewise many new sources of state income which might well be diverted to permanent funds.[2] The proceeds of any further land sales must of course be added. In addition, appropriate items to add to the principal of the permanent school funds are any lands or funds that may in the future be granted to the State by Congress for education, or without specified purpose, and any money received from the National Government in payment of old debts or services;[3] all property given or bequeathed to the State for education, or for which no specific purpose is set forth in the bequest; all lands or estates that may escheat to the State, for want of a will or heir; forfeited apportionments from the state school fund income, or tax;[4] any surplus in the state revenues that may be appropriated to the fund by the legislature;[5] and any new sources of state income (mineral royalties, production taxes, severance taxes) not before available or of a type likely to be temporary in character.

[1] An illustrative example is to be found in the State of Indiana. In 1883 the legislature provided for a state tax of one half of one per cent, for a period of 13 years to create an endowment fund for the University of Indiana. The total yield was $651,106, and the income from this, in 1920, was reported at $45,358 — a sum hardly large enough to pay for the heating of the university buildings.

[2] For example, Pennsylvania, in creating its permanent school fund, provided that there should go to it: (*a*) eighty per cent of the net income from the State's forest reserves (c. 1,000,000 acres); (*b*) the income from the State's water-power rights; (*c*) income and proceeds of all State lands not used for public purposes; (*d*) all escheated estates; and (*e*) all property or money given to the fund.

[3] For example, the United States Government distributed, in 1904, certain sums to a number of the States in payment of certain Civil War claims. Vermont put its sum ($240,000) into its permanent school fund. Similarly, Kentucky added as "direct-tax refund" ($606,641) of the Civil War period to its permanent school funds.

[4] This does not mean yearly balances, but distinct forfeitures of funds, properly apportioned, for violations of the School Code. Instead of having these revert to the general fund, to be used next year, they might well be added to the principal of the permanent school fund.

[5] For example, the legislature of Massachusetts, in 1893, when the principal of the permanent school fund was $3,770,548, directed that $100,000 a year be added by the State Treasurer, from the interest income on bonds held by the State, until the principal should amount to $5,000,000, when the principal of the bonds ($5,000,000) was also to be added. The bonds were obtained by the sale of the State's interest in the Fitchburg Railroad.

2. TAXATION FOR SCHOOLS

Beginnings of school taxation. By 1825 it may be said to have been clearly recognized by thinking men that the only safe reliance of a system of state schools lay in the general and direct taxation of all property for their support. "The wealth of the State must educate the children of the State" now became a rallying cry, and the battle for direct property taxation was clearly on by the period from 1825 to 1850 in every Northern State. As this meant the imposition of direct taxes which would be felt by the taxpayer, the struggle to establish general taxation for education was often a long and a bitter one. The course of the struggle and the outcome were somewhat different in the different States, but, in a general way, the progress of the conflict was somewhat as follows:

1. Permission granted to communities so desiring to organize a school taxing district, and to tax for school support the property of those consenting and residing therein.
2. General taxation of all property in the taxing district permitted by vote, regardless of individual consent.
3. State aid to taxing districts, from the income from permanent school funds or from the proceeds of a small state tax or appropriation.
4. Compulsory local taxation to supplement the state aid received.
5. Often township or county taxation added, to supplement state and district sources.

The rising cities often led the way in securing permission to tax for schools, as they with their new social problems could not wait for the rural sections to see the need for taxation for public education. Sometimes wards or districts within a city were first organized for taxing purposes, these being unwilling to wait for the city as a whole to see the need for schools. Thus were school districts organized, here and there, almost independently, all over our cities, townships, counties (see Fig. 23, page 150), and States, and later these districts became parts of the general city, county, and state educational organization that we know to-day.

District taxation the first step. The idea underlying all general taxation is that of the pooling of effort for the provision and maintenance of that which has come to be recognized as for the common good of all. The extent to which this pooling of effort takes place in behalf of education is determined in large part by the social vision of a people, and by the extent to which they share the conviction, as stated by Horace Mann, that "a good general system of public instruction forms the strongest offensive and defensive instrument of a democratic State."

Permissive local district taxation, and later compulsory district taxation for schools, mark the first steps in the pooling of effort to provide education, and the first steps toward the public school idea. The people of these little self-constituted school districts agreed to organize under the school law and to tax themselves to maintain a school, paying for its maintenance in proportion to the value of the property they possessed, and sharing in its benefits in proportion to the number of children each sent to the school. Some shared who did not pay, and some paid who did not share. It was a coöperative effort to maintain what was believed to be for the common good of the community and for the welfare of the State. This was the earliest form of general taxation provided for after the great public school movement began, and it still remains the chief source of school revenue in our States, even though most of the conditions which once made it an equitable plan for the maintenance of schools have since passed away.

Further steps in the process. The first step in advance from district taxation was town or township taxation, under which the people of a whole town (in the New England sense of the term) or a township agreed to share equally in the maintenance of all the schools of the town or township. This represented a distinctly broader conception as to the need and purpose of education than did the district-taxation idea. Whatever may be the inequalities in wealth or children or educational conditions, town or township taxation tends to smooth them out. It is this pooling of resources and equalization of the tax rate over a larger area that forms one of the chief advantages of the town or township or community system (Chapter VIII) over the district system (Chapter VII) of school organization and administration. One finds town taxation well developed in Massachusetts, or in such a township State as Indiana.

The next step in advance in the evolution of a good system for school support came when the people of the different counties agreed to pool the cost for education over each county. This represents a far broader conception as to the importance of good schools than does the town or township or community-district taxation plan, as the pooling is now over a much larger area and naturally tends to smooth out still more inequalities. It is this form of equalizing taxation that constitutes one of the important merits of the county-unit system of school organization and administration (Chapter IX). What would be impossible for

some now becomes possible for all by reason of a pooling of costs. The tax rate of the richer districts is increased, but the tax rate of the poorer districts is decreased. The effect a general county tax would have on district inequalities is well shown in Figure 61, which shows the taxable wealth per teacher employed in all of the

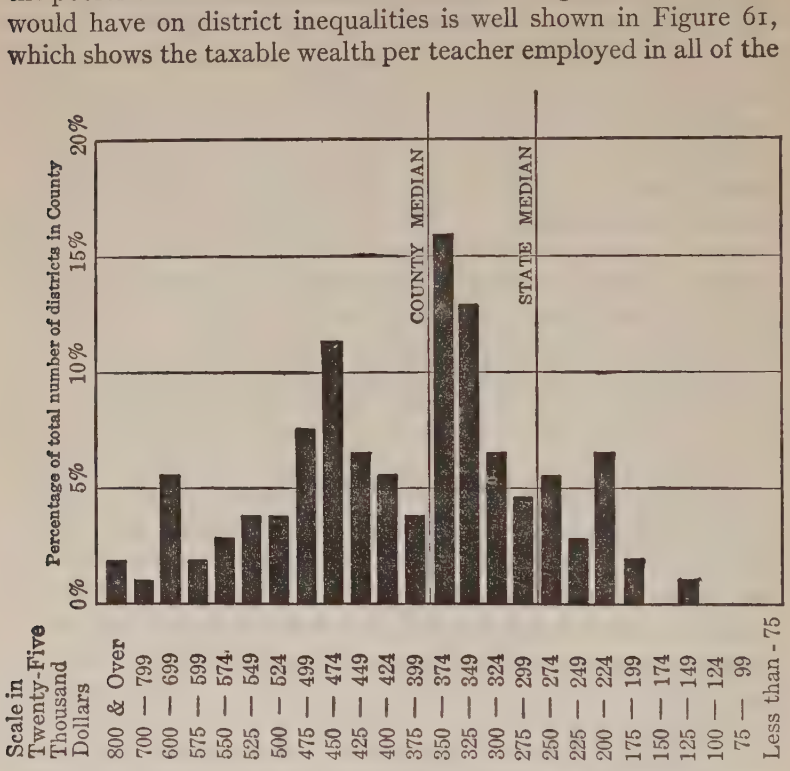


FIG. 61. DISTRICT INEQUALITIES IN TAXABLE WEALTH BACK OF EACH TEACHER EMPLOYED IN ONE WISCONSIN COUNTY

(After Callahan.) This county (Dane) shows above-average conditions, but a better distribution than do some counties where the lines are largely bunched at one or the other end of the scale.

districts in one of the richer counties in southern Wisconsin, where conditions are quite even and uniform. In many counties conditions are much more uneven, with the resulting differences in district tax rates much more marked.

This form of county-unit taxation is found in all true county-unit States (Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Utah), as well as in many Southern and Western States (Mississippi, Arizona, California) which still retain in part the district system. It is seldom found in the North Atlantic or East North Central groups of

States (see Figure 68, page 429). Wherever found, it represents a distinct advance in the thinking of a people over district or township taxation as the main dependence for the support of schools. In many Southern and Western States it exists side by side with district taxation on the one hand and State taxation on the other, the pooling there being partial and supplemental.

The next step in the evolution of a system of school support came when the people of a whole State decided to pool in part the costs for education over the whole State, and voted to levy a state tax to aid the counties, townships, towns, or districts in their support of education. The advantages of a general state tax for schools over county taxation are the same in character as of a county school tax over community-district, town, or township taxation, and these in turn over exclusive district taxation. By the pooling of effort on the part of the people of an entire State a longer school term, better teachers, and a generally higher standard of education can be had throughout the entire State than would be possible were each county left to itself. The leveling effect of a general state tax on county inequalities may be seen from Figure 62, which shows county valuations.

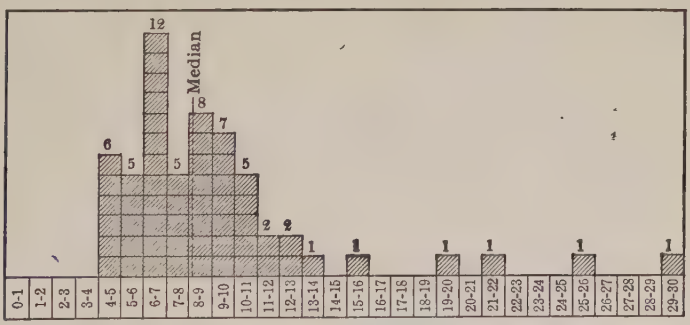


FIG. 62. INEQUALITIES IN TAXABLE WEALTH IN CALIFORNIA COUNTIES

(After Swift.) Showing, for the 58 California counties, the amount of wealth behind each child in average daily attendance in the schools, 1920. The median was approximately $8100, — the state tax basis. On the amounts shown above the California law requires a minimum county school tax of $30 per pupil in average daily attendance to be levied.

When the gathering-up of the many little permissively formed community-district schools into a series of county school systems or a state school system took place, and state supervision — in name at least — was inaugurated, many of the older States began aiding the districts to maintain their schools by levying a small

state tax, or by making a state appropriation, and without passing through the intermediate step of county taxation. State and district taxation thus early became the type means for school support. In the newer States to the westward, county-unit taxation also was added to secure a still greater pooling of effort and a better equalization of burdens. These three forms of taxation are to-day the common means for school support in use in the United States.

Development of taxation illustrated by California. Once begun, even in a small way, the amount of each tax levied has slowly increased with time, and been expanded to include new types of schools as well. California offers one of the clearest illustrations of this process of increase and expansion, though a somewhat analogous development has taken place in many States. In California the history has been as follows:

District school tax. 1851, district taxation authorized; 1867, the "rate-bill" abolished; 1862, limit for maintenance placed at 30 cents, on $100, and for buildings at 70 cents; 1891, district high school tax authorized; limit for high schools later placed at 75 cents.

County school tax. 1852, 3 cents on $100 permitted; 1853, permitted rate increased to 5 cents; 1855, to 10 cents; 1860, to 25 cents; 1864, permitted to 30 cents, and $2.00 per census child required; 1866, increased to 35 cents maximum, and $3.00 per census child required; 1879, maximum increased to 50 cents; 1884, minimum raised to $4.00 per census child; 1893, minimum increased to $6.00; 1905, to $7.00; 1911, minimum changed to $13.00 per pupil in average daily attendance; 1919, increased to $17.50 per pupil; 1922, by constitutional amendment, minimum placed at $30.00 per pupil.

State school tax. 1852, 5 cents on $100 required; 1866, required rate increased to 8 cents; 1874, required tax increased to $7.00 per census child; 1912, minimum changed to $13.00 per pupil in average daily attendance; 1915, to $15.00; 1919, to $17.50; 1922, by constitutional amendment, rate placed at $30.00 per pupil.

High school tax. 1903, new state tax of 1½ cents first levied; 1905, state rate changed to $15.00 per pupil in average daily attendance; 1915, supplemental county high school tax of $60.00 per pupil added; 1922, state tax increased to $30.00 per pupil, and both it and county rate fixed in the constitution.

Junior college tax. 1923, state aid of $2000 per college and $100.00 per pupil in average daily attendance, and district tax to duplicate this authorized.

Rise of taxing inequalities. In the days when our schools began and when our main forms of taxation were developed, wealth was far more evenly distributed than it is to-day. Then the hid-

den resources of the country had not been developed, and agriculture was the chief activity of the people. The common industries of the time were carried on in the small village or on the farm, and the business was in part done by traveling salesmen and in part carried on in the little stores of the villages and at the country cross-roads. Means of communication were few and difficult. Railroads had not been built. Telegraph, telephone, and electric power lines were unknown. Large industries had not been developed or centralized. Inventions had not multiplied the necessities as well as the conveniences of life. Labor-saving devices had not removed the industries from the home and the small village shop to the large city manufactory. There were few cities, with their aggregation of people and wealth. The wealth of the time, too, was almost entirely visible and tangible wealth. What one man possessed did not differ greatly from that of his neighbor, and his lands, barns, horses, wagons, cattle, and crops were visible and easily taxed. Real and personal property taxes, with poll taxes to catch those who had little or no property, naturally became the established forms of taxation, and local taxation for local benefits, with small state and county taxes added to maintain the governmental offices and functions, became the accepted theory of government. This simple state of affairs continued until well toward the middle of the nineteenth century.

Since those simple and somewhat primitive days the whole character of living, industry, wealth, education, and government has changed. The past three quarters of a century have witnessed an enormous transformation in the ways of living of our people, as well as the growth of great inequalities in the distribution of the population and the wealth of the States and the Nation. Railroads have been extended in all directions, and where the railroads have gone inequalities have arisen, due to the increase in value of property near the lines of transportation and the impetus given to the rise of cities and manufacturing along the lines of the roads. At junction points important trade centers and manufacturing cities have been developed, and at such points wealth has accumulated rapidly. The discovery and development of the natural resources of the country — coal, oil, gas, iron ore, lead, zinc, copper, and building materials — have increased values enormously in the districts producing the articles. Poor land, worth little for agricultural purposes, has con-

sequently become immensely valuable.[1] The perfection of long-distance electric power transmission has caused the investment of large sums at isolated mountain points, and the building of long and expensive transmission lines across narrow strips of territory. The perfection of the gas engine has developed the vast new automobile industry, and this — as is common with many other industries — has tended to establish itself in closely adjacent cities.[2] With the development of municipal ownership in the cities, large blocks of property there have been exempted from taxation, thus materially increasing the burden of taxation on farm and home property.

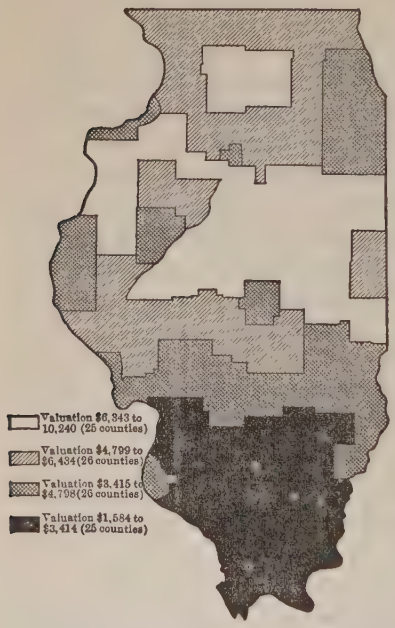

Valuation $6,343 to 10,240 (25 counties)
Valuation $4,799 to $6,434 (26 counties)
Valuation $3,415 to $4,798 (26 counties)
Valuation $1,584 to $3,414 (25 counties)

FIG. 63. FULL ASSESSED VALUATION PER CHILD OF SCHOOL AGE IN ILLINOIS, IN 1921, BY COUNTIES

(After Reeves.)

Climatic and geographic conditions, too, with our increase of wealth and ease of movement, have made certain places — Florida, Atlantic City, the coast of Maine, Colorado, and California — desirable as residence or resort places, often with an enormous increase in property values. With the development of the large corporation and the general sale of stocks and bonds, wealth has tended to become more and more hidden and intangible. With the development of apartment-house and residential-hotel living, many people of large incomes to-day possess little or no tangible wealth, yet have large tax-paying ability.

[1] The hilly and rocky knobs of Monroe and Lawrence Counties, south of the terminal glacial moraine in southern Indiana, offer a good illustration. There the discovery of high-grade oölitic limestone changed almost worthless land into property worth thousands of dollars an acre. The same is true of the finding of white marble in Vermont. Oil lands in the west offer a still better illustration.

[2] The boot and shoe industry of eastern Massachusetts; the cotton spinning industry of southern New England and the Carolinas; the iron and steel industry about Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Birmingham; and the automobile industry about Detroit are examples of these great concentrations.

Inventions have perfected manufacturing processes to such an extent that the industries once practiced in the villages and homes all over the land are now centralized in large manufacturing establishments, located where power is cheap, labor plentiful, and means of transportation easy. The department store in the city has taken the place, likewise, of hundreds of small village stores. Population and wealth, in consequence, are no longer diffused with even comparative equality throughout a township, county, State, or the Nation, but are, to a large degree, concentrated at centers of trade and industry. As it is to-day some communities have a far greater per capita wealth than others have; some are rapidly increasing their per capita wealth, while in others there is an actual or a relative decrease; and in almost every State an increasing relative, if not actual, impoverishment of certain communities is taking place (*Source Book*, pp. 460–70). What is true of parts of counties and States is also true as among the States.

Larger taxing units a necessity. Yet in all these communities people live, children are born and need schooling, and the same needs exist, from a state and a national point of view, for the proper training of those who are to be the future citizens of this country. Still more, the same industrial revolution that has developed these inequalities has brought about also new political and social needs that make education a greater state and national interest than ever before in our history. These changes have forced the State to assume a direction over education undreamed of in the earlier period of our educational development. The scope of public education and the per capita cost for education, too, have everywhere increased, and will continue to increase;[1] better educational advantages than are to-day provided are needed by many communities, and particularly the rural ones; the State's demands as to compulsory education, length of term, type of teacher, sanitary conditions, and scope of the educational offering are still often only poorly met; child welfare work has as yet only really begun; and better salaries for our teachers and better supervision of instruction are urgently needed everywhere outside of our larger cities.

As a result, the burden of the support of education, with district

[1] The studies of the recent Educational Finance Inquiry (see references) bring this out clearly. See Volume I, *The Financing of Education in the State of New York*, for a discussion of the problem of rising and future costs.

taxation and the old property tax [1] as the chief reliance, is to-day greater than many communities can meet.[2] With the maximum tax allowed by law they cannot meet the minimum requirements of the State, low as these minimum demands often are. As a means of support for a system of public education, suited to the needs of a modern State, district taxation and the old property tax, even when supplemented by some state aid, have largely broken down. The taxes now levied on farm property are often almost confiscatory in character,[3] yet the education provided for the farmer's children is usually far from good enough. The remedy lies not in a cheaper type of schooling, but in larger taxing units and in different types of taxation. The costs for anything so manifestly for the common good of all must be much better equalized. This calls for a much larger proportion of state aid than is usually given,[4] and the substitution of county-unit taxation for education for district taxation — except as large districts may desire to supplement state and county funds to provide still better educational advantages for their children.

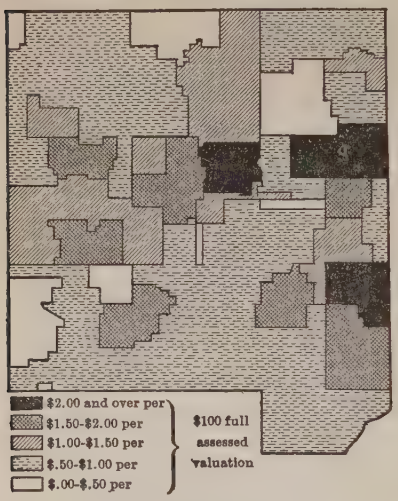


FIG. 64. INEQUALITIES IN TAX RATE FOR SCHOOLS IN ONE ILLINOIS COUNTY

(After Reeves.) The areas shown often include a number of districts having the same tax rate range. High-tax areas and low-tax areas exist here side by side.

Advantages of the larger unit. Not only does county-unit

[1] See article by Orville C. Pratt, on "The Problem of School Finance," in *Elementary School Journal*, vol. 21, pp. 744–54. (June, 1921.)

[2] See Morrison, H. C., "Taxation, Teachers' Salaries, and the Cost of Education"; in *Elementary School Journal*, vol. 20, pp. 47–56. (Sept., 1919.) Good general article.

[3] See the volumes by Russell on *The Financing of Education in Iowa* (VIII), and by Morrison on *The Financing of Public Schools in the State of Illinois*, in the publications of the Educational Finance Inquiry.

[4] Despite an increasing tendency to speak of and regard the schools as state schools, maintained for state ends, the proportion of maintenance cost furnished by the State has for long been decreasing. In 1890, for the United States as a whole, the States provided 21.22 per cent of school costs, in 1910 the proportion was 19.02 per cent, and by 1920 it had dropped to 15.7 per cent. (See Fig. 71.)

taxation enable all the schools of a county to be placed on a uniformly high level, but it tends to equalize educational opportunities for all. It likewise shares the income from special large sources of revenue, such as a railroad line, a factory, a power plant or line, or an iron or copper mine, with the less favorably located districts equally in need of schools and education. In almost every county there are important sources of taxation for which the people of the particular townships or school districts in which they are located are in no way responsible, and it is unfair that they should be allowed a monopoly of them in the matter of school support. Because a double-track railroad line, a telephone line, a telegraph line, and a high-tension power line pass through a school district is no reason why it should be allowed to maintain good schools on a few cents of taxation because of a monopoly in taxing these utilities, while adjacent school districts have high tax rates to maintain mediocre schools because the railroad and other lines missed them. The provision of good schools generally is too important an interest of the State to permit of their character being determined by the fact that a railroad or a power line decided to run in one place and not another, or by the presence of a coal mine or a stone quarry, a beet sugar factory, or a long-distance telephone or telegraph line in one place and not another.

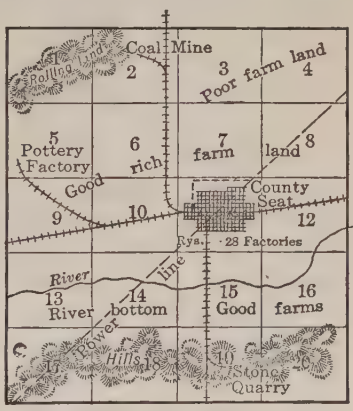


FIG. 65. SHOWING TAXING INEQUALITIES IN THE TOWNSHIPS OF ONE COUNTY

This may be illustrated by Figure 65, showing conditions that might easily exist in any county. Here townships have been used instead of school districts, because their larger size will show better in the drawing. Even greater differences could be shown by an array of a hundred school districts, as each township tax rate represents a smoothing out of the taxing inequalities in the districts composing it. It will be seen from the map that townships 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, and 19 have railroad lines to tax for school support, that 8, 11, 14, and 17 have a high-tension power line to tax, that 2 has a coal mine, 5 a large tile and

pottery factory, 19 a large stone quarry, and 11 a city of some size with railroad shops and yards and 28 important factories. Townships 1, 2, 17, 18, 19, and 20 have much hilly land, and 3, 4, 7, 13, and 16 only farm land. Let us now assume that each township raises by local taxation $1000 for each teacher employed, and that the tax rates required to do this, based on the equalized valuation of all property, are as shown in Figure 66. The equalizing effect of a uniform county school tax rate which would produce the same sum is shown at the extreme right of the Figure.

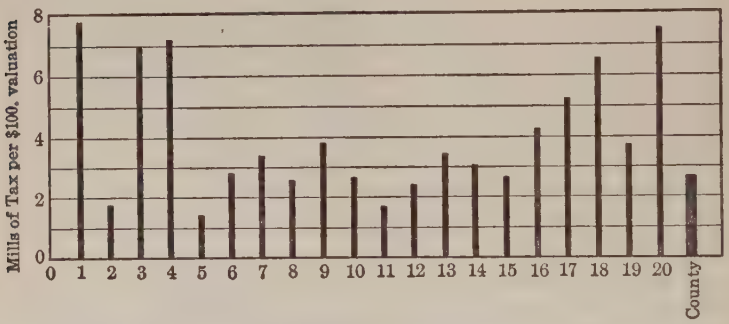


FIG. 66. TAX RATES BY TOWNSHIPS, AND FOR THE COUNTY AS A UNIT

Similarly, the equalizing effect of state taxation over township or county taxation, especially in leveling up the influences of the presence of natural advantages and developments for which the people are but little responsible, may be shown in the case of Indiana (Figure 67). Here the large determining factors have been: (1) the southern limit of the glacial invasion (terminal moraine) which planed off the old rocks and left the northern part of the State relatively level and with good farm land, while southern Indiana remained a mass of hills of outcropping Silurian, Devonian, and Carboniferous rocks, gullied from north to south by the rivers of the retreating glaciers; (2) the location of Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis, to which the main railway lines when built were directed; (3) the eventual location of the capital at Indianapolis, to and from which the railroads to-day run like the spokes of a wheel; (4) the finding of large reservoirs of natural gas in north central Indiana, which, with the presence of the railway lines, led to an important manufacturing development from Indianapolis northward; (5) the discovery of soft coal

in the west central and very high grade oölitic limestone in the south central parts of the State; and (6) the rise of a number of cities of manufacturing importance at the junction points of a number of railway lines. The result has been a very unequal distribution of wealth, and one which time can never change. The Indiana south of the terminal moraine will always be poor compared with that to the north, and no state system of public instruction providing even approximate equality of opportunity can ever be developed that does not recognize, in its plan of taxation for education and in the apportionment of school funds, these inequalities in resources which cannot by any effort be changed. The natural inequalities described for Indiana are largely matched in Illinois (Figure 63), and could be found as well in many other States, and such inequalities call for extensive state support for education if the inequalities are to be adjusted in any really satisfactory way.

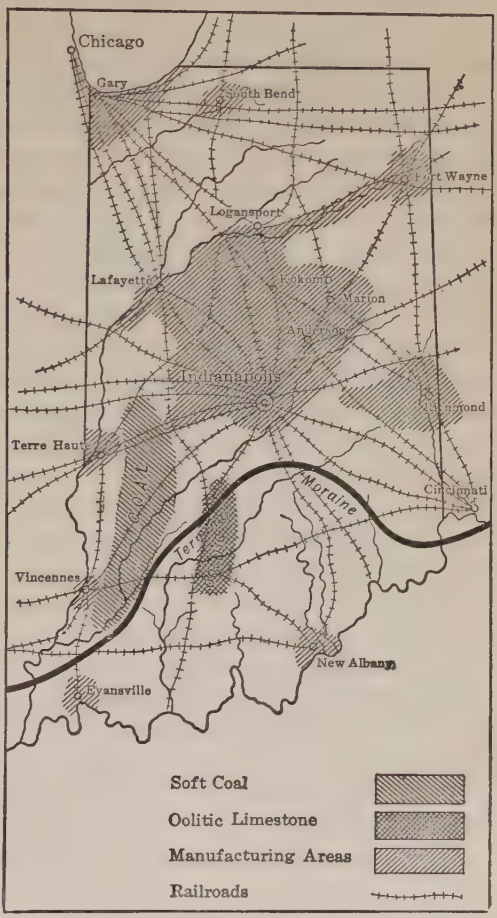


FIG. 67. THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND RESOURCES IN INDIANA

3. NEW FORMS OF TAXATION

Reforming state taxation plans. A few of our States have re-

cently recognized the need for the development of new forms of taxation to lighten the burden of the old real and personal property taxes; to reach classes that under modern conditions pay little or nothing in taxes and yet have good incomes; and to remedy the unfairness of allowing small local subdivisions to profit so largely, in matters of taxation, by the presence within their boundaries of special wealth in natural resources or by the coming of power lines, transportation, and factories. The problem has been that of devising new forms of taxation that would not only be more equitable, but which would enable the people to carry the burden of generally increasing governmental expenses with greater ease. The problem has not been so much that of finding "new sources" of revenue [1] — for, after all, there is but one source — as it has been the bringing out of all aspects of that one source where they may be reached. All expenses of government must in the end be paid from the aggregate income of a people, and by no sort of financial magic can new and burdenless sources of revenue be found and tapped.[2]

A few States have recently remodeled their taxing systems to carry out the best thought on the subject. The problem they have faced has been that of so readjusting and refining the devices for tapping a common foundation source, and of so shifting the burden of direct incidence, that the result will be more just, more productive, and more indirect. Instead of real and personal property carrying the burden, as under the earlier forms of taxation, the bulk of the load has been shifted to the newer forms of wealth, and the tendency has been to decrease greatly or to abolish entirely the personal property tax. California, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New York have been leaders in this movement, with New York probably nearest to a model plan.

In California, the reform (1908) took the plan of a separation of taxing resources as between the State and its subdivisions, real and personal property being left to the counties and their subdivisions to tax, and all "operative property" — railway lines of all kinds, power lines, telegraph and telephone lines, car companies

[1] Some States, however, have been "slackers" in matters of taxation, and have needed to be forced to levy new taxes to produce the revenue necessary for public service. See article on "Available Sources for Additional Support for Pennsylvania Schools," by Robt. M. Haig, in *Educational Review*, vol. 60, pp. 216–25. (Oct., 1920.)

[2] Perhaps the nearest to this would be a "severance tax," levied on each barrel of oil or ton of coal or iron ore removed from the ground, though even such taxes must be added to the cost of production and passed on to the ultimate consumer.

of all kinds, express companies, banks, insurance companies, and all corporate and franchise rights — being taxed only by the State. This was a pooling of resources on a large scale, and the equalizing effect of such action is easily seen. State aid for education was then provided for by setting aside a fixed sum ($30.00 for each pupil in average daily attendance the preceding year) from the state corporation (operative property) taxes, and then apportioning this to the counties and districts for school support. In 1925 California further refined the personal property tax on intangible wealth (stocks, bonds, mortgages), as a number of States had done earlier, with a view to placing such an equitable tax on these [1] as would bring them out of hiding and make them produce revenue. This type of taxation of securities is a modified form of state income tax. In Wisconsin (1911) and Massachusetts (1916) state income taxes were added to reach those having income, even though they had no tangible property.

New York has for long been gradually evolving a strong modern taxing system, and to-day probably more nearly approximates the "model plan" of the National Tax Association than does any other State. This system is the result of nearly fifty years of effort in trying to remedy the defects of the old general property tax. The plan includes the following elements:

1. A personal income tax, to reach individuals.
2. A rather complicated series of business taxes, which levy a direct tax on productive enterprises, and which may in turn be shifted to individuals through an increase in the cost of materials produced or services rendered.
3. An almost complete abolition of the personal property tax, and a very material lightening of the burden on small real property.
4. The levying of certain special taxes, such as the automobile tax, and "ear-marking" these for special purposes, as road maintenance, etc.

The "model plan" of the National Tax Association. In 1918 the National Tax Association, a professional organization of students and administrators of taxation in this country, appointed a special committee [2] to study the question, and they

[1] The new rate is to be 7 per cent of real value, instead of 100 per cent, which was confiscatory and drove securities into hiding. The experience of other States has been that much hidden wealth has gradually been brought out and made available for taxation by this type of reasonable and equitable taxation.

[2] The membership of the committee was as follows: Charles J. Bullock, Harvard University, Chairman; Thomas S. Adams, Yale University; Charles V. Galloway, State Tax Commission, Oregon; Samuel T. Howe, State Tax Commission, Kansas; Celsus P. Link, State Tax Commission, Colorado; Samuel Lord, State Tax Com-

reported[1] a so-called "model plan" for the segregation and collection of taxes in a State. This model plan was based on three main propositions:

1. That every person having tax-paying ability should pay some sort of a direct personal tax to the government under which he is domiciled, and from which he receives the personal benefits that government confers;
2. That business, carried on for profit in any locality, should be taxed for the benefits it receives; and
3. That tangible property should be taxed by the jurisdiction in which it is located, because it there receives protection and other governmental benefits and services.

The resulting taxing system has three main elements, corresponding to these three propositions, and consists of:

1. A personal income tax, taxing the net incomes of every one, from whatever source derived, above a small minimum exempt sum.
2. A series of business taxes, levied on the net income of all business conducted within the State.
3. A property tax on tangible property, levied where the property is located, with a lighter rate on personal than on real property, and no attempt to tax intangible property.

Taxes 1 and 2 would be administered by a state tax commission, the proceeds to be shared between the State and its subdivisions; and tax 3 would be for local levy and use. Certain "ear-marked" special taxes may be added to the above. A personal poll tax, if thought worth the trouble of its collection, might be added to include those who pay no income tax. There is also sound argument in favor of the taxing of municipally-owned public utilities by the State, on the same basis as similar privately-owned utilities, both as a matter of fairness between private and public enterprise and as a means of lightening the tax burden on farm and town property.

How the schools share in such forms of taxation. It will be evident that under such reformed taxing schemes more people contribute to the support of the governmental activities of a State, and contribute more in proportion to their tax-paying ability than can ever be the case when the old property taxes form the

mission, Minnesota; Ogden L. Mills, Congressman from New York; Thomas W Page, University of Virginia; A. C. Rearick, Attorney-at-Law, New York City; W. L. Tarbet, Illinois Central Railroad Company.

[1] The report of this committee was made in September, 1918, and may be found in the printed volume of *Proceedings of the National Tax Association for 1919*, pp. 426–70.

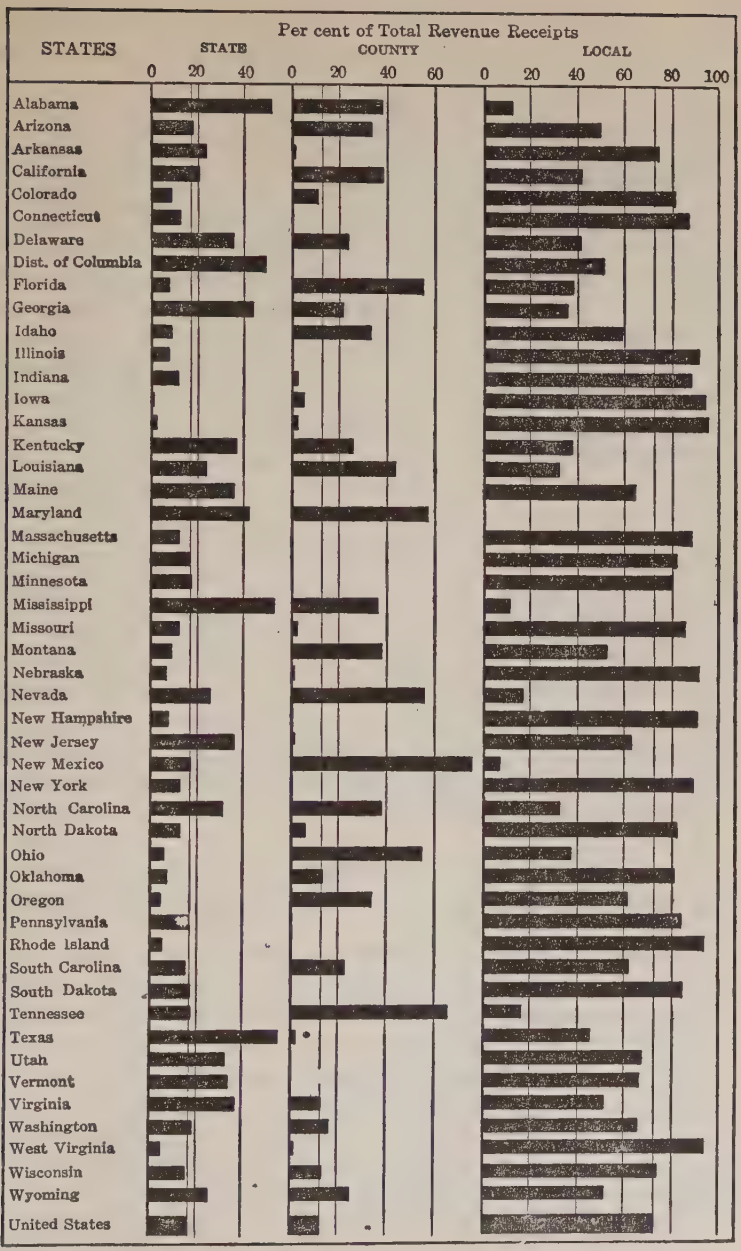


FIG. 68. SOURCES OF PUBLIC SCHOOL REVENUE, BY STATES

(U.S. Bureau of Education figures for 1920; but slight changes since. Includes both elementary and secondary schools.)

sole or chief reliance. The sums produced, also, are materially larger, and the burden is at the same time easier to carry. Much of the tax is "shifted" to "the ultimate consumer," to be sure, but both its direct and its indirect incidence is less painful. To increase the State's share for the support of schools, as is demanded for purposes of better equalization of both burdens and opportunities,[1] now becomes far easier than if the real and personal property taxes had to be correspondingly increased. The basis of state support of education also is shifted from a mills or cents rate, as is the common method under the old property-tax plan, to a fixed sum or rate of state apportionment, based on some equitable scheme of state aid for schools. In most of our States to-day the percentage of state support for education ought to be very materially increased. With the continued growth of taxing inequalities, as well as the continued increase in the cost for education, there is urgent demand for this to be done. An examination of Figure 68 will reveal how small is the share borne by the State, and how heavy is the local support from property taxation, in most of our States. This situation should be changed, but in most States it is impossible of accomplishment without a reform in the state system of taxation[2] that will permit of larger revenues without unduly burdening the farmer and the home owner. Taxation on this type of property is already too heavy. Increased pressure for better school support is certain to be an important contributing factor in the development of tax-reform movements in our States.[3]

4. FINANCING A STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The best form for state aid. The question naturally arises here

[1] "The principle of equality of educational opportunity, followed to its logical conclusion, is found to arrive at the equivalent of a State educational system which requires a satisfactory State-wide minimum offering supported by taxes of uniform weight in relation to tax-paying ability throughout the State. This is clearly the destination toward which present forces are tending." (*The Educational Finance Inquiry Reports*, vol. 1, p. 176.)

[2] "It is the writer's belief, based on a first-hand study of nearly one third of the States, that there is not a State in the Union which, if it were to adopt a sound and scientific system of financing education, would not be able to place adequate educational facilities within the reach of every school child, and to maintain a complete free system of public instruction from the kindergarten to the State university." (F. H. Swift, in chapter on "Public School Finance," in *Biennial Survey of Education in United States*, 1920–22. Vol. 1, p. 33.)

[3] This has been clearly realized by the leaders in the State Teachers' Association in Illinois. In 1920 a fifteen-page pamphlet on *Tax Reform in Illinois* was issued, and in 1922 a sixty-two page monograph was issued on *Taxation in Illinois* written by O. L. Manchester. Other Associations have begun similar studies.

as to what is the best form for use by a State in aiding its subdivisions in the maintenance of their schools.

Under the old property-tax system two common plans have been in use. One plan has been to levy a total rate of state tax to cover all appropriations, and then to set aside a fixed sum or appropriation annually for the support of schools. Pennsylvania and Illinois have in the past been conspicuous examples of this type of support. From the standard of a good system of school support this represents about the lowest stage, as the appropriation tends to stay both low and fixed,[1] regardless of increase in the number of children, teachers, or costs for education. Figure 69 shows the results over a period of 70 years in Illinois. The

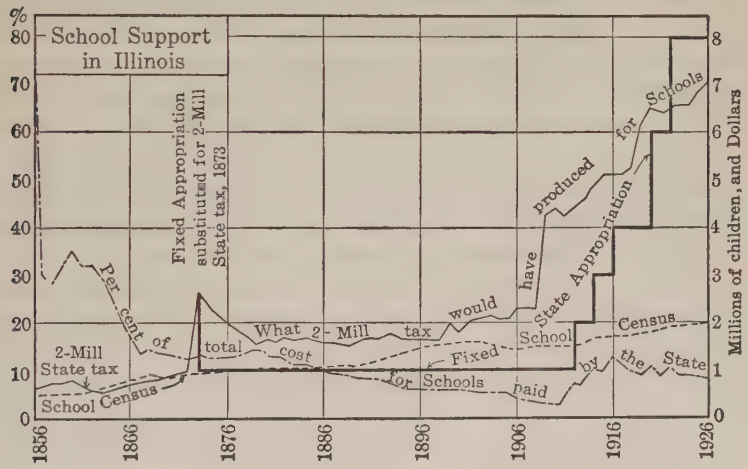


FIG. 69. SHOWING THE BAD FEATURES OF THE FIXED APPROPRIATION METHOD FOR SCHOOL SUPPORT

Based on data for Illinois

Figure also shows how difficult it has been to increase the amount, though all the pressure of the educational forces of the State, supported by convincing statistical presentations (*Source Book*, pp. 460–70), has been directed, for the past twenty years, to secure increases.[2]

[1] Pennsylvania, for example, in the revised state constitution of 1873 directed the "maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of public schools," and the appropriation by the legislature of "at least $1,000,000 each year for that purpose." This was done, and the sum remained at the minimum fixed for approximately forty years.

[2] The Illinois Educational Commission of 1909 made a strong presentation of needs, and since then strong pressure has been maintained on the legislature to in-

The other and the more common plan has been to levy a fixed millage rate — or so many cents of tax — for the support of schools. This naturally produces variable sums, increasing rapidly in good times, as judged by the state of business, and very slowly in periods of business depression. Unless the rate is increased from time to time it soon comes to bear no relation to the increasing scope and cost of public education, and such increases usually are as hard to secure as are increases in fixed appropriations.

A better plan would be to determine the state appropriation annually, on a fixed legal budget basis — such as so much for each superintendent, attendance officer, school health officer, elementary teacher, secondary teacher, and pupil in attendance the preceding year — and then for the legislature, or a state officer under direction of the legislature, to appropriate or set aside a total sum sufficient to cover the entire state quota for school support. This plan, however, is likely to look better on paper than it actually is in practice. It is much like the annual or biennial appropriations for university support (Chapter XIII), and more difficult to win legislative approval for. It is too easy for the legislature, any year, to refuse the necessary increases. The result then is a scaling down of the promised state-aid grants, and this process is likely to continue, from year to year,[1] until some new effort forces the legislature again to recognize the needs of the schools. In practice, it is little better than the annual lump appropriation.

The best plan so far evolved is a fixed annual segregation of funds, made by some state officer, on the basis of the number of pupils in average daily attendance in the schools the preceding year; or on some basis or combination of bases in which teachers employed, pupils in attendance, or the cost for schools are the important factors. If such a plan, even when fixed in the constitution, is still subject to legislative appropriation it is also subject

crease the proportion of State aid. See an especially good article by Carter Alexander, "A Larger State Distributive Fund for Illinois," in *School and Society*, vol. 12, pp. 565–75. (Dec. 11, 1920.)

[1] We have had good illustrations of the results under this plan in the States (Minnesota, North Dakota, Pennsylvania) which have tried the fixed-subsidy plan for aiding high schools. A state law is first passed, promising a fixed annual subsidy for each high school of each grade or class, and making a lump state appropriation to pay the grants. The number of qualifying schools then increases, but the appropriation remains fixed, with a progressive scaling down of the grants as a result. Finally sufficient pressure is brought to bear to lift the appropriation, and then ensues another fixed period and more scaling down of grants until the appropriation can be increased once more.

to inaction by the legislature. Any year this body finds itself hard pressed to cover its appropriations, or any year that an economy program sweeps over the State the legislature may fail to make the required appropriations for schools, and when it does there is no recourse. The only safe plan lies in making it the duty of the state officer in charge of state funds (treasurer, comptroller) to set aside the sum required, in case the legislature fails to do what the constitution directs. If this is necessary to secure action, then there is no point in having the legislature make the appropriations, and good reasons for not doing so. Despite all the average legislator's "deep interest in public education" when he is before the electorate seeking office, and despite what he may be willing to do individually, experience shows that in general he cannot be trusted when the pressure comes, and that the only safe way for the schools is to fix in the law — or better still in the state constitution — the minimum rate or sums that must be appropriated, and then make it the duty of some state officer to set aside the required sums each year.

California probably represents the best example of such determination of the amount of state (and county) support for schools. This has been determined, by constitutional amendment, to be as follows:

> State aid of $30.00 for each pupil in average daily attendance the preceding year in elementary and secondary schools. A supplemental county tax of at least $30.00 for each pupil in average daily attendance in the elementary schools, and at least $60.00 for each pupil in the secondary schools, also must be levied.

The money to pay the state appropriations comes from the state corporation (operative property) taxes, and must be set aside, each year, by the state controller and treasurer. It is a fixed continuing appropriation, and the legislature does not act on the matter at all. The money is then apportioned to the counties and districts on a combination of items, which we shall consider in detail in the following chapter. By such a plan, and almost by such a plan only, can a quota for education be provided which is both fixed and flexible, and likewise safe from legislative and gubernatorial interference when an economy program becomes the political big idea. If the state officer fails to follow the directions of the constitution, a court mandamus can compel him to do so. That governors and legislators do not like such "hampering restrictions" is evident, and their incorporation in constitutions

usually calls for the use of the initiative and an appeal to the people.

Support of different types of education. Whether we should separate the funds and the accounting for elementary and secondary education, or for any other forms of education, is a question that as yet has had no definite answer, but it is one that in time may become important. All our studies as to relative costs have shown the much larger expense for secondary education, and statistics show also that no part of the public school system is increasing so rapidly in attendance as the secondary school. The studies of the recent Educational Finance Inquiry have shown these differences well for each of the States studied. For New York, for example, the comparative figures were found to be as follows:

Calculated for the year studied, to the nearest whole dollar, and based on total maintenance cost per pupil in average daily attendance.

	Elementary Schools	High School
First-class cities		
Average	$ 92	$183
High	101	212
Low	82	161
Second-class cities		
Average	79	137
High	98	165
Low	60	114
Third-class cities		
Average	69	123
High	104	332
Low	32	68
Villages over 4500		
Average	66	141
High	125	268
Low	36	76
Four-year union schools		
Average		156
High		1107
Low		41

State average, all schools $89

Reduced to a per-pupil clock-hour-of-instruction basis, the costs for elementary schools ran from 4.3 to 6.3 cents, and for secondary schools from 7.9 to 12.4 cents. Compared with these the median clock-hour costs for vocational instruction in the trades

for women were 12.8 cents, and in trades for men 16.9 cents. Reeves found the same conditions true for Illinois, as did also Russell for Iowa, and Sears and Cubberley for California.

While it is simpler to have but one school fund, and to pay all bills from a common source, as is commonly done, too often this results in the building up of a strong secondary school at the expense of the elementary schools. The California plan of a complete segregation of funds for the two types of schools may, after all, prove to be the better plan. This may be even more true in the case of technical education, the costs for which are increasing rapidly. Indiana has already found this to be desirable, and now levies a small state tax for vocational education only.

In addition, the California Constitution requires that the income from the state school fund, the state appropriation of $30 per pupil in average daily attendance in the elementary schools, and 60 per cent of the similar county tax be used only for the salaries of teachers in the elementary schools. The remainder of the county tax and all district taxes can be used for maintenance, or for any purpose after an eight-months school has been held. All high-school support must come from state, county, and district funds specifically provided for high-school maintenance.

Where junior-college legislation has been enacted, this has in some cases been accompanied by separate financing, due in part to the greater cost for such instruction, and in part to the desire to prevent such development from eating in on the money available for elementary and secondary education. More often, however, the extension of the high school upward has merely been permitted, leaving to the district inaugurating such a development the provision of the necessary funds in such ways as it is able to. California forms a good illustration of the best of this new legislation. There a junior college district to be formed must have an assessed value of $10,000,000, and have 400 pupils in average daily attendance in the high schools. When organized, the State must set aside from the income from mineral leases, annually, $2000 for each junior college district as a district, and $100 for each pupil in average daily attendance. The district itself must levy at least an equal sum, in addition to the funds needed for elementary and secondary education.

A general plan of state school support. To provide safely for adequate state aid for education, and to keep the plan of state aid so flexible that progressive changes may be made as changing

needs may require, our best theory as to the support of public education would require constitutional provisions approximately as follows:

Sec. a. The income from the permanent state school fund shall be used for the partial maintenance of public schools in such manner as the legislature may direct, and the state treasurer shall, each year, set aside from the income and corporation taxes a sum which shall not be less than $—— per pupil in average daily attendance in the elementary and secondary schools of this State the preceding year. This shall be known as the state school tax, and it shall be a prior lien over legislative appropriations on the state income. The sum so set aside shall be subject to apportionment by the commissioner of education, in such manner as the legislature shall by general law provide. A general county school tax must also be levied, annually in each county, which must not be less in amount than the minimum set for the state school tax. If the legislature deems best, the support of secondary or technical education, or both, may be separated from that for elementary education, and different minima set for each. The legislature may, in addition, authorize such other forms of taxation for educational purposes, and may direct such increases in the minima here stated, as it may from time to time deem wise.

If the district system is in use in the State, district taxes must also be provided for.

The State's share in educational costs. Just how large a proportion of the total cost for education the State should provide is as yet an unsettled question, and one capable of different answers in different States. That it should be large, in view of the growing needs for education and the marked inequalities in resources of the different counties, there can be little question. Theoretically, it would be more equitable if the entire support, up to a certain fixed standard, came from the State. The entire cost for elementary and secondary education, up to this standard, as for the university and for teachers' colleges, would then be pooled and laid equally on the wealth of the entire State; practically such a plan would create very serious difficulties in matters of taxation if the old property tax is depended upon to raise the funds.

That from 40 to 60 per cent of the annual maintenance cost for elementary and secondary education ought to come from state sources,[1] under modern conditions of wealth distribution,

[1] Swift, one of our closest students of the problem, thinks 65 to 75 per cent of the cost of education, under modern conditions in the distribution of wealth, ought to come from state sources. See Swift, F. H., "Existing Educational Inequalities"; in *American School Board Journal*, vol. 60, pp. 29–30. (May, 1920.)

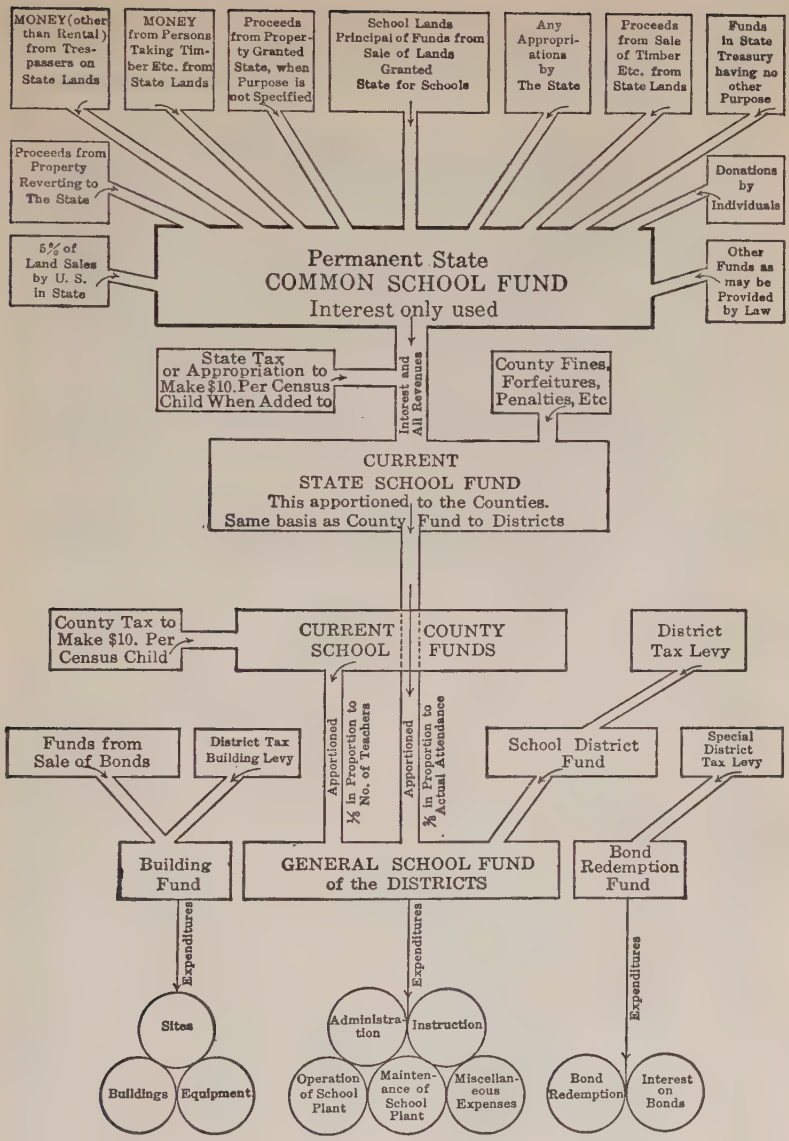

MONEY (other than Rental) from Trespassers on State Lands
MONEY from Persons Taking Timber Etc. from State Lands
Proceeds from Property Granted State, when Purpose is not Specified
School Lands Principal of Funds from Sale of Lands Granted State for Schools
Any Appropriations by The State
Proceeds from Sale of Timber Etc. from State Lands
Funds in State Treasury having no other Purpose
Proceeds from Property Reverting to The State
Donations by Individuals
5% of Land Sales by U. S. in State
Permanent State COMMON SCHOOL FUND Interest only used
Other Funds as may be Provided by Law
State Tax or Appropriation to Make $10. Per Census Child When Added to
Interest and All Revenues
County Fines, Forfeitures, Penalties, Etc
CURRENT STATE SCHOOL FUND This apportioned to the Counties. Same basis as County Fund to Districts
County Tax to Make $10. Per Census Child
CURRENT COUNTY SCHOOL FUNDS
District Tax Levy
Funds from Sale of Bonds
District Tax Building Levy
Apportioned ⅓ in Proportion to No. of Teachers
Apportioned ⅔ in Proportion to Actual Attendance
School District Fund
Special District Tax Levy
Building Fund
GENERAL SCHOOL FUND of the DISTRICTS
Bond Redemption Fund
Expenditures
Expenditures
Expenditures
Sites
Buildings
Equipment
Administration
Instruction
Operation of School Plant
Maintenance of School Plant
Miscellaneous Expenses
Bond Redemption
Interest on Bonds

FIG. 70. THE AMERICAN PLAN OF SCHOOL SUPPORT

Illustrated by the State of Washington, where state, county, and district taxes for education are all levied.

probably would be approved by most students of educational finance. That the amount is nothing like this, Figure 71 shows clearly. The large bulk of the remainder, whether the county-

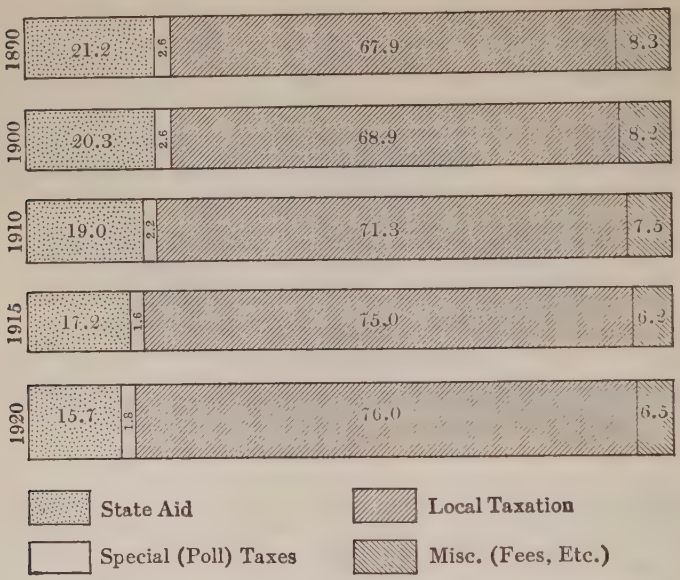


FIG. 71. DISTRIBUTION OF THE BURDEN FOR SCHOOL SUPPORT

unit of administration is in use or not, ought to come from general county taxation, and any additional amount needed from district taxation. Under the county-unit plan there would be in each county only the county school district and such city school districts as may be set off for purposes of local management and supervision. The district would then be a large unit over which costs would be fairly well pooled.

Another phase of the question of costs is as important as the State's share, and that is that the total grants per pupil or per teacher be large enough to provide for good schools generally. A State may pay half or more of the cost of education, and yet the total expenditure per pupil or per capita of the population may be small. To this end the recent Arizona law requiring state support equal to $25 per pupil in average daily attendance in all public schools, or the recent California constitutional amendment fixing the state aid similarly at $30 per pupil in average daily attendance, are much superior to the Missouri constitutional provision that

one fourth of the State's revenues, or the recent Georgia law requiring that 50 per cent of the same, be apportioned for the support of schools. This phase of the problem we shall consider in the following chapter.

Budgets, tax levies, and fiscal independence. It will be noted in all that has been recommended above as desirable, in the matter of state support of education, that no option has been left to the legislatures or state authorities as to the minimum amount of state aid that annually must be provided. The rate is fixed, the total sum to increase as the school population increases. The same is true for the county school tax that must be raised. This is as it should be. Education is an important state function, and the people by vote should so amend the state constitution as to safeguard the minimum amount that must be set aside or levied for the maintenance of schools.

When we pass from state or county to district taxation, particularly to town and city districts, we frequently find that this fundamental principle of safeguarding the education of the future citizens of the State is not followed. Instead, the amount of district school tax that must be levied is left for final determination to the town or city council, the mayor, a city finance committee, or some other non-educational board or person. At times this control extends not only to the amount to be raised, but absurd limitations on expenditures also are imposed. Practice in this matter varies not only as between States, but within States. The school board having evolved out of the town meeting and a committee of the council, there are historical reasons for such city council control of educational funds.

As our people have come to understand the importance of education, there has been an increasing tendency to change this historical condition, and to give — usually within fixed limits — financial independence to town and city school boards. During the past quarter-century this tendency has been quite manifest in legislation, although opposed generally by mayors, city councils, and many students of the theory of city government. As a result, we find to-day many cities where complete financial independence has been attained by the school authorities. Within limits fixed by general law, school boards in such cities may levy and expend the funds they need for the maintenance of their schools. This position is known as fiscal independence, though between this position and that of complete dependence

on the city authorities for funds there are many intermediate positions.

Recent studies, and our best theory. This question has received much attention in recent years, and fiscal independence for city and county-unit school district boards has been urged generally by those who may be regarded as authorities in educational administration and finance. The problem has also been studied carefully recently, by Frasier,[1] and by McGaughey [2] for the recent Educational Finance Inquiry. Frasier's conclusions were that not only was fiscal independence right in principle, as being in accord with our theory of state education (Chapter V), the decisions of our courts,[3] the best theory as applied to the determination of state school funds to be set apart, and the conception of our people as to the importance of public education, but also that a study of cities showed that it actually is better in practice, makes for a continuity of educational policy, provides better safeguards for education, and tends strongly to keep the schools out of city politics. The Finance Inquiry, summarizing (Volume I) the results of McGaughey's study (Volume V) of 377 cities taken from all parts of the United States, drew the following conclusions:[4]

> The cities in which the boards of education are in complete control of the finances of the school system, including the right to levy taxes, show a larger tax rate, a larger percentage of the total municipal tax rate devoted to schools, and a larger expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance for general control, maintenance of plant, fixed charges, capital outlay, and debt service than do the dependent. On the other hand, the communities in which the boards of education are dependent upon the general municipal authorities show a larger bonded indebtedness per capita, and a larger expenditure for instructional service. The independent cities showed a greater percentage of 16- and 17-year-old children in the schools; they provided a larger percentage of their pupils with 60 or more square feet of playground space each; and a larger percentage of the children enrolled attended school all day in adequate school buldings owned by the city. The dependent cities

[1] Frasier, G. W. *The Control of City School Finances.* 132 pp. Milwaukee, 1922.

[2] McGaughey, J. R. *The Fiscal Administration of City School Systems.* Vol. v of *Finance Inquiry Commission Reports.* 95 pp. New York, 1924.

[3] A good recent decision, involving the levy and collection of a city tax for the support of schools in Henderson, Kentucky, says: "This can hardly be deemed a city or municipal tax. The tax is levied and collected by the municipal authorities because they are *ex-officio* common school officers for this particular district. The tax itself is a common school tax, and not a municipal assessment in any sense." (8 Bush, *Kentucky Reports*, 607.)

[4] *The Financing of Education in the State of New York*, pp. 181–83, vol. 1 of *Report of Educational Finance Inquiry.* New York, 1923.

had a somewhat larger percentage of women elementary teachers who had had two or more years of training beyond the secondary school.

One of the most important findings was that the total expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance for all school purposes showed practically no difference as between the cities whose schools are separately financed and those in which the school budget is determined by general municipal fiscal authority. The investigation shows conclusively that the separate financing of schools has not resulted in extravagance.

In the light of the evidence made available by this inquiry, the separate financing of municipal school systems must be considered on ground other than that of cost to the community, since the costs of schools administered under the two forms of organization are approximately equal.

These results are in accord with our most satisfactory experience and only reveal anew the desirability — the unity of the city budget and tax rate, prized so highly by mayors, councilmen, and writers on city government to the contrary notwithstanding — of permitting our school boards in cities and county-unit school districts to determine the amount of money they need, and to expend it as they see fit once it is raised, they being responsible only to those whom they serve. All interests of the taxpayer may be conserved by some such legal provisions as the following, which may be regarded as representing our best present theory and practice in the matter of school district taxation.

1. The board of education (of each city and county-unit school district) shall each year prepare a budget of estimated income and expenditures, and, after deducting the amount to be received from State and county sources, shall certify the remainder to the proper tax-levying authorities as the amount to be raised for school maintenance and for building and grounds for the ensuing year.

2. The amount so certified must be levied and collected on the assessed valuation of the school district, provided the tax rate necessary does not exceed —— mills for maintenance, or —— mills for buildings and grounds.

3. Should the above limitations as to levy provide insufficient funds, the school board for any city or county-unit school district may submit to the people of the school district, at the annual school election, the question of increasing the above maximum rates, for either or both funds, for a limited period or indefinitely, and to any stated rate up to —— mills for maintenance and —— mills for buildings and grounds. Should a majority voting at said election approve of the increases, the amounts voted shall in future be the limits of levy for the district.

4. All school funds, from whatever source, shall be subject to expenditure, for the purposes for which they were provided, by the board of education for the city or county-unit school district, and in such

manner as it may see fit, so long as such expenditure is not contrary to state law.

5. Bond interest and sinking funds, together with principal payment on bonded indebtedness, shall be cared for by city or county tax-levying authorities, from special taxes levied for the purpose, and shall not be regarded as a part of the school budget or held within the taxation limits stated above.

Where the old district system of school administration is retained, all budgeting and levy for district purposes should be subject to the prior approval of the county superintendent of schools, and in towns and small cities — say, with less than 25 to 35 teachers employed — the same approval may be desirable.

We have now dealt with the first part of the problem of financing a state school system. After the necessary funds have been set aside or raised by taxation, another very important part of the problem lies in their equitable distribution, with a view to securing the maximum results for the money expended. This part of the problem is left to the following chapter for consideration.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In the State of Osceola (See *Code*, §§ 111, 116) the income from the permanent school fund is used to help equalize school support in the different counties. Show that this is, or is not, a better use than per-capita distribution.
2. Other proposals for the use of the income from small per-capita permanent funds might be that they be apportioned for library purchases, or reserved to subsidize desirable new undertakings. What are the merits of such proposals?
3. A rural school district has a school census of 23. What would a grant of 30 cents per census child from permanent school funds income buy? Assume the teacher to be paid $750 and the total school cost to be $900; what percentage of the school cost would be paid from the income from such permanent funds?

   Assume a town school of 60 census children, and the same costs, and answer the same questions.
4. What do you think of the argument, often advanced, that it is better to use up the permanent fund in meeting urgent needs as they arise, and let succeeding generations pay for their own schools?
5. Suppose that the State appropriates the fund to build buildings for the state university, and that the university then pays the school fund, from its appropriations, interest on the investment. Would this be a proper use of the fund? Why?
6. Suppose that the fund is reserved to loan to school districts for building purposes, the rate of interest to be fixed from time to time, notes being given by the districts to the school fund trustees. Would this be as good as buying school district bonds in the open market? Why?
7. In one Western State the income from oil royalties for oil taken from university lands is used for current maintenance, and in another State one half of a similar income is used to build permanent buildings for the

university, and the remainder is put into the permanent endowment fund. Which is the more intelligent use of the royalties? Why?

8. Show how the county unit in school administration pools the costs for education, and changes the whole character of district taxation.
9. One small village in the Middle West derives 52 per cent of all its revenue from taxation of the double-track line, sidings, and depot of the Santa Fé Railway, and 9 per cent more from the tax on telegraph and telephone lines, sleeping-car lines, and private car-lines. Show the justice or injustice of this.
10. A man has an annual income of $20,000. He lives in a residential hotel, insures his life heavily, and he and his wife and daughter spend what is left. Aside from his automobile registration he pays no direct taxes in an older-type property-tax State. Does he pay any indirect taxes? Should he pay an income tax? Give reasons.
11. What are the arguments for and against a county poll tax, the proceeds to go for the support of schools?
12. Show how, when a city takes over a privately owned waterworks, electric light and power plant, or a street railway system, and it becomes tax-exempt, this increases the tax burden on homes in the city and on farm and village property throughout the State, and makes more difficult the support of schools in the city concerned.
13. In financing the state aid for junior colleges in California, the income from the federal mineral royalties (page 57) was placed in the current expense column. Was this, theoretically at least, the proper use to make of this fund?
14. Why is the usual plan of lumping all funds and all maintenance costs, and paying for everything from one common fund, not the most desirable method?
15. Is provision 5, on page 442, a good provision? Why?
16. If it seems desirable to separate the funds and costs for secondary from elementary education, from which fund should junior high school costs be paid?
17. Would it be desirable, following provision 3, on page 441, to add a further clause that, by a two-thirds majority, still higher rates may be levied and in any amount the people may approve? Why?
18. Why is the maintenance generally of a uniformly good standard in public education much more important in a democracy than in a monarchical form of government?
19. Analyze the extract from the Finance Inquiry *Report*, given on page 440, and outline what it shows.
20. Show why interest and sinking funds on bonded indebtedness should not have to be paid for out of annual maintenance funds.
21. The Constitution of 1876 of Texas gave the university 2,000,000 acres of state land as an endowment. Recently oil was found under the land, in one pool estimated to contain 65,000,000 barrels, that will take 15 to 20 years to drain. Oil is selling around $1.80 a barrel. The legislature ordered the income used for a building fund, but the Attorney-General declared the act unconstitutional and ordered the income added to the permanent endowment fund. Which was right, and why?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Look up a number of States where funds have been lost (see Swift), determine the losses and interest rate, and calculate the tax rate necessary to produce the interest required.

2. Look up the sources of additions now being used to increase permanent state school funds (Newcomer, Table V). Evaluate these as to their productiveness and usefulness, and work out a general plan for desirable state legislation for increasing the permanent state school fund.
3. Study your State, after the plan shown in Figure 67 for Indiana, and see how equal or unequal is the distribution of wealth in proportion to the number of children to be educated.
4. Look up (Newcomer, Table V) the sources of current state school funds, and classify them as to source, desirability, and purpose.
5. Look up (Newcomer, Table VI) the sources of county school funds, and classify them as above.
6. Look up (Newcomer, Table VII) the sources of local district school funds, and classify them as above.
7. List the arguments that may be advanced, pro and con, for:
   (*a*) The equalization of educational opportunities and burdens.
   (*b*) The question of the proportion of the cost for schools that should be borne by the (your) State.
   (*c*) The question of the fiscal independence of city and county-unit school boards, and what are desirable limitations.
8. Investigate the history of state aid by fixed appropriations in the different States using the plan (Newcomer, Table V), and draw charts for each State showing the relation between the yearly appropriations, the number of pupils in average daily attendance, and the increasing cost for schools.
9. Legal provisions for the preparation and use of a budget as a basis for the determination of the school levy, as required by law in some States.
10. The increase in school costs, and the relation of these to the increasing costs for government and the increasing wealth of the people.

PROBLEMS

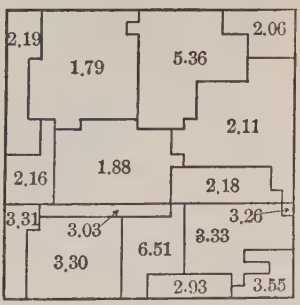
1. Indiana, in the Constitution of 1851, tried to gather up all the township 16th-section funds and consolidate them with the state fund, for general state use, but was prevented from doing so by the courts (State of Indiana *vs.* Springfield Township, Franklin County; 7 *Indiana*, 636). The State then tried to equalize the unequal incomes by providing that, in the apportionment of the county school funds, the county auditor should first apportion so as to equalize the unequal value of the township funds, and then distribute the remainder equally, using a school census basis.

98 $1.04	129 .16¢	215 0
26 $2.00	76 .04¢	122 .42¢
106 .10¢	692 .04½¢	63 .20¢
29 .46¢	71 0	38 .02½¢

Assume a county with school census, and per-capita-on-census 16th-section funds in the townships, as shown in Figure j, a total county fund for distribution of $6827.50, and a total county school census of 1665 children of legal school age. Work out the resulting apportionment. (The upper figure is the number of school census children; the lower figure is the present value per child of the 16th-section fund income, for each township.)

2. Look up the assessed valuation, average daily attendance, and district tax rates for schools in the districts of some county you know, or that is available in report form, and chart the results, after the form of Figure 61, and also calculate and add the rate for a common county tax which would produce the combined amounts.
3. Find and locate on a map the home factory of say twenty-five leading makes of automobiles. Remembering that the makers of automobile accessories tend to locate near the center of automobile production, show the significance of automotive development on the growth of taxation inequalities in the United States.
4. Draw a chart, after the plan of Figure 70, showing the sources and methods used for financing education in your State, or for the State of Osceola.
5. A city school district had 3147 pupils in average daily attendance, 922 of whom were in the high school. The cost for instruction was $85.30 per pupil in average daily attendance in elementary schools, and $139.40 in high schools. Building maintenance is estimated at $50,000 a year additional. The state apportionment was $21.50 per pupil, and the county funds $28.75 per pupil last year, and can be estimated as the same for next year. All other funds must be derived from a district tax. Draw up a budget of income and outgo, and determine the district tax rate per $100, neglecting delinquent taxes, on a district assessed valuation of $16,000,000.
6. Given a State with a population of 2,000,000, and an assessed valuation of $5,000,000,000. Population and per-capita wealth slowly increasing. State appropriations $1,000,000 a year for public schools, and the income from permanent school funds equal to 21 cents in addition for each of the 450,000 children in average daily attendance, 10 per cent of these being in the high school. No county tax for education is levied, the balance needed being raised by district taxation. High schools poorly developed, outside of the cities. District system of organization and administration. State university, state agricultural college, and two normal schools supported by state tax of one mill, divided in proportions of two fifths, two fifths, and one fifth for the two normal schools. All taxes derived from real and personal property taxes, and certain license fees.

   Assuming a change in taxation plan which will produce from corporation taxes a sum equal to that now raised from the property taxes, and a reduction in real and personal property taxes that will cut these in half. Assume also the addition of a county tax for schools. Draw up a plan for grants and taxes for education that will provide adequately for the financing and development of the school system, and at the same time be within the possibilities of the people without being burdensome.



7. In 1925, one township in Sangamon County, Illinois (T. 13 N., R. 6 W.), had 16 school districts, each levying the tax rate for common schools per $100 of assessed valuation, as shown in Figure k. Assume that each district maintained a one-room school, that each raised $1000 for support by a district tax, that there

were no delinquent taxes, and that the total enrollment for the 16 schools was 192.

(*a*) Calculate the rate necessary to raise the same amount of money by one common township tax, by calculating, for the districts,

$$\left(\text{As. Val.} = \frac{\$1000}{\text{Rate}}\right)$$

and adding the assessed valuation of the 16 districts.

(*b*) Calculate cost for a consolidated school, with 6 teachers and 8 busses, a bus costing 75 per cent of a teacher.

SELECTED REFERENCES

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CHAPTER XVII

APPORTIONMENT AND SUBSIDIES

The problem. The first important step in the provision of educational advantages for the children of a State has been taken when the people of that State come to recognize a broad and general responsibility for the education of all the children of the State, rather than for portions of them here and there. This recognition of responsibility is evidenced by the establishment of large-area taxing units and a wide pooling of maintenance costs. These mark attempts to equalize, in some important degree, the burdens of support for what is conceived to be for the common good of all. This step has now been taken, in theory at least, by nearly all of our States, though in most of them the step has not been a very long or a very complete one.

To provide a sound system of taxation for the support of schools is, however, but one half of the problem. The second important step, and one which but few of our States have as yet taken, lies in the enactment of laws which provide for the distribution of the proceeds of taxation in such a manner as will best attain the ends for which a state system of public instruction has been created. The funds having been raised for a specific purpose, an equitable distribution is not, as is so often thought, an even and an impartial distribution; rather, an equitable distribution is one which takes into consideration costs, needs, inequalities, and local efforts. About a third of our States by now made some real advances along this line, and about one fifth have worked out a fairly satisfactory plan for the apportionment of their state and county funds. A few States have evolved a really good plan.

We have so far dealt only with the first part of the problem of the financing of a state school system, namely, the inequalities in ability, which everywhere exist, to maintain good schools, and the various taxing procedures which our States have adopted in an attempt to relieve the local burdens of support by a broad pooling of effort. Permanent endowment funds and the income from general taxation provided, the problem next before the State is

how to distribute the income so as best to accomplish the purposes for which the funds and taxation were provided. This will be the problem of this chapter.

Just as there has been a certain general evolution in the theory of taxation for public education, as the people of our States have come to have broader conceptions as to the need for and purpose of a state system of public instruction, so, similarly, there has been a certain general evolution in plans for the distribution of the income from permanent funds and the proceeds of general taxation for schools. Naturally, all States have not passed through the same stages in the evolution of their taxation and distribution systems, nor will the ultimate goal of all be the same. The peculiar educational needs, economic resources, political institutions, and administrative units and governmental forms used by the people of our States have all served to modify development and the plan of distribution as worked out. Notwithstanding certain fundamental differences, however, certain general principles hold good with reference to the proper distribution of funds for the support of education. Certain bases are better than others because they take into consideration factors which other bases neglect, because they tend better to equalize both the burdens and the advantages of education, or because they place better premiums on the maintenance locally of schools of a high order.

The earlier forms of distribution used naturally were those based on the idea of approximate equality in benefits, and a majority of our States are still at this stage. The logical conclusion of the theory upon which general taxation for education is based, however, requires a recognition of existing taxing inequalities and an attempt, in the apportionment of school funds, to even up, to some important degree, the inequalities in ability to maintain schools which are the results of Nature and modern industrial development.

In this chapter we shall first examine the various single bases for the apportionment of school funds now in use, or which may be used, with a view to the establishment of standards which should control in the distribution of the income from all forms of general aid for education. We shall then apply these standards in the consideration of combination plans of apportionment, as well as various other types of plans which seek to recognize even more directly both the needs of a community and the efforts which it makes to help itself.

I. SINGLE APPORTIONMENT BASES

Early and primitive bases of apportionment. In the early educational history of the New England towns, as well as in many of our States, we find evidence of an experimental or trial-and-error period in the matter of the apportionment of the proceeds derived from general taxation for schools, be the fund to be distributed a town, township, county, or a state fund. For example, according to Martin,[1] more than thirty different methods of apportioning the town school fund to the parishes or districts were tried by the early Massachusetts towns, and since 1834 the state apportionment law has been revised fourteen times. In some towns, during the colonial period, the yearly revenue for the support of schools was distributed according to the number of houses; in other towns according to the number of families; in others according to the number of able-bodied males over twenty-one years of age; in others the money was divided evenly between the districts; in others each district received back what it actually paid; in others the money was divided on the basis of the assessment list; in others the number of children in the districts formed the basis used; in still other towns a combination of two or more of the above plans was used; and in some towns, in making the main division, a small portion was reserved to be used by the selectmen or the school committee as a fund for aiding the poorer districts. Houses, families, and able-bodied males are bases which have entirely disappeared, and the majority of the others mentioned are almost gone. Distribution according to the number of children, and a reserve fund for poor districts are almost the only ones to-day in any general use, though one still finds assessed-wealth and taxes-paid in limited use in a few of the States.

Taxes-where-paid and valuation bases. In the evolution of a rational system for apportioning funds for the maintenance of education in a State, a distribution based on taxes-where-paid, whatever may be deemed its special usefulness where employed, represents one of the lowest and poorest of bases. In so far as it is used at all, it represents, not a pooling of effort to maintain a common undertaking, but only a system of compulsory local taxation.[2] The use of this base represents a survival from the

[1] Martin, Geo. H. *Evolution of the Massachusetts School System*, pp. 97–98.

[2] For example, Tennessee levies a state tax for schools and distributes it to the counties in proportion to the amount paid by each; in effect it is not a state tax at all, but a compulsory county tax. New Jersey also distributes 90 per cent of the state school tax on this basis. Similarly, Minnesota returns a county tax to the districts paying it, making it only in reality a compulsory district tax.

period when the idea of general taxation was new, and when the people of a town or county or State had not yet accepted literally the constitutional principle that "the maintenance and support of an efficient system of free public schools throughout the State shall be a required duty of the legislature." The demand for such an apportionment was perhaps natural, too, in the days when the idea of a state system of public instruction supported by general taxation was more in the minds of a few leaders than in those of the masses of the people. However that may be, there is little excuse for its use to-day even as a partial basis for the distribution of the proceeds of general taxation. Educationally it has no significance, as it tends in no way to pool costs, to equalize burdens or advantages, or to stimulate to educational activity.

Another primitive apportionment base, closely akin to the one just considered, is that in which the assessed valuation of real and personal property is used, instead of taxes-where-paid. This is only slightly better, in that the money to educate children is apportioned whether their parents have been able to pay their taxes or not. Were per-capita wealth everywhere the same, as we have seen that it is not, the method, while slightly fairer than the other, would still be educationally objectionable because it places no premium on any educational effort. Only when we try in some degree to equalize effort and need by considering school demands, valuations, and tax rates, as we shall point out later on, does property valuation have any educational significance as a basis for apportioning funds for educational purposes. From this point of view it is as undesirable a base for the apportionment of school funds as is taxes-where-paid. Neither base contains any educational element, or offers any educational incentive.

Total population as a base. Another base once used was that of total population. The use of this plan marked a first step toward a distribution bearing some relation to the number of children to be educated, and was a decided advance over a tax-where-paid or an assessed-valuation basis. Its use was in the nature of a transition measure. It represented a first rough method of determining approximately the number of children for whom education must be provided, and thus the number for whom funds should be apportioned. Its defects lie in the fact that a total-population census is taken but once in a decade; that the total-population to-day bears but little relation to the

number of children to be educated, even in the rural districts, and no relation to the number of teachers who must be employed;[1] and also in the fact that it places no premium on any form of local educational effort which the community may make. Though once used by a number of the older States,[2] it has now been generally abandoned, and the future is not likely to see any further use of this basis, except possibly as one for national grants[3] to the States.

The school-census basis. The next advance came with the adoption of the school-census as a basis for the apportionment of school funds. When this basis was first employed it was hailed as a great discovery and improvement. A census of the children of school age, taken in the beginning largely to secure educational information, was now made to serve as an easy and an apparently equitable basis for the apportionment of the funds for schools. Taxes collected in proportion to wealth were now to be distributed in proportion to the number of children to be educated, and the wealth of the State was thus to be made to educate the children of the State. The theory was that the number of school children in a district measured well the need for education in that district. That the cost for education in any district is to be measured more by the number of teachers who need to be employed than by the number of children of school age living there was not at first realized.

This step forward came at about the time public education was getting under way in the older States and while the newer States to the westward were being settled. So important did this new plan for the apportionment of the income from permanent funds and the proceeds of general taxation appear, and so fearful were the people that some subsequent legislature might revert to an

[1] For example, the percentage of children of school age (6–18) will vary from 12 to 13 per cent on the one hand to 18 to 20 per cent on the other, in different cities and counties, and the number of teachers per 1000 inhabitants who must be employed will vary from 5 or 6 in cities to 10 to 15 or more in rural districts. See a valuable study of this subject for the State of Indiana, by H. F. Clark, *The Effect of Population upon Ability to Support Education.* Bulletin, School of Education, Indiana University, vol. 2, no. 1. (Sept. 1925.)

[2] Delaware, New York, and Vermont were the last States to use it. In Delaware, the Federal Census of 1840 was used from the enactment of the law in the decade of the forties up to the revision of 1901. Massachusetts gave up total population as a basis in 1841, passing first to school census, and later to a combination of bases.

[3] The Smith-Hughes grants and the grants of the proposed Education Bill provide for the use of population figures as a basis for their appropriations, as the easiest possible method of dividing the funds, but once the money reaches the State a different method is followed in its distribution.

earlier and less useful basis of apportionment, that a section, fixing the school census as the basis for apportionment, was soon inserted in the constitutions of more than half of the States. Now that the weakness of the school-census basis has been revealed, and much better plans have been devised, these constitutional inhibitions to-day stand seriously in the way of any adequate financing of the schools in a number of our States. Though marking a great advance toward an equalization of burdens over taxes-where-paid or assessed-valuation as bases, the school-census basis is gravely defective in a number of particulars; in practice it only slightly evens up inequalities, and often leaves them greater than before, while it offers no incentive to any community to make any effort for itself beyond getting every possible child on the census rolls.

How the census basis works in practice. The most common idea as to the effect of the distribution of "census money" is that it not only reduces the tax rate, but that it also tends to equalize the burdens of communities. That it reduces the local tax rate is of course true, as any form of general aid would do, but that it often leaves the inequalities greater than before is not so commonly understood. This may be illustrated by taking the first eight counties, in alphabetical order, and the largest city in one of our States using the census basis for the apportionment of the state school funds. Using county averages only, applying the state grants, and assuming an average annual cost of $900 for each teacher employed, the results are as follows:

County	Total State Apportionment at $3.65 per Census Child	Average Amount per Teacher Employed	Average Tax Necessary to Raise Balance of $900 (mills)	Average Rate of Reduction of Tax by State Apportionment (per cent)
First	$12,168.08	$92.88	14.0	10.4
Second	26,618.98	192.88	4.3	21.4
Third	38,920.08	169.22	8.5	18.8
Fourth	16,911.16	169.10	3.0	18.8
Fifth	65,376.40	353.38	0.9	39.2
Sixth	23,120.76	175.16	4.75	19.4
Seventh	13,039.82	120.74	19.5	13.4
Eighth	24,188.32	268.76	2.1	29.8
Largest city	439,360.60	436.58	0.5	48.5

The last column shows the result of the use of the census basis for this group of counties. While the tax rate for all has of course been reduced, the rate of reduction has been greatest in those

counties where the rate was least to begin with, and the inequalities arising after the application of the state aid are greater than before. Had district tax rates been given, instead of county averages, the extremes would have been greater than are shown above. Similar results could be shown for any group of counties in any State using the school-census basis.

Another way of ascertaining the effect of a census-basis apportionment of any size — say $3 per census child — is to find what this $3 is actually worth in different counties and cities. Taking average figures for another State using the census basis, we get the following results:

	Percentage of Census		Value of the $3 Census Apportionment on	
	Enrolled	In average daily attendance	Enrollment	Average daily attendance
State as a whole	70	46	$4.28	$6.52
City schools	56	42	5.36	7.17
Town schools	69	45	4.36	6.66
Rural schools	75	50	4.50	6.00
Largest city	48	35	6.24	8.59
Next city	46	34	6.52	8.82
Next city	29	23	10.34	13.04
First county	80	48	3.75	6.24
Second county	86	48	3.47	6.24
Third county	95	51	3.16	5.89
Fourth county	78	56	3.85	5.36
Fifth county	77	61	3.90	4.92
Sixth county	93	58	3.23	5.17

The inequalities in actual value of the grant, as shown by the last two columns, are very large. On average daily attendance they run from $5.17 as an average for one county, to $13.04 in the city having the smallest percentage of children in school. The value of the grants is inversely proportional to the percentage of children of school age brought into the school, and the city that does the least receives, in consequence, the largest reward. The low record of the third city may be due to the presence of a large parochial school element in the city, to a poor school system that has led to a large development of private and church schools, to a very lax enforcement of the compulsory education laws, or to a "padding" of the census lists to obtain larger state aid. (See *Source Book*, pp. 476–81, for a similar situation in Ohio.)

The result of the census apportionment, with schools of different

size, may be seen if we calculate what a state-wide aid-grant of $3 per census child would be worth for each size of school. Assuming an average state enrollment of 65 per cent of the school census, and an average daily attendance of 80 per cent of enrollment, we get the following results:

School Census	Enrollment at 65 per cent Census	Average Daily Attendance at 80 per cent Enrollment	State-Aid Grant on Census	Per cent of $900 School Cost Paid by State
11	7	5.6	$33	3.7
16	10.4	8.1	48	5.3
23	15	12	69	7.7
31	20.2	16.2	93	10.3
39	25.3	20.2	117	13.0
46	30	24	138	15.3
62	40.3	32.2	186	20.7
77	50	40	231	25.7

The results shown are the usual results. When we remember that each school must have a minimum amount of money to pay the salary of the teacher and the incidental expenses of instruction, that there is little difference in cost for any one of the above-sized schools, and that the larger schools usually have more adults and more property to tax for their support, we see what inequalities the use of the school-census entails.

Other objections to the census basis. The school-census basis, besides entirely disregarding tax rates and the wealth behind each teacher who must be employed, also places a premium against any efforts which a community may make for itself looking toward a better school. Instead of offering an incentive to communities to provide full school facilities, to ensure a longer term, to develop a type of schools to be preferred to private or parochial schools, to enforce the compulsory-attendance and child-labor laws so that the daily attendance may be kept high, to relieve crowded rooms by employing additional teachers, and to expand the scope of the school system and add new features to the instruction, the school-census basis places a premium on exactly opposite procedure for all short-sighted and economically inclined communities. (See *Source Book*, pp. 471–76, for good illustration from Michigan.) The smaller the percentage of census children enrolled in the public schools the greater the value of the state grant, and the smaller the number of classrooms that need to be built or teachers who must be employed. This means a lower tax rate or a longer term on the same money, and a five-months'

or a six-months' term counts for as much as an eight-months' or a nine-months' term in earning the state grant. In other words, the use of the school-census basis in the apportionment of school funds offers no stimulus to any community to make any educational effort beyond the bare minimum standards required by law of all.

The single premium it offers is that of getting every possible name on the census lists, and in many places this has led to "padding" to obtain larger aid-grants. This "padding the census" is not easy for the state authorities to discover. Most of our States have experienced difficulty in this regard at some time in their history, and New Jersey was finally led to abandon the census basis entirely (1901) because of evident and repeated inaccuracies[1] in the school-census lists. On the other hand, if the enumerator fails to list all the children, as not infrequently happens, districts receive less than their due. Where private and parochial schools exist the school-census basis pays communities for children who do not attend the public schools, and for whom the community makes no provision whatever. As private and parochial schools are in evidence almost entirely in the cities, this tends to emphasize still further the advantages of the cities in the matter of school maintenance.

A general accompaniment of the use of the school-census basis has been a wide extension of the legal-school-age limits.[2] It is quite common also to include all married persons in the school census, if within the upper age limit. This extension has been made largely with the idea of enabling districts to draw as many pupil-quotas as possible, though a little reflection would show that the total amount drawn would be the same under any age limits used. The prime purpose of this extension of age limits has been to aid the small rural districts at the expense of the cities. One result of the extension has been to offer no incentive

[1] For a good discussion of this question as illustrated by New Jersey, as well as the difficulties experienced there, see the *New Jersey State School Reports*, from 1896 to 1901. One year, postcards to reported heads of families in selected cities were used, and a wheelbarrow load came back, stamped by the postal authorities — "No such person at the address given."

[2] In the 47 States that give a legal definition of school age, we find the following distribution of age limits:

4–16, 1 State	5–15, 2 States	6–16, 1 State	7–21, 1 State
4–20, 2 States	5–16, 1 "	6–18, 4 States	8–17, 1 "
4–21, 1 "	5–17, 1 "	6–20, 3 "	
	5–18, 2 "	6–21, 15 "	
	5–20, 3 "		
	5–21, 9 "		

to any community to develop kindergartens on the one hand or high schools on the other, or to add any special forms of instruction or special teachers. Only the minimum curriculum required by law need be provided; the same number of children is paid for, regardless of what the community does.

As a method for use in the apportionment of school funds the school-census basis is unsatisfactory and unjust. It fails to accomplish, in any real degree, that equalization of burdens and advantages for which a general pooling of costs is made. It has no educational significance, in that it places no premium on any worthy effort. In consequence, its general abandonment as a basis for the distribution of school funds, state or county, is much to be desired. In many cases state constitutions will have to be amended; in other cases only school laws will have to be revised. Until this can be done, or the county unit in taxation is made to replace dependence on district taxation, or some new form of aid is provided that neutralizes the bad results under census apportionment, there is little chance of easing the burdens of many small and poor communities or of making any real headway in the direction of equalizing the advantages of education to all. The school census itself we need to retain, but its uses are other than that of a basis for the apportionment of school funds.

The enrollment basis. In an attempt to remedy the defects of the school-census basis, and to place some premium on effort of educational significance, a number of different plans have been tried by various States. The first advance, in the order of importance, has been the use of actual enrollment in the school as the apportionment basis. This plan has for long been in use in Minnesota, for both the state and the county apportionment. It was introduced there in place of the school-census basis, in 1875, after a state-wide campaign. This plan does away with all "padding" of the census returns, all unequal actual values of the census apportionment, and all paying for children not in public schools. Instead, it pays only for those who enroll in the public schools, and thus offers a premium on the provision of school facilities that will attract enrollment.

School enrollment is, however, open to certain serious objections as a basis for the apportionment of school funds. It is necessary, first, to define enrollment, and any term fixed by law is likely to be unsatisfactory because it is too short. If mere

enrollment for a few days were all that was needed to secure state money on the pupils, not only could transient enrollment be counted, but the temptation to "pad" the enrollment would be almost irresistible. Minnesota has placed the term at forty days, for any pupil between five and twenty-one years of age, and finds that on this basis about fifteen per cent fail to qualify. In the case of transferred pupils, duplicate enrollments would have to be counted, or districts would object to receiving such pupils. As a means of helping the small school, enrollment is but little better than school census as the basis for apportionment, as the table given on page 457 will show. There is only so much money to apportion, and a district neither gains nor loses by using enrollment instead of census — unless the district rises above or falls below the state average. The method does have the advantage, however, of placing a premium on the efforts which communities make to get pupils into the schools, and to keep them there for a certain time. This is its chief merit. The plan offers no incentive, though, for keeping the pupils beyond the minimum required period, and the shorter the time required the more defective the method becomes.

As a basis for the apportionment of school funds, enrollment, for any short period, must be regarded merely as a transition step, and not a necessary one, at that. The reasoning of those who conceived of enrollment as a basis stopped too soon; it should have gone on to consideration of full-term enrollment, which then would be the average membership or the average daily attendance for the school year. Theoretically, average membership (average-number-belonging) would come next,[1] but this basis is so much less satisfactory than average daily attendance that it is nowhere now used, so we shall pass at once to the consideration of attendance.

The average daily attendance basis. Under this basis of apportionment the State pays communities only for the average number of pupils who are actually taught throughout the year. The important consideration now becomes the number of pupils in the schoolrooms each day, and no grants are made for those who ought to be there but are not. The premium is now placed not only on the provision of educational conditions that will attract a large enrollment in the public schools, but on a complete

[1] Massachusetts once used average membership as one item of a series. (See page 452.)

enforcement of the compulsory-attendance and child-labor laws as well to keep this enrollment from falling off. For the first time we have a basis that places emphasis on educational activity throughout the entire school year.

Average daily attendance is found by counting up the total number of days of attendance for the school week, month, or year, and dividing this by the number of days of school during the period. To illustrate, let us take two schools, A and B, for one month, and assume an average membership of 42 for each school, and a daily attendance as follows:

SCHOOL A

FIRST WEEK	SECOND WEEK	THIRD WEEK	FOURTH WEEK
41	36	39	40
42	33	40	40
42	31½	41	40½
41	37	42	38½
40	38½	41	37

SCHOOL B

FIRST WEEK	SECOND WEEK	THIRD WEEK	FOURTH WEEK
40	34½	35½	39
40	32	38	38½
38½	30	40	38
38	31½	41	38
37	32	40	38½

Adding and averaging the above, we get the following:

	SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B
Total day's attendance for month	780	740
Average daily attendance	39	37
Percentage of attendance on membership	92.8	88.1

Let us now assume a state apportionment per pupil in average daily attendance of $7.20. This is 90 cents per pupil per month for an eight-months' school year, or 4½ cents per pupil per day. We then get the following table of income for the two schools, on an average daily attendance basis of apportionment.

RECEIVED FOR THE MONTH	SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B
If all (42) had been present	$37.80	$37.80
On average daily attendance	35.10	33.30
Loss through absence during month	2.70	4.50
Loss second week (storm)	1.02	1.50
Average loss per day	.13½	.22½

A loss of 4½ cents per pupil per day does not seem large,[1] and,

[1] Let us suppose a teacher in either school is paid $100 per month for an 8-months' term, and that the other expenses for instruction run to $160. This makes a cost of $960 a year, or $5.10 a day for an 8-months' term. This equals 12 cents a day per pupil on the average number belonging, and a state grant of 4½ cents a day is 37½ per cent of the cost of the school.

if a community chooses to neglect it it may do so. The loss, however, now falls wholly on the community; under any apportionment basis previously considered it would fall on the State.

By using average daily attendance as a basis for apportioning school funds the State places an indirect premium on all those things that go to make a public school system attractive — good buildings, no overcrowded classes, well-trained and well-paid teachers, special rooms and work, kindergarten instruction, a good high school, and last, but not least, a community pride in the school system maintained. As for the small districts, these would receive the same amount from the State under a census, enrollment, or average daily attendance basis [1] — as long as a district neither rose above nor fell beneath the average of the State. The attendance basis for the first time offers a chance to every community to gain by bringing its attendance above the average for the State. This basis, however, would give as meager support to small district schools as the census basis does (see table, page 457), and, as long as these schools are retained average daily attendance alone — despite its many advantages — is not a good basis for use, except in combination with some other base or bases.

Aggregate days' attendance. There is one important educational effort which communities should be encouraged to make, upon which the average daily attendance basis not only places no premium, but actually militates against. This is the maintenance of as long a term of school as can well be used by the community. In this particular, average daily attendance has the same defect as the census and enrollment bases — under it the State pays as much for a four-months' or five-months' term as for eight or nine months, and often really more.

This may be illustrated by assuming a three-room town school, with an average membership of 100 pupils, and taking for granted that this school follows the usual small-town way of beginning slowly in the Autumn and falling off in attendance again in the Spring, and that the average daily attendance, by months, is as follows:

September	83	December	98	March	90
October	91	January	98	April	83
November	94	February	94	May	79

[1] For a detailed proof of this, see page 157 of the author's *School Funds and their Apportionment.*

AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE

For the nine-months' term	90
For the first eight months	91
For the first seven months	92½
For six months (October–March)	94
For five months (October–February)	95

Now assume a state-aid grant of $7.20 per pupil in average daily attendance during the term, and assume a monthly expense for school maintenance of $325, and we get the following self-explanatory figures:

LENGTH OF TERM	MAINTENANCE COST	STATE AID AT $7.20	PER CENT PAID BY STATE
9 months	$2925	$648.00	22
8	2600	655.20	25
7	2275	665.00	29
6	1950	675.80	35
5	1625	684.00	42

Only when state law requires a uniform eight-months' or nine-months' term for all schools is average daily attendance as a base free from this serious objection as to length of term.[1]

A method commonly used for obviating this difficulty is that of not using averages, but counting aggregate days of attendance instead. Following this plan, and counting the state grant as equal to 4½ cents per pupil per day, we get these figures for this same town school when aided on an aggregate-days'-attendance basis.

LENGTH OF TERM	AGGREGATE DAYS' ATTENDANCE	STATE AID AT 4½ CENTS	PER CENT PAID BY STATE
9 months	16,200	$729.00	24.8
8	14,620	657.90	25.3
7	12,960	583.20	25.2
6	11,300	508.50	26.1
5	9,500	427.50	26.3

It is thus seen that the aggregate-days'-attendance basis places all the premium on local initiative that the average daily attend-

[1] A state grant of $7.20 per pupil in average daily attendance is worth:

12	cents	a	day	for	a	3	months'	school
9	"	"	"	"	"	4	"	"
7⅕	"	"	"	"	"	5	"	"
6	"	"	"	"	"	6	"	"
5⅙	"	"	"	"	"	7	"	"
4½	"	"	"	"	"	8	"	"
4	"	"	"	"	"	9	"	"
3½	"	"	"	"	"	10	"	"

ance does, and in addition stresses length of term as a factor. It also pays directly in proportion to the number of days or half days of attendance secured. The aggregate-days'-attendance basis is thus the best, from an educational point of view, of any single basis we have so far considered.

Good as the basis is, however, it does not help the small school, the attendance of which will always be low, and unless some artificial counting is interposed[1] its use distinctly favors the long-term large-room city school. How its use works out in this respect may be shown by supposing an average rural school and a large city school in the same State, and further assuming that the percentage of census enrolled (57) and the percentage of enrollment in daily attendance (73) are the same for each. We then get the following results:

School	Census	Enrollment (57 per cent)	Average Daily Attendance (73 per cent)	Term
Rural	26	15—	11—	120 days
City	88	50+	36.5	200 "

Value of the State Apportionment

	Census at $3.00	Enrollment at $5.26	Average Daily Attendance at $7.20	Aggregate Days' Attendance (Av. Dy. Att. × term × 4½ cts. per pupil per day)
Rural	$78.00	$78.90	$78.00	$59.40
City	264.00	264.00	264.00	328.50

Good as aggregate days' attendance is, then, it is not a desirable single basis to use in any State where many small schools must be maintained, as it gives results that would be worse than those given by the census basis. The resulting inequalities probably would be still more evident were we to compare also the amount of taxable property behind each child to be educated in the city and the rural district.

[1] In the State of Washington, where aggregate days' attendance is used for apportioning state funds to the counties, a "constructive attendance" of 2000 days is always counted. The effect of this is to give all small schools an initial start equivalent to 12½ pupils for 8 months of school. At 20 cents per pupil per day, which is approximately the value of the present State grant there, this means an initial start of $400. Kentucky once used a minimum of 45 census children in the same way.

The teacher-employed basis. Since from 60 to 90 per cent of the current expense for public education is for the salaries of the teachers employed (average for United States, 72 per cent), and since the number of teachers needed to teach from five to forty-five children is the same, namely, one teacher, a few States have used the teacher, wholly or in part, as the basis for the apportionment of school funds. The records of actual employment may be taken (Oregon), the number of schoolrooms may be counted (Arizona), or an artificial basis for determining the number of teachers may be used, as 70 census children (California — old plan), or 35 children in average daily attendance (California — new plan).

Under the teacher-employed basis every school, regardless of its size, would start alike with a common minimum. What each could do beyond this common minimum would depend on density of population, taxable property, and individual initiative. Such a basis would do much to relieve the high tax rates of many poor districts and counties, and would result in a better equalization of both the burdens and the advantages of education. What the rural schools would gain would of course come from the cities and the towns, though probably what these lose they would lose under any equitable apportionment of costs. In a small percentage of cases the gains and losses would be the other way. How equitably this basis of apportionment would work out in any State could only be told by careful calculation, but it could not help but be better than the much-used school-census basis.

Under the teacher-employed plan for determining quotas, a definite grant is made for every teacher and part-time teacher employed during the year. This places a premium on employing a sufficient number of teachers to teach the children in the schools properly. If a city will reduce the size of its classroom enrollment, put in extra teachers where needed, and add special teachers and special educational advantages, a definite premium is at once placed on every such action. No special legislation is needed to provide fiscal recognition of the employment of teachers for kindergartens, manual and domestic arts teachers, teachers in special-type classes or parental schools, school nurses, or similar types of extra workers. A whole or partial teacher apportionment would be granted for each, based on the records of employment. Under any apportionment basis previously considered, the addition of these teachers must be paid for entirely by the

community employing them; while permitting their employment, the state grants no aid when they are employed. A state premium should be placed on the addition of these special educational advantages, but few States have as yet given fiscal recognition to any but the ordinary type of teacher and school. In consequence, these extra forms of instruction are found almost alone in the cities, whereas, under a wise apportionment plan, and especially under a county-unit system of school organization, they ought to be common for village and rural children as well. The chief objection to the teacher-employed basis, in States retaining the district system, is that it tends to place a premium on the further division of districts and the perpetuation of small schools, instead of upon consolidation. Limited by a provision that a school to qualify must have from fifteen to twenty children in average daily attendance, and that schools having less will be scaled down proportionally in grants, the emphasis would then be laid on consolidation.

Artificial determination of teacher quotas. Under any artificial basis for determining teacher quotas, such as 70 census children, or 35 pupils in average daily attendance, no premium whatever is placed on the employment of teachers, or really upon anything except census and attendance. If, however, the quota were determined by dividing the total census or attendance of a county by 70 or 35, then a premium would be placed in addition on the consolidation of schools. If a county desires to make its money go further it should consolidate its schools, and thus employ fewer teachers. If, on the other hand, no school is considered for apportionment as having a census of less than 70, or attendance of less than 35, then the plan is but a little more equitable than the census or attendance bases in that the minimum unit-apportionment is larger. In the second case no premium is offered on the employment of teachers. The chief result of the use of this basis is to throw a larger proportion of funds to the rural districts and, in consequence, to make it still harder to do away with the district system. This is a serious objection to the plan.

How such a plan for determining teacher apportionments would work out in the case of a city, and its failure to place any premium on effort, may be shown by taking two small cities of the same size in the same State, and assuming different educational conditions and effort in each. We then get the following comparison:

	City A	City B
General data		
Total population	20,000	20,000
School census, 6–20	4,000	4,000
Census enrolled (per cent)	50	75
Pupils enrolled	2,000	3,000
Average daily attendance, per cent of enrollment	60	75
Pupils in average daily attendance	1,200	2,250
Days of term provided	175	191
Aggregate days' attendance	208,000	401,100
Enrollment data		
Enrollment in high school	400	560
Enrollment in junior high school	..	690
Enrollment in grades	1,600	1,560
Enrollment in kindergartens	..	210
Teachers employed per pupils enrolled		
In high school, 1 for each	20	18
In junior high school, 1 for each	..	20
In grades, 1 for each	55	45
In kindergartens, 1 for each	..	35
Teachers actually employed		
In high schools	20	31
In junior high schools	..	35
In the grades	29	35
In kindergartens	..	5
School nurses	..	2
Oral instruction of deaf	..	1
Disciplinary classes	..	2
Ungraded classes	2	4
Opportunity classes	..	2
Principals not teaching	2	3
Special supervisors	1	2
Total teachers employed	54	122
Teacher-quotas received from State		
On 70 census children basis	49	49
On 35 in average daily attendance basis	34	64
On 4000 days aggregate attendance basis	52	100
On teacher-employed basis	54	122

Merits; defects; combination use. The teacher-employed basis, then, forms a very satisfactory single basis for use in the apportionment of school funds. It is a definite item; it is just to the small country school as compared with the large city school; it pays exactly in proportion to the efforts made by communities in providing teachers for their schools; and it is automatically adjustable to changes in a school system and to the introduction of new and desirable educational undertakings. It does not, however, place any premium on regularity of attendance, length of term, enforcement of the compulsory-attendance and child-labor laws, or on efforts to build up a community pride in the

public school system maintained, and in these respects it is particularly defective. Combined with such a basis as aggregate days' attendance (such as two thirds on teachers employed, and one third on aggregate days' attendance), which lays emphasis on these efforts, it would seem to offer the best simple combination of two bases that could be devised.

2. SPECIAL AND COMBINATION BASES

The teacher × days-taught basis. Illinois has recently begun to use a combination basis that attempts to unite the good features of teacher-employed and length-of-term bases, which should be considered at this point. The state money is distributed to the districts in proportion to the aggregate days of teaching done. This places a premium on number of teachers and number of days of school; its defect lies in the fact that it puts only indirect emphasis on pupil enrollment, and no premium at all on pupil attendance.

If the number of teachers to be paid for on such a basis is determined by an artificial means, then the method would be as defective in this respect as the indirect methods of determining teacher-quotas previously considered. If, on the other hand, the records of actual employment for all teachers are taken the plan is much better. In paying for days taught it tends directly to increase the length of term. So does aggregate days' attendance, and since this places a premium on both length of term and attendance at school, it is a better plan to use in combination with the teachers-employed basis.

The school-district basis. A few Western States of rather sparse population have at times tried to use the district organization itself as a unit. This has been done partly in an attempt to overcome the defects of the census basis of apportionment by awarding some portion of the funds on the district itself, and in part as a means of giving the one-teacher district an initial start of some size. In Oregon, for example, $100 is first given to each district, regardless of size, and the remainder is apportioned on census and teachers.

A few other States have used the district as a basis, though the tendency has been to abandon it for other and better bases — except in the case of high schools and certain other more expensive types of educational organization (such as consolidated schools, or parental schools), where the unit cost is large enough

to call for separate recognition. It is obvious that the school district could not be made the sole basis of apportionment, unless all districts were one-teacher districts, without gross injustice to all larger ones; hence the method has no possibilities of practical application except in combination with other plans.

Other occasionally-used bases. A number of States have added some special or extra forms of grants to stimulate or aid certain new or extra-costly educational undertakings. Illustrations of these are extra grants for classes for the oral instruction of the deaf, classes for sub-normals, classes for speech-defect training, the school nurse, parental schools, manual training classes, and agricultural work. Vermont gives aid for thirteen specified forms of special classes and instruction, and Iowa for quite a number. Vocational education, part-time classes, evening schools, and evening-school classes in citizenship and for the foreign-born have been aided by special grants in several States. Specific grants have been made for the consolidation of schools, and as aid for transportation costs and for consolidated school buildings. Textbook and library grants are found in some States, and teacher-pension assistance in others. Supervision grants have been made by a few of the States, with a view to encouraging this feature. Standard rural schools, approved graded schools, agricultural schools, and high schools have been singled out for extra grants by a few States. In California, a special apportionment and tax for high schools and for junior colleges, distinct from that for elementary schools, has been provided.

Most of these grants for special educational efforts have been made recently, as some local interest in some special type of instruction or school has demanded fiscal recognition. Many of these new types of instruction are so valuable that some premium to stimulate their more general adoption might well be given. Under the usual state bases of apportionment this is possible only by a specific amendment of the law that will provide a special grant for each. This is the explanation of the existence in the laws of so many forms of special grants. A better plan for handling such special-aid grants lies in a reshaping of the general state apportionment law in such a manner that most of them will be included under the teacher-employed quota, and then make provision for the remainder under a special grants division of the law. No State has as yet made any full provision of this kind, but in the *School Code* for the State of Osceola, Chapter VIII, a form of

such a comprehensive state apportionment law is given. Updegraff made somewhat similar recommendations for New York State.[1] Mort, in his recent study (page 480) questions the desirability of any form of special-aid grants.

High schools and vocational education. Two of the above-mentioned forms of schools to which extra or special grants have been given deserve special mention, namely, high schools and vocational education. As was pointed out in the preceding chapter (page 434), it may in time become quite desirable for our States to finance these two forms of education separately from elementary education, partly because of the much larger per capita costs for secondary and vocational education, and partly because of the desirability of protecting elementary-school funds. A few States have already made a definite beginning in this matter. Special subsidies for high schools have long been common, while California has arrived at the ultimate conclusion in the process by creating a special tax and fund for secondary education, with a clear separation of the moneys for the two types of schools. The good results obtained there by reason of this separation argue much in its favor. Arkansas and Indiana are examples of States that have levied a specific tax for vocational education.

The common plan of giving no recognition to high schools, in the apportionment of funds, has been a natural accompaniment of the census basis and the district system. As a practical condition it may in most cases be defensible on the ground that the cities, where most of the high schools are located, have a greater per capita wealth and already receive more than their share under the census basis of apportionment. Each high school established then becomes a direct charge on the community establishing it, and such a condition tends to prevent the establishment of high schools outside of the cities and the larger towns. So long as the administrative organization and the apportionment basis in use tends to perpetuate this condition, so long will children in rural districts continue to be deprived of a square deal in the matter of high-school advantages.

The plan of providing some form of special state grant or subsidy to districts maintaining high schools marks the beginning of special state aid for secondary education. This stage has now been reached in a number of our states, the plan being most common in the States of the Upper Mississippi Valley. The usual

[1] *Rural School Survey of New York State;* volume on *Financial Support,* chap. xi.

methods are either to grant so much for each year of high-school work provided, or to make a definite grant of some amount — say $1000 — for each approved four-year high school, a smaller sum for an approved three-year high school, and a still smaller sum for each approved two-year high school. If the subsidies granted are dependent on a legislative appropriation, the sums given are likely to be scaled down at any time, because of the number of approved schools increasing faster than do the legislative appropriations. This happens frequently wherever the subsidy method is used. The subsidy method is also defective in that while it places a premium on the maintenance of a certain number of years of instruction, it puts no emphasis on the employment of a sufficient number of teachers or the offering of an adequate program of work. In reality the premium is placed rather on the opposite tendency. There is, further, no incentive to add more teachers or to broaden the instruction offered. The position of the State is thus a negative rather than a positive one.

A better plan would be the definite recognition of the high school as an administrative unit, costing more to maintain than the elementary school instruction, and the inclusion of definite grants for it and its work. If a combination of teachers-employed and average or aggregate-days' attendance is used, as was indicated (page 468) to be one of the best simple combination apportionment bases for use, this would give a definite premium on both teachers and attendance. Length of term might be added as a third factor, although this is not important with high schools, as a nine-months' term is commonly taught and a term of less than eight months is seldom found. An added grant for each approved special course of instruction offered would then recognize the large extra costs. The Osceola apportionment plan (*Code*, Chapter VIII) is an attempt to handle the problem of high-school recognition in this simple manner. The junior high school there is also recognized, and in a similar manner.

California has gone to the logical conclusion of the matter in separating elementary-school and high-school taxation and maintenance, and in providing a separate fund for each. There the elementary school funds can never be robbed to maintain the high school. Both state and county taxation for high schools is required. The proceeds are then apportioned on the basis of years of instruction offered and average daily attendance. District taxation in addition is permitted. The apportionment

basis would be improved if a third item were used, namely, teachers employed,[1] as this would place a premium on the employment of sufficient teachers and the expansion of the scope of the instruction offered. Similarly, another special fund for separately organized junior colleges has recently been created, this being apportioned on average daily attendance only. As the high schools conduct the evening schools and the part-time instruction, separate apportionments for each of these are also granted, based likewise on average daily attendance.

3. EFFORT AND NEED AS BASES

Distribution on basis of need. All the bases of apportionment so far considered have been based on pupils, teachers, term, or instruction offered, and none has considered either the cost of the instruction to the local community or its ability to bear the educational burden. The equalizations attempted have been in apportionments and not in tax rates. As the tendency generally has been to limit the tax rate for education, as for other things, it frequently happens that a school district or township, created properly under the school laws to maintain a school, is nevertheless unable to provide the type of school the State demands within the tax limits allowed by the law. This condition has called for remedial legislation, and within the past two decades a number of States have made changes in their apportionment laws with a view to giving greater aid to such poor districts.

The simplest form of this movement to equalize advantages has been to give extra state aid to those districts or townships which, after raising all the tax allowed by law, cannot provide a term and teacher as required by the State. For example, the State requires a six-months' term and a teacher of a certain standard, and permits a maximum of five mills of local tax for annual maintenance. The proceeds from this, with the state aid received, will provide a term of only four and a half or five months. The State then gives to the district, from a reserve fund, an amount sufficient to enable the district to comply with the law as to length of term. Indiana offers a good example of this type of special aid. In the poorer southern part of the State (see Figure 67, page 425) there are many townships which cannot maintain their schools without extra aid, and to enable them to

[1] See Chapter V of *Report Special Legislative Commission on Education, State of California*, 1920.

meet legal requirements there is set aside a portion of the proceeds of the state school tax as a reserve fund, this to be apportioned as special-aid grants by the State Board of Education. Colorado, similarly, makes special appropriations to counties where a five-mill tax will not provide $75 a month per teacher for a six-months'

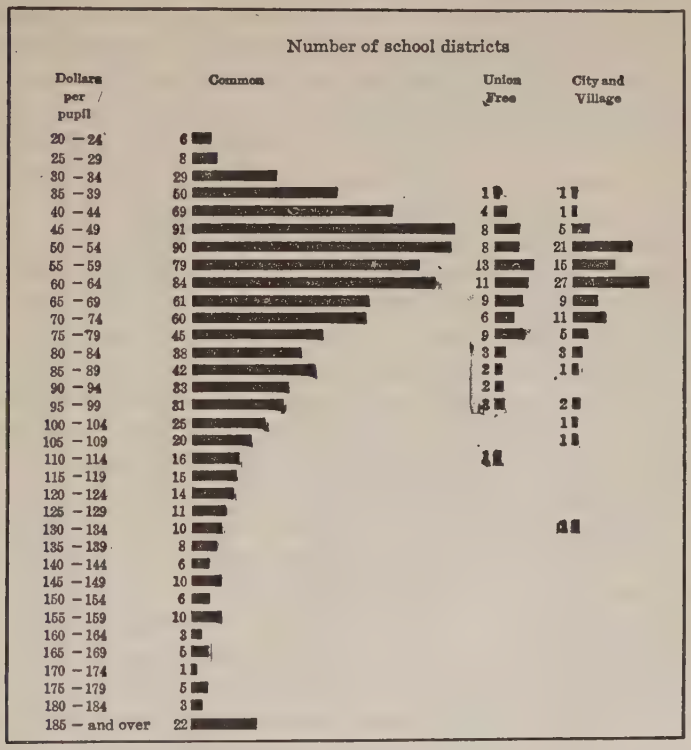

FIG. 72. EXPENSES PER PUPIL, NEW YORK STATE

(After Updegraff.) For 1006 common, 81 union-free, and 104 city and village school districts studied by the Rural School Survey of New York State.

term;[1] North Carolina makes a special appropriation to bring all districts up to a six-months' term; Kansas and Nebraska aid weak districts to maintain a seven-months' school; and Minnesota has recently (1921) agreed to pay one third of the excess cost in any school district above twenty mills, and one half of the

[1] In Colorado, since 1921, the entire public school fund may be used as an equalization fund, if needed, so that all districts levying 5 mills may have $75 per month for a six-months' term.

excess about thirty-two mills, with a minimum of $600 a year in any elementary-school district maintaining a seven-months' school and levying locally twenty mills or more of tax.[1] Maine, Maryland,[2] Michigan, Mississippi,[3] and Oklahoma[4] are other States that have recently provided "equalization funds" to aid poor districts to meet the minimum demands of the State.

Such special-aid grants represent simple justice. Having allowed small and weak school districts to be established, the State should either abolish them or see that they are properly supported. The needs of the children of the State as to education are paramount, and cannot wait until their parents become wealthy enough to give them the advantages the State may deem that children generally require. Often the State must advance standards without reference to the ability of many communities to meet them. For example, a trained teacher in every classroom and at least an eight-months' term ought to become a common minimum standard all over this Nation. The welfare of both the State and the Nation demands this much, but such a requirement could not be met to-day by many school districts in almost every State, by some counties as wholes, and probably by some whole States — outside of their few large cities. It may be that the reason lies in a general absence of taxable wealth; it may be that the property tax is no longer able to carry the load, and the tax system of the State needs reforming; it may be that the district system is the chief source of the trouble; or it may be that the apportionment laws need rewriting. The children, however, need education, and a reserve fund to help poor districts is a necessity if standards are to be maintained and advanced. The poorer the form of educational organization in use and the more faulty the main basis for apportionment, the larger the reserve fund will have to be. Combined with teachers-employed and average or aggregate attendance, a small reserve fund (five to ten per cent) will work wonders in equalizing educational advantages to the children and tax rates to their parents throughout a State.

[1] The state legislature, however, failed to make sufficient appropriations to cover the grants, and in 1923–24 the aid was scaled down to 55 per cent of the promised amount. The plan thus has the defects of the subsidy method for any form of aid, because it is dependent on legislative appropriations.

[2] See article on, by State Superintendent A. S. Cook, in *Educational Administration and Supervision*, for Feb., 1923.

[3] In Mississippi, the state fund for support of education was increased 60 per cent, in 1920, and all of the increase placed in an equalization fund.

[4] For a description of this law, see "Emergency Appropriations for Weak School Districts in Oklahoma"; in *School and Society*, vol. 21, p. 379. (March 28, 1925.)

If a simple combination apportionment basis is desired, teachers employed, attendance, and a reserve fund form one of the best that can be devised.

Distribution with reference to effort and need. In the New England States, in particular, where the state funds have always been small and it has been necessary to use them to the greatest possible advantage, much experimenting with apportionment bases that recognize local assessed valuations and tax rates has been carried on. Massachusetts, especially, has done much in this direction,[1] and New York, since 1898, has been in the process of evolving a more scientific basis for the distribution of school funds.

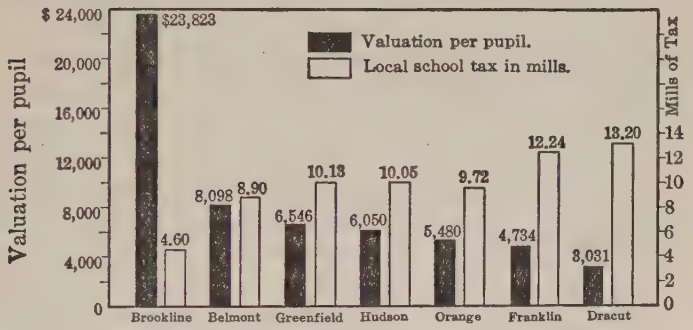

FIG. 73. INEQUALITIES IN ABILITY AND EFFORT IN SEVEN MASSACHUSETTS TOWNS
(After Swift.)

The simplest form of this type of grant is represented by the New York apportionment law, as it was before the revision of 1920. This provided the following basis for the teacher-quota grants:

For the first teacher employed by any district:	STATE AID
If valuation $20,000 and less	$200
" " $20,001 to $40,000	175
" " $40,001 to $60,000	150
" " over $60,000	125
For each additional teacher	100

In 1920 much larger state funds were provided, and the above plan was revised and extended to provide for a sliding scale of

[1] For a brief history of the main changes in the Massachusetts apportionment laws, from 1841 to 1906, see the author's *School Funds and their Apportionment*, pp. 210–12. The more recent changes are described a little further on in this chapter.

grants for one-teacher districts, beginning with a maximum grant of $722 if the assessed valuation was less than $10,000, and decreasing with added valuation to $328 at $100,000, and with a grant of $325 if over $100,000. For each additional teacher employed, $325 was granted. The cities, villages, and free-school districts were graded separately, with a higher schedule of grants.[1]

The next step in the process is to take into consideration the equalized valuation, or tax rate, or both of a district, township, or town, and to apportion state funds with some relation to one or both of these items. The New Hampshire law of 1921 is an example of a simple form of this. Under this law the state fund is apportioned to the towns on the basis of the ratio that the expense for elementary schools bears to the equalized valuation of the town.

The Massachusetts combined plan. The Massachusetts Law of 1919, enacted when aid from the income tax was added for school support to that coming from the income from the school fund, represents a most serious attempt, in apportioning state aid for schools, to consider valuation, tax rate, school membership, and the type of teacher and educational opportunity offered by the individual towns. The state had two funds to be apportioned, and for these different plans were used.

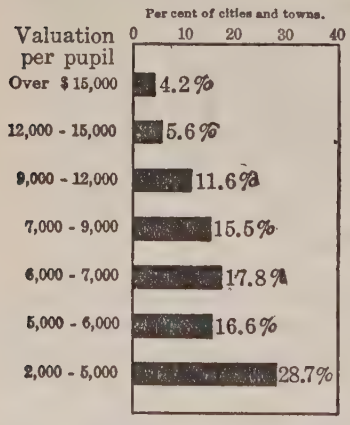

FIG. 74. INEQUALITIES IN ABILITY TO PROVIDE SCHOOL REVENUES OF MASSACHUSETTS CITIES AND TOWNS

(After Swift.)

1. School fund income. For the apportionment of the income from the permanent school fund, which is small, all towns having a valuation of over $2,500,000 were excluded from any share. This cut out over a third of the towns and cities, containing about 85 per cent of the total population of the State, from any share in the income from this fund. The income was then apportioned to the remaining small

[1] For a more detailed explanation see the *School Law*, or the volume by Updegraff on *Financial Support* in the *Report of the Rural School Survey of New York State* (1920), p. 120.

and poor towns on a combination basis, consisting of: (1) the town's total valuation, and (2) the excess of the town's expenditures for instruction and transportation over what it receives from the money derived from the state income tax, and this in turn was proportioned (3) in terms of the town's tax rate for schools above a five-mill rate. This gave the larger quotas to the towns of lower valuations, and to those which expended the most in proportion to their ability to provide.

2. *Income tax fund.* The second fund comes from the proceeds of the state income tax. This was apportioned among all the towns and cities of the State as follows:

1. To each city and town for each teacher and school officer employed:
   $200 if salary not less than $950, if a normal school graduate, and if has had two years' teaching experience.
   $150 if salary not less than $850, if has had one year professional training and three years' experience; or normal school graduate and one year's experience; or equivalents.
   $100 if salary not less than $750, and not qualifying in the above.
2. If town's valuation ÷ average membership in school = less than $4500, then add to the above grants:

$350	if quotient is less than	$2000	
300		$2000 to	2499
250		2500	2999
200		3000	3499
150		3500	3999
100		4000	4499

3. All part-time teachers to be paid for in proportion to service.

The Massachusetts plan thus combined teachers and supervisory officers employed, average membership in the schools during the year, the community's ability to pay as indicated by its assessed valuation, its effort as indicated by its local tax rate for schools, and the quality of the instruction furnished as indicated by the number and type of teachers employed. What appears to be the chief defect of this plan, examined from the point of view of a district-system State — the use of average membership instead of the teacher in determining the quotient — under a town or county-unit plan of administration is one of its chief merits. In reality it places a premium on the consolidation of schools, which in Massachusetts has been carried to great lengths.

The proposed plan for New York State. In the volume on *Financial Support*, of the *Report of the Rural School Survey of New York State* (1922), Updegraff proposed, in his Chapter X, the most

comprehensive state apportionment plan that has so far been devised. Laying down certain criteria as to state action (pp. 117–18), and fitting these to the needs of a strong district-system State, he worked out very complete automatic apportionment tables which would show at a glance what any school district would be entitled to receive from the State.

He first determined the average valuation [1] for the whole State per teacher employed ($240,000), the average yearly maintenance cost per teacher employed ($1725), and the average tax rate (7.2 mills — found by dividing total expense by total valuation). He then proposed a plan under which aid would be given to districts having an average valuation per teacher employed of $240,000 or less, and inversely proportional to the equalized valuation per teacher and directly proportional to the number of mills of local tax required to produce certain fixed sums per teacher for current maintenance. The amount of state aid to be granted was calculated from the following formula:

($240,000 – local valuation) × mills of local tax levied for school maintenance (up to and including 8) × number of teachers employed × $1.00 = state aid.

Above the average valuation per teacher employed, up to $300,000, districts would receive $8 for each mill of local tax levied (not over 8); to $400,000 districts would receive $7 per mill; and so on, decreasing 1 mill per $100,000 of increase in value until $900,000 and more is reached, where the state aid would be $1 for each mill locally levied, up to and including 8 mills. Certain small extra grants were also to be made to districts that spent more than $1350 per teacher for current expense, and which levied a local tax in excess of 5 mills to do so. The amount of state aid to be received, under any conditions, could be read off from a table (see pp. 134–35, 146–47 of his volume), in form much like the interest-calculation tables commonly used in banks.

To ensure the quality of instruction, other tables giving scheduled deductions from the above grants are needed. One table would cover deductions for teachers employed whose qualifications in training and experience were less than the state standard. Another table would cover deductions when more than determined percentages of the total budget or sums per teacher were spent for purposes other than instruction costs. Another

[1] He tried both average and median valuations, and found average to be the better one to use.

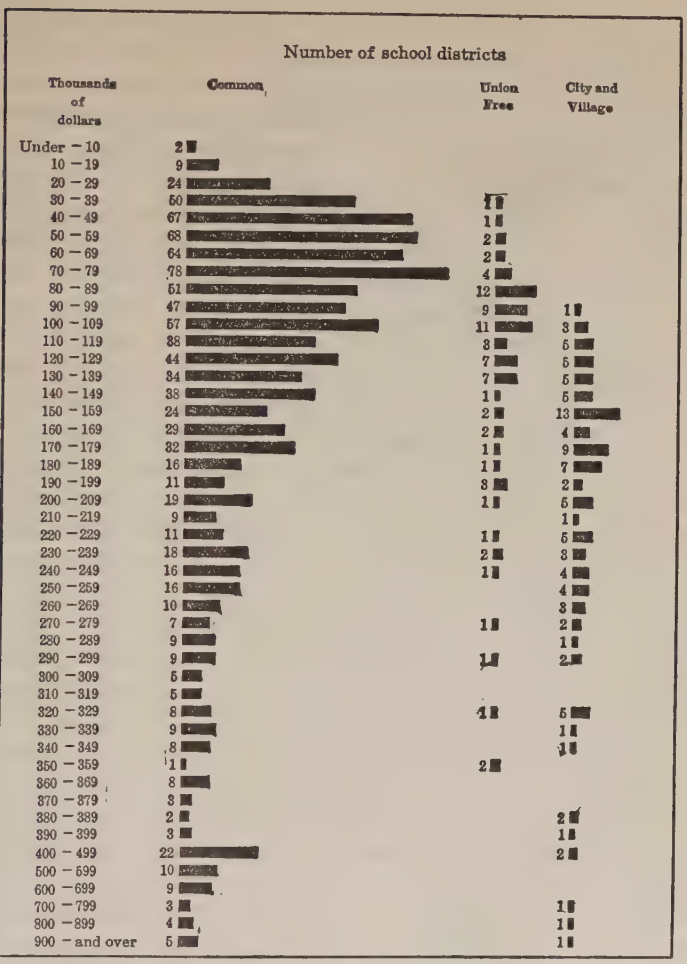

FIG. 75. EQUALIZED VALUATIONS PER TEACHER, IN NEW YORK STATE

(After Updegraff.) In 1011 common, 79 union-free, and 104 city and village school districts in the area studied by the Rural School Survey of New York State.

table would be needed for excessive accumulated balances at the end of the year. To place a premium on consolidation, a standard average daily attendance of 12 was proposed for one-room schools, and 20 for other schools, with proportional deductions for all smaller schools (example — 7/12 of table grant to a school of 7) but with special allowances for extraordinary occurrences (fire, flood, quarantine, etc.).

In addition to the above, which may be called the regular or general-aid grants, Updegraff would add certain special-aid grants (Chapter XI) to stimulate the introduction of new and desirable forms of instruction or desirable changes in organization. He enumerates the following: (1) physical education; (2) vocational instruction; (3) book and apparatus quotas; (4) high-school teachers employed; (5) school buildings and teacherages; (6) high-school tuition; (7) transportation; (8) transportation equipment; (9) abandonment of one-room schools; (10) professionally trained teachers in rural schools; and (11) supervision. The amount of the special grant for most of these items would again be scaled according to the equalized valuation of the district per teacher employed. While these are all important cost elements and educational efforts worthy of stimulation, the plan is designed primarily for a district-system State. Under a county-unit form of educational organization state subsidies for all the above, with the possible exception of the first five, would be wholly unnecessary.

Mort's study of the problem. A still more recent study of the problem of state aid, based largely on the studies of costs in New York State made by The Educational Finance Inquiry, has been made by Paul R. Mort.[1] Mort points out the conflict between use of the principle of the *equalization of educational opportunity*, which aims to equalize opportunities and burdens to a certain level and in so doing draws funds from wealthier communities to aid poorer communities, and the use of the other principle of *payment for effort* which tends to do the opposite, and contends that "the result of the emphasis of reward for effort in a state-aid system is therefore to destroy, in some degree, the effect of provisions for equalizing educational opportunity." He accordingly takes a firm stand against the latter form of state aid, and believes that the equalization of educational opportunity will in future prove to be the sole use of state funds for support of public schools. In this direction alone, he holds, "can we set ourselves on the way toward an adequate interpretation of the problem of state financing of public schools."

Mort's study, like that of Updegraff, deals with the problem as found in the State of New York, a State which does not have a satisfactory local unit for school administration. Mort first establishes (Chapter II) criteria for and determines the content of a minimum state educational program; next determines

[1] See especially his *State Support for Public Schools*. New York, 1926.

(Chapter III) the cost for such a program to be $70 per weighted pupil;[1] and then provides a plan (Chapter IV) for determining the division of the burden for support between State and locality. In working out the last part of the problem existing state-aid grants had to be dealt with; the problem then became how to distribute the additional equalization grants so as to keep the local contribution constant (a certain rate of tax per $100 of equalized assessed valuation) and the total of all funds up to $70 per weighted pupil. All expenditures beyond $70 per weighted pupil the district must pay by additional local tax. How the plan would work out in New York State, and the equalizing effect of the plan, may be seen from Fig. 76. The apportionment plan proposed by Mort is a simple one — after the minimum educational program and its cost, and the adjustments necessary to determine the weighted pupil, are once arrived at. These adjustments and standards would need to be determined for each State using the plan.

Mort's study represents a fundamental consideration of the problem of state aid for schools as applied to a strong district-system State. The plan he proposes would provide sufficient funds to furnish the children of every locality within a State with educational opportunities up to an established minimum offering, while keeping the tax burden for the minimum program the same for all. Almost immediately such a plan is proposed, though, the question of proper educational organization and administration must of necessity come in. To simplify procedures and to secure economy and efficiency in administration, such a plan inevitably calls for a large unit for educational organization and administration. Sound educational organization and provision for adequate professional leadership will inevitably be demanded, once a large-scale, state-aided, minimum-program equalization

[1] "The weighted pupil is based on the fact that the educational task faced by a community is roughly proportional to the number of pupils to be dealt with. The proportion is not exact because secondary education costs more than elementary education, and because in sparsely settled areas classes are necessarily smaller and therefore more costly than in villages and cities. To make adjustments for these higher per-pupil costs the weighted-pupil technique (Chapter VIII) has been devised. This technique gives extra weight to the actual number of pupils in those situations where the true pupil-cost of a given educational offering is high. In elementary schools so large that an increase in size does not decrease per-pupil cost, the actual number of pupils is taken as the weighted measure of educational need. In all other types of educational organizations, and in all smaller elementary schools, the number of pupils is transmuted into a number that indicates the proportional per-pupil cost in that organization. In this transmutation the per-pupil cost for an equivalent offering in the large elementary schools is used as a base." (Mort, *State Support of Public Schools*, p. 15.)

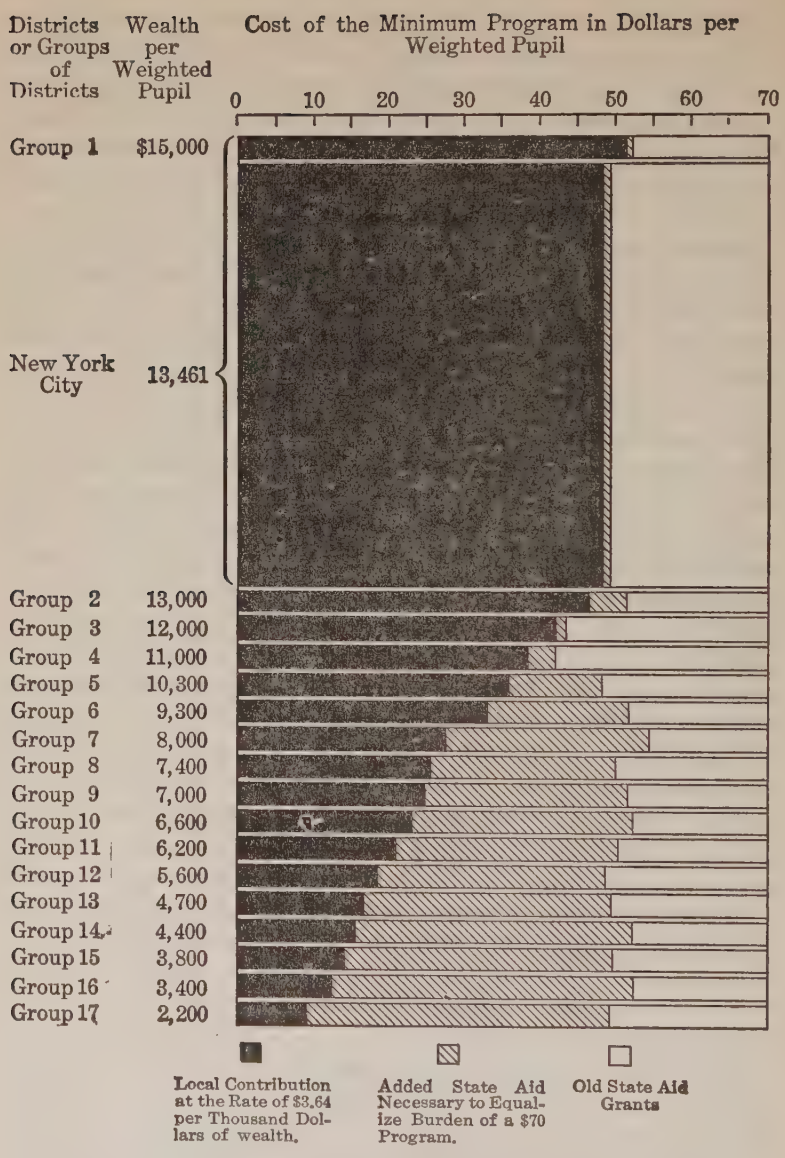

FIG. 76. HOW A STATE EQUALIZATION GRANT WOULD WORK OUT

(After Mort.) Showing the division of support between State and localities, in New York State, and based on a minimum educational program costing $70 per weighted pupil, and using existing state-aid grants to the best advantage. Heights of each group are proportional to the number of such localities in the entire State.

plan is proposed. Mort's plan, which is simple in application and sound in theory, offers, then, another reason for the abolition of the inefficient and costly district system and the institution in its stead of a well-organized county unit for school administration and taxation. In Maryland, where a somewhat similar plan has recently been adopted,[1] the plan was easy to carry out because of the well-developed county unit of school organization and administration in use there.

Fundamental principles. By way of summary, let us bring together here the important features of a good state and county school-fund apportionment plan.

In the first place, the prime purpose to be kept in mind in framing a state apportionment plan should be that of equalizing, as far as can be done with the money at hand, both the burdens of maintenance and the opportunities for education throughout a State. As this would not be completely possible, short of full state support, the State must then determine how and to what extent this may be done with the funds available. When only a partial equalization can be effected, the State should then determine, by careful study, the point above which the aid should not be given. If the amount to be apportioned is small, then all aid might well be withdrawn from the districts best able to care for themselves.

In apportioning whatever aid is given, care should be exercised to give it in such manner as to stimulate local communities to a maximum of educational effort, and to stimulate and encourage new and desirable undertakings. This is more important than reducing tax rates. If the fund for distribution is quite small, all aid for ordinary maintenance might be withdrawn and the fund used to relieve excessive burdens, secure minimum standards in teachers and term, and stimulate worth-while endeavors. The aid given, too, should be so given as to favor the consolidation of schools, the organization of larger administrative and taxing units, and to penalize the continuance of small schools.

Of all bases for the apportionment of school funds now in use the census basis is the least satisfactory, if we exclude taxes-where-paid, which in reality is only compulsory local taxation. Enrollment, while better, is almost as unsatisfactory. Only when

[1] The recent Maryland law provided for the supplementing, from state sources, of whatever amount may be needed to provide for a minimum state educational program. This is calculated from the salary budgets, after a local levy of 67 cents on the $100 of assessable property has been made, and after any state-aid grants made under earlier laws have been applied.

we reach attendance, teachers employed, or days taught do we reach bases having any important educational significance. Of all the single bases, teachers-employed is the best, but no single base will give satisfactory results. Of the simple combination bases, teachers-employed plus aggregate attendance, with a reserve fund to aid necessitous districts, is the best simple combination plan devised.

Efforts made and need for help, as evidenced by equalized valuation per teacher employed, and tax rate and what the rate produces, are other elements that should enter into any carefully graduated state apportionment plan, and the aid given should vary with the weight of these items. The point upward in the scale of valuations at which consideration of these items should stop will vary according to the relative amount of money the State has for apportionment. Aid on the basis of these items should vary inversely according to the equalized assessed valuation, and directly as the local tax rate for schools increases.

The state aid given should also be so weighted as to place a premium on sufficient teachers, adequate salaries, standard preparation, good daily attendance of pupils, long terms, and extra educational advantages. Secondary and vocational education may be given additional aid, because of their much larger unit costs. State authority should have power, working according to fixed rules and standards, to deduct for remedial local deficiencies. The apportionment plan devised should be such "that it will measure precisely the elements involved, and will respond promptly and surely to any change" in either direction.

Comparatively few States have as yet evolved a satisfactory apportionment plan. Many have very poor methods for the apportionment of funds from the State to the counties, and better plans for the apportionment from the county to the districts. These latter usually have been worked out to counteract the bad features of a required state-to-the-county procedure. While all such defective apportionment plans need careful statistical study and revision along lines that will enable the State to secure better schools, with the money at hand, after all one of the greatest advances that could be made would be the adoption of the county as the unit for taxation and administration, with any cities in the county under optional separate administration retained as a part of the county taxing unit. The needed revision of the state apportionment plan would then be much simpler, as the separate

consideration of the financial conditions in a large number of little districts within the county would be obviated. There would then be only the one county school district, and one or two or three city districts at most to deal in apportionment within each county. This reform is as desirable from the point of view of taxation and apportionment as from that of efficient school administration.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How do you account for the use of so many poor bases in early Massachusetts?
2. Would assessed wealth be a useful basis in distributing a legislative appropriation for schools? Why?
3. Show how the wide expansion of census age-limits has been made to aid the small rural school districts.
4. Show how the introduction of the county unit in taxation and administration would tend to solve many of the defects of the census basis of apportionment.
5. What are the arguments for and against using teachers-employed as a basis, over the artificial determination of teacher-quotas.
6. Show how the census basis of apportionment has been a force in building up city schools, and thus giving impetus to the movement of country people to the cities.
7. Suppose a State has different funds for aiding elementary and high schools, and that junior high schools arise in the cities and towns. How will you handle these, assuming no change in the apportionment law.
8. If extra aid is to be granted for high-school instruction, ought we not to recognize costs for junior high schools and junior colleges also? If you think so, how would you do it?
9. State the advantages to the elementary schools of separate financing for high schools.
10. Was Updegraff on solid ground in proposing that the state aid be given to those districts below the state averages? Why? Should his proposed deductions be incorporated in any good plan of state aid based on needs?
11. Show that any effort-and-need plan based on tax rates calls for an equalized assessment of property throughout the State.
12. Show the value of state quotas for supervision, both city and county, in quieting local objections to increasing costs for "overhead."

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. States using the census basis; date of adoption of the plan; and more recent efforts to overcome the defects of the basis.
2. The history of the apportionment plans used in Massachusetts, and the gradual evolution of the present plan.
3. Look up the Osceola plan of grants, and indicate how and in what ways you would modify them.
4. Present plans for extra aid to high schools, and the results therefrom.
5. Present plans for aid for vocational education, part-time education, and evening school instruction.
6. Present plans for aiding needy school districts.
7. Types of special school or teacher grants now in use. Classify these,

and show how a teachers-employed basis or a county-unit plan will eliminate the need for many of these. What ones then remain that you think desirable?

8. Look up and study the results under the new Massachusetts apportionment plan.
9. Look up and study carefully the plan proposed for New York State by Updegraff. How workable would this be in a State where it is proposed to retain the main elements of the district system? Why?
10. Look up and study the new (1922) Maryland law for raising and apportioning funds for schools, and evaluate it as a plan.
11. Look up and report on the plans used in apportioning the Smith Hughes grants to high schools in your State.

PROBLEMS

1. A State has $3,000,000 for apportionment, and a school census of 283,000 children. Assume any percentage of census as enrolled, and any percentage of enrollment in attendance, and then show that, so long as a district does not rise above or fall below the state average, the amount received will be the same whether census, enrollment, or attendance is the basis used.
2. In a city with 5000 children belonging to the school, what will be the daily and yearly loss in money for every loss of 1 per cent in attendance, when the state attendance grant is worth 4½ cents per pupil per day? What would this loss buy?
3. Take the figures as to funds, census, enrollment, attendance, and teachers for any census-plan State, and work out a plan for the same State with the same funds, but apportioning them now on a combined teachers-employed and average daily attendance basis.
4. Assume a State operating under a teacher-employed × days-taught basis, and that the state grant is $3.50 per teacher employed per day. Then work out a calculation, similar to the one on page 464, showing the comparative results of the plan for a small rural and a city school.
5. Assume a State with $2,000,000 to distribute yearly, 5000 teachers employed, a school census of 300,000, an average daily attendance of 200,000, an average school term of 150 days, and a state minimum term of six months. The money at present is distributed on school census. Work out a combination apportionment plan using teachers-employed, length of term, and average daily attendance, and compare the results for the series of schools given on page 457 with the census-basis results.
6. In the above problem, reserve a portion of the state fund for special-aid grants for desirable new educational undertakings, and plan to withdraw these grants as the undertakings become established and place them on other new efforts. List the four you would aid now, and state the amount for each. Also list two others to which you would probably in time shift your grants.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE QUESTION OF FEDERAL AID

The problem before us. As was stated in Chapter III (pages 66–67) in considering the different grants of federal aid which have been made to the States for agricultural education, education in the mechanic arts, vocational education, agricultural and home-life extension education, vocational rehabilitation, maternity and infant welfare, disease eradication, the improvement of rivers and harbors, highway construction, and many other purposes, the question of whether or not the Federal Government should grant aid to the States for public education as well has from time to time come before Congress, but has not yet received any definite answer. A Department of Education and Welfare, with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet, has been recommended by a congressional committee on the reorganization of government departments (page 67) and by the President in his annual message to Congress, and a separate Department of Education with its Secretary has been asked for by the organized educational forces of the country. Since the movement for such a Department has gained ground steadily, it will probably be successful before long. It is also likely that, after the present period of post-war economy is over, some federal aid for the promotion of education will also be granted to the States by Congress. Very probably the Department will be created first, and the aid-grants will follow as a later development. There are so many good arguments and precedents for such action, and so few valid objections against the general plan, that it is hardly to be expected that the creation of such a Department and the grant of important aid to the States will be for very long denied.

Aside from the question as to how any aid granted should be apportioned, the question is largely one of what obligation the Federal Government has to the States in the maintenance of state systems of education, and how important education is as a national undertaking. If there are no federal obligations to the States in the matter, and if education is a benefit which is local and particular and specific and easily traceable, rather than indefinite and general and social and widely diffused, then the dis-

cussion of a Federal Department of Education and of federal subsidies to the States may be classified as "pork-barrel politics" and deserves but little consideration from thoughtful people. If, on the contrary, a general and social service is rendered, the particular benefits of which transcend state lines and are difficult to trace, and if there are also certain definite obligations that the Nation can be shown to have toward the States, then the question of federal aid is quite another matter. It will be our purpose in this chapter to examine this question as a phase of the general problem of the financing of our public school systems.

Inequalities in ability to support. In Chapter XVI a few typical examples of the existing inequalities in taxing power as between districts, towns, and counties within the States were cited, and the differences in ability to support an adequate system of public education as between large areas in States was illustrated by the case of Indiana (see Figure 67, page 425). What was shown to be true for Indiana could be shown, in greater or less degree, to be true for almost any State of size in the Union. The same variations in ability to support are found between groups of States in different parts of the country. One has only to examine maps of the United States showing the location of mountain areas and river deltas, lines of rail and water communication, manufacturing areas, crop-raising areas, and the location of our chief natural resources, to see the very unequal way in which Nature has distributed the good farming land, mineral oil, coal, iron ore, copper, timber, building stones, water power, and climate, and to realize the enormous variations in population-density and per-capita wealth resulting therefrom. The effect of this unequal distribution produces inequalities in resources that no amount of time can ever equalize. As a result, the people of certain States, under the state plan of school support, have the possibility of education for their children such as the people of other States will never, unaided, be able to provide for theirs. What one State can do with ease for its children, another State cannot do at all.

Other inequalities, incurred by sparseness of population and backwardness of economic development, may in time be largely or entirely removed. One means of helping to remove inequalities of this type is the provision of enough of the right kind of education. As our better States, in devising their apportionment laws, take into consideration the ability of communities to support

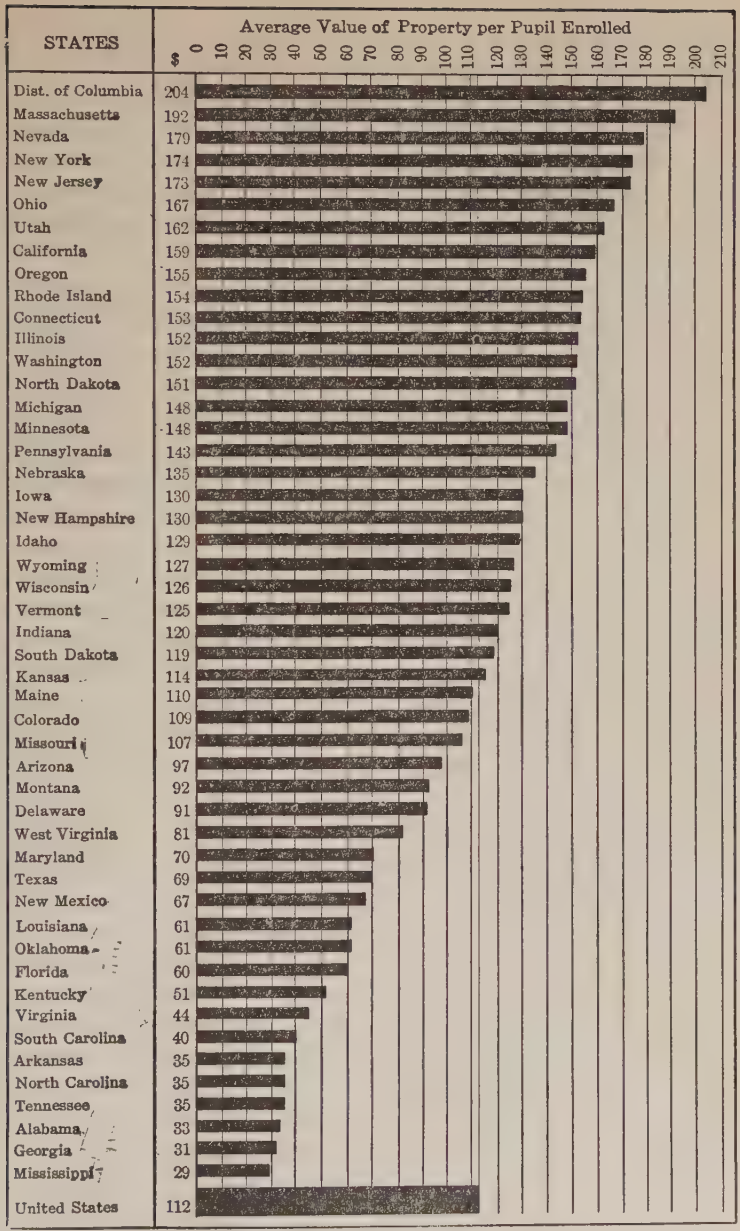

FIG. 77. PROPERTY BEHIND EACH PUPIL ENROLLED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, BY STATES

(U.S. Bureau of Education data for 1920; changes slight since.)

a school, with a view to the provision of somewhat equal educational advantages in poor or sparsely settled districts in the counties, so might the Federal Government consider such ability to maintain education in the different States. Whether our people should decide to do this, or not, is a question of public policy upon which different persons may hold quite opposite points of view. We shall here present certain facts bearing on the subject.

Inequalities due to sparseness of population. Mass education, due to density of population, like mass production in industry, enables a State to improve quality or reduce costs, or both. Sparsely-settled States are thus at a disadvantage, and in consequence education with them must either be more expensive per unit or poorer in quality. Sparsely-settled States, then, to maintain education for their children comparable with that provided for the children of more populous States, must labor under the disadvantage of relatively high unit costs.

The proposal that the Federal Government should relieve the sparsely-settled States from that portion of the cost for education which is due to their meager population has been made from time to time. The proposal may be said to be based on many existing practices in the States, as well as on some of those of the Federal Government in its relation to the States. It is, in effect, a proposal to pool in part the costs for education over the entire Nation, and is merely an extension of the same idea as to the pooling of costs over a larger area that has found expression in common town school-tax laws, county school-tax laws, and general state taxation for education. The adoption of such a plan by our people would mean that they had at last arrived at the conception that public education is a national interest as important as fishery development, the prevention of hog cholera or cattle tick, the elimination of bovine tuberculosis, increasing the yield of corn or butter fat, the improvement of rivers and harbors, or highway construction, and that, having arrived at this conception, they had agreed to pool in part the excessive costs to some of providing for what is manifestly for the common good of all.

To determine the point on the scale of population density at which sparseness ceases to be a factor materially affecting educational costs, and what decreases in educational unit-costs occur as population-densities increase, a study was made of the problem

of federal aid by one of my students.[1] A tabulation of average unit-costs in the different States shows at once that the educational standards maintained may be as much of a factor as sparseness of population. To attempt to measure the effect of either of these factors, the other must be reduced to something of a constant. Excluding from the calculation those States whose percentage of illiteracy in 1920 exceeded the average for the United States[2] as a whole[3] (six per cent) eliminated Connecticut, Rhode Island, Arizona, New Mexico, and all the so-called Southern States south of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers and the Missouri line, excepting Oklahoma — seventeen in all. Arranging the remaining thirty-one States in groups as to cost, it was found that there were no material variations in average state unit-costs for schools after a State came to have more than 24 persons per square mile, but that below that ratio the increase in unit-costs was rapid. Adding Arizona and New Mexico, two very sparsely

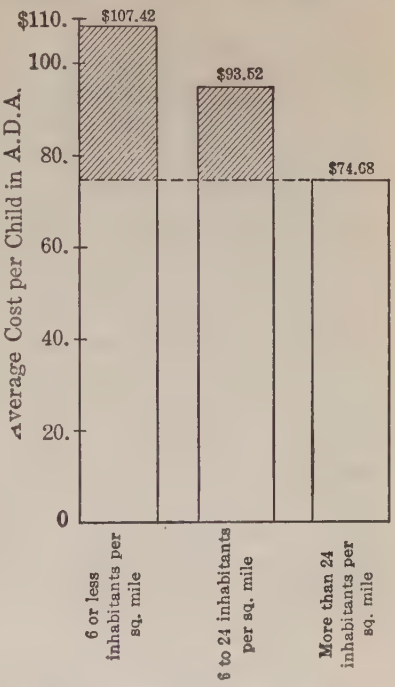

FIG. 78. AVERAGE COST PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, BY STATES

Grouped according to population per square mile, 1920.

[1] One of my students, Mr. Elmer H. Staffelbach, made a careful study of the whole problem of federal aid for education, and submitted his results as a thesis for the Ph.D degree in Education. He has been kind enough to allow me to follow his reasoning, quote from his tables, and reproduce three of his drawings. I am indebted to him for the organization of most of the facts upon which the reasoning of this chapter is based.

[2] The year 1920 was chosen for the study because this was the year of the last Federal Census and, at the time of the study, the last year for which the United States Bureau of Education had published comparable educational statistics for all the States. It is probable that statistics for 1925, or even 1930, will not show any material variations from the general results given here, and probably little relative change.

[3] This method of selection also excluded the States where educational costs are low and illiteracy high. This was necessary to secure any accurate picture of the effect of sparsity of population on school costs.

settled Western States, did not alter the findings, and the results, grouped into three divisions, were as shown in Figure 78. From the figures obtained it seemed safe to assume that above 24 persons per square mile the unit-costs for education are not materially affected by differences in density of population; that between 6 and 24 persons per square mile unit-costs tend to mount with increasing sparseness; and that under 6 per square mile unit-costs tend to be extremely high.

Determining extra costs due to this item. In order to obtain some rough estimate as to what sparseness of population actually adds to school unit-costs in the United States, the seventeen States having less than 24 persons per square mile were taken for another calculation. This arrangement now included Arizona and New Mexico in the less than 6-per-square-mile group, and Texas and Florida in the 6-to-24 group. Taking the average-per-pupil cost of $74.68 of the fourteen States having more than 24 persons per square mile (Figure 78) as a basis, and calculating the excess costs per pupil in average daily attendance in the schools of the seventeen States having as yet a population of less than 24 persons per square mile, we get the following table and estimate as to the excess costs for education due to sparseness of population.

States	Popl. per Sq. M.	Cost per Pupil in A.D.A., in Excess of $74.68	Total Estimated Increase in Cost Due to Sparseness of Population
Arizona	2.9	$32.74	$1,519,790
California	22.0	19.18	9,222,971
Colorado	9.1	19.18	2,878,726
Florida	17.7	19.18	3,178,509
Idaho	5.2	32.74	2,771,179
Kansas	21.6	19.18	5,936,305
Montana	3.8	32.74	3,003,698
Nebraska	16.9	19.18	6,377,637
Nevada	0.7	32.74	347,862
New Mexico	2.9	32.74	1,946,131
North Dakota	9.2	19.18	2,463,402
Oregon	8.2	19.18	2,619,598
South Dakota	8.3	19.18	1,897,036
Texas	17.8	19.18	14,301,893
Utah	5.5	32.74	3,200,171
Washington	20.3	19.18	4,051,564
Wyoming	2.0	32.74	1,089,554
Total cost			$66,806,026

This is at best but a rough estimate, since part of the excess cost is undoubtedly due to the provision of better schools by many

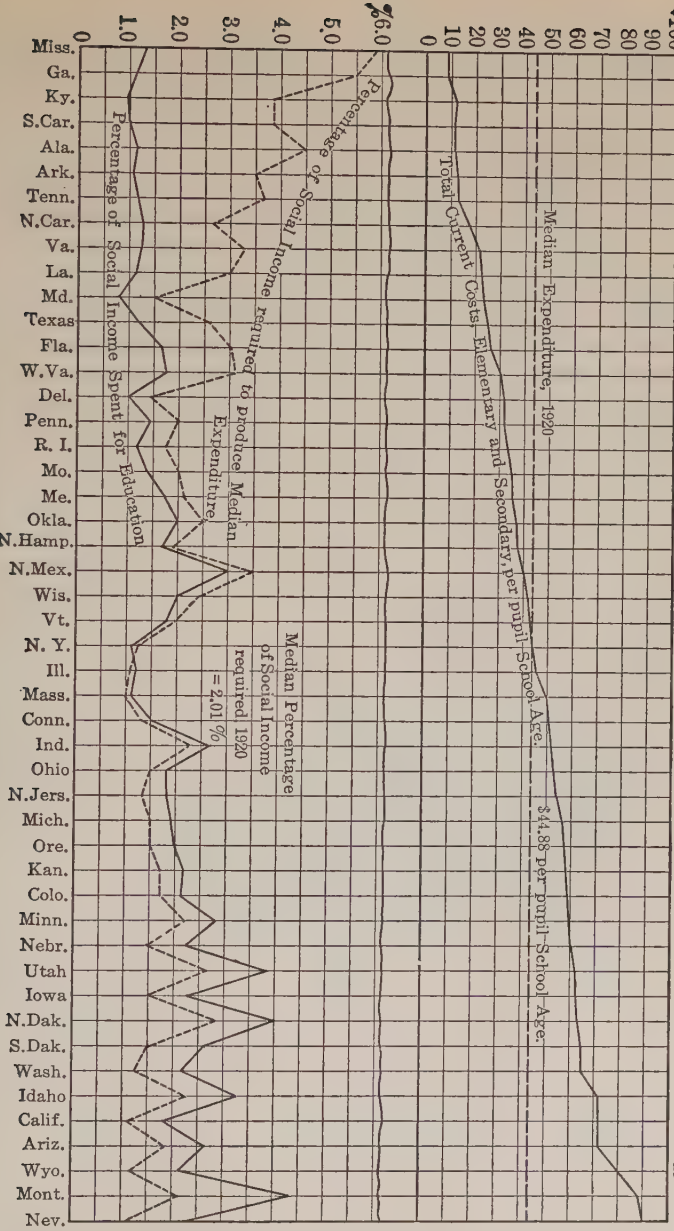

FIG. 79. SCHOOL COSTS WITH REFERENCE TO SOCIAL INCOME BY STATES, 1920

of these States, and a willingness to pay heavier school taxes to maintain their schools near the front rank. This is especially true of the Western States, as will be seen from figures presented later on. We might then cut one third from the figure, and say that somewhere near $40,000,000 of the present excess costs for education in these seventeen States is traceable to sparseness of population. As these States fill up with people, the portion of this excess cost due to sparseness will tend to disappear.

That there is a relation between sparseness of population and the ability of the people of a State to maintain an adequate public school system is evident, but how far this fact should be taken into consideration by the Federal Government in relation to its various educational obligations to the States is a matter for determination as a phase of national policy. Most of the States consider this item in their laws for the apportionment of state and county school funds, because they have come to feel that the people of the whole State are interested in the education of all the children of the State, and that excess costs ought to be in some measure equalized. Whether as a Nation we ought to be interested in the education of the children in all the States is largely a matter of thinking, and one upon which there is as yet no unanimity of opinion.

Educational expenditures and the social income. Another way of considering the problem of the ability of the different States to maintain adequate state school systems is to view their expenditures for education in the light of the social income of their people. By social income is meant the sum total of all the economic production of land, labor, and capital in each State during a year. All expenditures, public and private, must be made from the social income, unless the permanent capital of a people is to be drawn upon. The ratio of educational expenditures to the social income of the people of a State indicates, with considerable accuracy, the educational burden borne by the State.[1] Where the social income is small and the educational expenditures large, the burden for education may approach the proportions of a heavy sacrifice.

By taking the total expenditure for elementary and secondary education of each State,[2] and reducing the sums to an average

[1] While education costs constitute but one item in the total expenditures of a people, the other items of their expenditures naturally must be adjusted somewhat in relation to the amount spent for education. The more a people spend on education the less they will have for other things.

[2] Calculated from data published by the United States Bureau of Education, in *Statistics of State School Systems*, and for the year 1920.

amount per child of school age (5–18), we obtain the per-capita expenditure of a State with reference to the whole number of its children. This basis makes expenditures as between States comparable. Calculating the data as to the number of children of school age (5–18), the social income for each such child, the percentage of the social income expended for education (for the year 1920),[1] and the percentage of the social income that each State would need to spend to provide an expenditure per child of school age equal to the median expenditure of all the States, and charting the results gives us Figure 79. An examination of this chart will show that the States which expended small amounts for education were the States in which the social income was small, and that the States expending large sums for education enjoyed a larger social income. This is also shown in part on the map given below, showing the relation of expenditures and social income. Figure 80

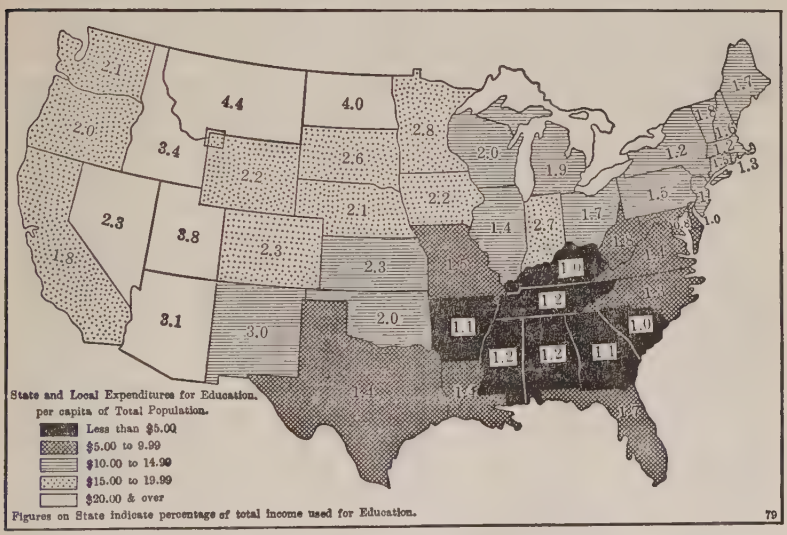
State and Local Expenditures for Education.
per capita of Total Population.
Less than $5.00
$5.00 to 9.99
$10.00 to 14.99
$15.00 to 19.99
$20.00 & over
Figures on State indicate percentage of total income used for Education.
79

FIG. 80. RELATION OF EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION TO SOCIAL INCOME

also shows that the educational burden was heaviest in the West, both the cost per pupil and the percentage of the social income expended being largest there. The Western States, despite their

[1] Taken from data given in Newcomer's *Financial Statistics of Public Education in the United States*, Educational Finance Inquiry Reports, Volume VI. Figures for the year 1920. This in turn was based on the studies of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

handicap of sparse population, are sacrificing heavily to keep their school systems at the front in educational achievement.

The dotted line in the lower half of Figure 79 tells the main story. It is easy for the States at the right end of the figure to expend large sums for education, as well as for other public services, because they have the income to pay the bills; while the States at the left end of the figure cannot spend much for education, or for anything else, because they do not have it to spend. Illinois, with the median expenditure of $44.88 per child 5 to 18 years of age in the State, expended about 1.40 per cent of its social income for education. To have made a similar expenditure per child Mississippi would have had to expend 5.72 per cent of its social income, Tennessee 3.75 per cent, Maine 2.14 per cent, Kansas 1.81 per cent, Iowa 1.56 per cent, and California 1.11 per cent.

Another way of examining the results is to select from the table on which Figure 79 is based and list in groups the States which expended the same proportion of their social income for education, and then see what differences these same proportions produced in the per-pupil (5–18) expenditures for education. Doing this we get the following comparisons:

States	Percentage of Social Income Expended for Education	Expenditures for Education per Child 5–18 Years of Age
Mississippi	1.2	$9.39
Alabama	1.2	11.85
Tennessee	1.2	14.33
New York	1.2	44.88
Massachusetts	1.2	46.77
Virginia	1.4	$18.82
Louisiana	1.4	20.38
Texas	1.4	23.81
Illinois	1.4	44.88
Oklahoma	2.0	$35.99
Wisconsin	2.0	39.95
Oregon	2.0	55.67
Kansas	2.3	$56.72
Colorado	2.3	56.94
Nevada	2.3	89.71
Utah	3.8	$61.19
North Dakota	4.0	$64.76

Median and excess expenditure. Still another way of studying the problem is to assume that each of the States expended the median state cost for education per pupil, 5 to 18 years of age ($44.88), and then determine what percentage of the social income each State would be called upon to spend for education to equal this sum (also shown on Figure 79). Calculating such a table for all the States, we find the median rate for public education costs to social income for all to be 2.01 per cent. To produce $44.88 per pupil, twenty-four States would then expend less than 2.01 per cent of their social income, and twenty-four States more than 2.01 per cent. It is also easy to calculate just what the actual burden in dollars, as well as percentages, would be to the twenty-four States that would need to spend more than 2.01 per cent of their social income for education. The following table gives such figures for each of these States:

States	Percentage of Social Income Required to Produce $44.88 per Pupil	Excess over 2.01 Per Cent Required	Cost for this Excess, Calculated only to Thousands of Dollars
Pennsylvania	2.05	.04	$2,476,000
Idaho	2.14	.13	371,000
Maine	2.14	.13	646,000
Minnesota	2.15	.14	2,109,000
Montana	2.20	.19	2,579,000
Wisconsin	2.24	.23	3,668,000
Indiana	2.40	.39	7,263,000
Oklahoma	2.48	.47	5,691,000
North Carolina	2.60	.59	6,313,000
Texas	2.63	.62	17,372,000
North Dakota	2.76	.75	2,730,000
Utah	2.77	.76	1,910,000
Florida	2.95	.94	4,132,000
West Virginia	3.06	1.05	7,470,000
Louisiana	3.08	1.07	9,134,000
Virginia	3.33	1.32	14,401,000
New Mexico	3.51	1.50	2,374,000
Arkansas	3.60	1.59	11,689,000
Tennessee	3.75	1.74	16,806,000
South Carolina	3.86	1.85	14,520,000
Kentucky	3.88	1.87	19,683,000
Alabama	4.50	2.49	23,373,000
Georgia	5.07	3.06	36,650,000
Mississippi	5.72	3.71	25,203,000
Total for the 24 States			$234,563,000

Stated another way, this table means that, if the Federal Government were to equalize excess costs for education in the States to 2.01 per cent of the social income, it would require, on

the basis of figures for 1920, an annual federal-aid grant to the States of approximately $234,563,000. If excess costs were equalized to 3 per cent of the social income, the cost would be about $80,000,000. The federal aid for equalizing educational opportunity proposed in the Smith-Towner and later education bills was $50,000,000.

Since it has been estimated that 75 per cent of the social income of our people is used up in living expenses, and that another 9 to 10 per cent is needed annually for new capital investments, only 15 to 16 per cent remains for all forms of governmental expenditures — national, state, and local. It is evident that an expenditure of over 3 per cent for education would leave but little for other governmental expenditures and social needs, and that an expenditure of 5 per cent for education would be practically prohibitive.

An examination of the sectional location of the States that would have excess costs (to provide $44.88 per pupil) shows that every so-called Southern State is included, and at 2.48 per cent or higher. These States could not, on the basis of their 1920 social income, meet Northern and Western standards in education without either reducing their standard of living or making inroads on their capital. On the other hand, a federal contribution of as much as $234,563,000 would necessitate an additional tax on the social income of the American people of less than four tenths of one per cent. In other words, the educational opportunities offered the youth of the South could be multiplied from two to six times at an annual national cost of a little less than 0.4 per cent of the national social income, and the general level of education in the Nation could be advanced far more rapidly than can ever be done if these States have to depend solely on their own resources.

National aid for the partial equalization of educational opportunity. The figures for expenditures and social income, as well as those for illiteracy, show a great disparity in educational opportunity between the Southern States and the rest of the Nation, and it is certain that it will be some time before this inequality can be removed by an improvement in economic position, if it ever can be removed. There is every reason to think that the quickest means for abolishing this disparity, in most of the States at least, would be to improve materially the amount and quality of the education provided. If we as a people ever come to look at education nationally as we now do at education within the States, the

situation presented would be seen to be both the duty and the opportunity of the Federal Government. Only through liberal federal aid to education, with a view to the equalization of educational opportunity up to a certain determined minimum of term, attendance, teacher-quality, and expenditure,[1] can this condition be remedied within any reasonable period of time.

There can be no doubt that sound educational and economic reasons can be adduced for federal aid to the States for the equalizing of educational opportunity; the question then becomes one of national fiscal policy. This in turn reduces itself down to a question whether the States more fortunately situated from the point of view of natural resources and economic wealth can be made to feel sufficiently interested in public education as a national undertaking to be willing to pool, in part, the costs for its support, as we have done for many other public services. The problem resolves itself into one of relative values, as viewed by our people, and there is good reason to think that, after the present reaction against high taxation and governmental expenditures, and the present agitation for States' rights and local control and decentralization have spent themselves, a majority of our people will come to see that public education is, after all, the most important undertaking in which a democracy can be engaged. Constitutionally and legally there is no reason why the National Government should not aid the States in the maintenance of their systems of public instruction, if there is need for so doing, while in the light of the many precedents already established (Chapter III), and from the point of view of sound public policy as well, there are abundant reasons why it should do so. Just how much aid should be given, and just how the aid should be distributed, are matters for careful study and consideration.

Two other aspects of the problem. So far we have dealt with the question of federal aid from the points of view of sparseness of population and relative social income, and have shown that there is need for such aid in the equalization of educational opportunities in order to provide a more uniform quality of education in the different States. We have also pointed out that to do

[1] The Education Bill, in proposing $50,000,000 federal aid to the States "to equalize educational opportunities," provided that the sum should be used for teachers' salaries, to provide better instruction, extend school terms, and for libraries, and that, as a condition of sharing, the State must provide for a school term of not less than six months each year, compulsory school attendance between seven and fourteen for at least an equal period, and a law requiring the English language to be the basic language in all schools, public and private.

so would mean only a further partial pooling of costs on a national scale, as has been done, in part, by all the States within their own borders. The question is of course one to which there are two sides, and one which must be settled ultimately by informed public opinion.

There are two other phases of the problem which we next desire to consider, and which present a much more definite national obligation. In Chapter IV we showed how the Federal Government had assumed the Indian as a ward of the Nation and had largely provided for his education; we now want to show that the Federal Government also owes a special obligation to the States in the matter of the education of the negro and the immigrant.

The education of the negro. By the census of 1920, 9.9 per cent of our total population, or 10,463,131 persons, were of the negro race. Up to the time of our Civil War slavery was a national institution, and the negro was with few exceptions held under slavery, segregated in location, and regarded almost wholly as a chattel without personal rights. The Emancipation Proclamation, which announced his freedom, was an act of war by the Nation in an effort to win the struggle for the Northern side and thus preserve the Union. After the close of the War the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution confirmed what the Emancipation Proclamation had attempted in freeing the negro from the bondage of slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment admitted him to citizenship, and the Fifteenth Amendment made him a voter. All these national acts made the negro a political as well as an economic factor in our national life. Freedom of movement has since made him an important health and public-welfare factor as well. Considering him as a voter and a citizen, literacy and citizenship training have become important, and his peculiar mental makeup and character have made his vocational and industrial education almost a necessity. Education for the negro is not a question of equality for the races, or one of sentiment for the advancement of a former subject race, but rather one of protection and progress for the State. The negro is now a part of our national citizenship, and we cannot send him away or undo what has been done in making him a free man and a voter. Our problem is to prepare him for as intelligent use of his rights as can be done, and to make his presence among us as useful as possible.

Although it was the Federal Government that freed the negro and made him a citizen and a voter, the amendments to the Federal Constitution by which this was done were not concurred in by the States where the negro largely lived. They were part of a coercive policy of the North against the States which had been in rebellion. These States had been impoverished and devastated as a result of the fortunes of war, and the close of the strife found them neither able nor willing to educate the negro, nor have they since been able to handle properly the problem thus thrust upon them. In consequence, 22.9 per cent of the negro race, as found in the United States in 1920, were still unable to read and write. In five of the Southern States the percentages ranged between 29.1 and 38.5 per cent; in no one of these States was the percentage less than 16.4 per cent; and in but three was it less than the national average of 22.9 per cent. Two fifths of the illiteracy problem in the United States is that of negro illiteracy.

The cost for negro education. Seventeen States in the Union require separate schools for the negro race. In an attempt to find what proportion of the total cost for education in these States was for the education of negro children, a table was calculated, in which the average cost per child, 5 to 18 years of age, was taken as a basis, and the cost for negro schools was estimated in the most careful manner possible.[1] This calculation indicated a total expenditure for negro elementary and secondary education in the above States of $19,901,121 for the year 1920. Low as the general costs for education in these States has been shown to be (Figure 79), the costs for negro instruction are still less. In two of the States as much as five times the amount is spent on the education of a white child as on a negro child, while in but five of the seventeen States does the ratio exceed one half. The median ratio was .456. In yearly unit-costs the range for negro education was from $2.43 in South Carolina to $29.45 in West Virginia, as against combined white and negro unit-costs for these same States of $9.39 and $35.99.

[1] This was not always easy to do, as separate figures were not available for many States. Where estimates had to be made, the ratio of salary costs for negro and white teachers was applied to total costs, wherever such ratios could be determined. In a few States relative monthly salaries had to be used and relative length of term disregarded, because there was no segregation of figures for this item. In one State, where no data could be found, the relative costs in States where fairly reliable data were available were applied. It is probable that the final figures arrived at are not far from correct, the error probably being that more is estimated as having been spent on negro education than was the case, due to the method of calculation found necessary in determining the relative costs.

Charting the data of the table gives us Figure 81, which shows the comparative costs for white and negro education combined, and for negro education alone, in the seventeen States provid-

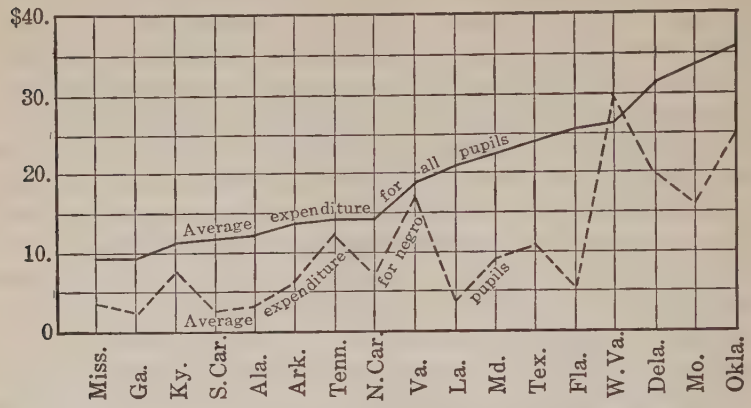

FIG. 81. RELATIVE EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

ing separate schools for the negro race. The high costs in West Virginia are undoubtedly due to the few negroes there (20,751, or 5.9 per cent), and the consequent high unit-costs for their instruction. Making similar estimates for all the States gave data for the following table:

COST FOR NEGRO EDUCATION	COST FOR 17 STATES HAVING SEPARATE SCHOOLS	COST FOR ALL STATES
Percentage distribution of negro children ..	89	100
Estimated cost for 1920.....	$19,901,121	$32,739,129
Cost had negroes and whites had same per capita costs.....	44,050,869	57,194,924
Cost had $44.88 per capita been spent.....	128,926.856	141,279,972
Cost over what was expended.....	109,025,735	108,540,843

From Figure 81 it will be apparent what a heavy burden the education of the negro lays on these seventeen Southern States. More than one half of the $234,563,000 estimated (page 499) as needed to equalize educational costs generally to the national average of $44.88 is seen to be in behalf of the needs of negro education in these States, all of which, excepting only Oklahoma, were former slave-holding States. There is good reason for think-

ing that had the Hoar (1870) or the Blair (1881–87) Bill (page 51) been enacted, the present bad conditions in the South would not today exist, and still more that if proper national aid to the States were given even now, the unfavorable situation would be remedied at least a generation ahead of the time it can be by unaided state effort. The present condition is a burden on the whole Nation in that it retards the economic development of the South, and it is probable that the approximately 0.4 per cent additional load on the social wealth of the country necessary to equalize advantages up to $44.88 per pupil would in a generation be repaid to the Nation in increased economic wealth and larger civic insight. For $108,540,843, on the basis of 1920 costs, the Federal Government could have discharged a general obligation to the people of this Nation as a whole, and its specific obligation to the millions of its colored people upon whom it thrust the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Until federal aid is provided negro education in the South seems destined to remain a burden on the South, and of no great value to the negro receiving it.

The education of the immigrant. Another special obligation of the Federal Government to the States lies in the matter of the education of the immigrant and his children. Aside from a twenty-year proviso relating to the importation of slaves, the Federal Constitution placed the control of immigration wholly under the Federal Government. There it has remained, and any attempt to regulate the admission of the foreign-born within the borders of a State has been resisted by the Federal Government.[1]

From the time (1820) of our first keeping a record of immigrants up to the outbreak of the World War, we received 32,102,671 foreign-born into our country. The total was approximately 35,000,000 by 1925. For a long time the stocks were largely English and Northwest Europeans, but since about 1880 the emphasis has changed markedly to the South and East of Europe. This change has been accompanied by a steady increase in the illiteracy of the foreign-born residing among us (see Figure 53, page 369), despite all that our schools could do toward its reduction. Of the 11,726,506 who came to this country during the four years preceding the outbreak of the World War, 26.5 per cent were unable to read and write any language, and not over 12 per

[1] A good recent case has been the attempts of California to regulate Japanese immigration. These have been resisted by Washington as an interference with the treaty-making power of the Federal Government.

cent could speak English. Though our army-camp schools during the War did much to reduce actual illiteracy among the adult foreign-born, we still had, in 1920, 1,763,740 foreign-born whites, ten years of age or over, who could not read or write. We also had 5,398,605 who had made no effort to become citizens.

Only a small proportion of the approximately fourteen million foreign-born whites in this country in 1920 were within the ordinary reach of the day schools. The others had to be reached, if reached at all, through evening and adult and citizenship classes. The entire school attendance of the foreign-born whites, of all ages, was but 554,427 in 1920, and of those under 18 years of age but 490,797. The total number of foreign-born white children 5 to 18 years of age, in 1920, was 781,921, and the total cost for their education, if all had been in the public schools and if $44.88 had been spent on the education of each, would have been $35,365,260. The great bulk of our immigrants have settled in the States to the North and West, where the unit-costs for education are high, and in consequence the figures show that the amount actually expended on the 554,427 in school, averaged by States, exceeded by more than a million dollars the amount estimated above as needed, at the $44.88 rate, for all the foreign-born between the ages of 5 to 18.

Federal responsibility here. Up to sixty years ago few people had questioned the wisdom of admitting any stream of unselected immigrants who chose to come to this country, and up to the close of the nineteenth century whatever objection was raised was based largely on economic and social grounds. Only during the past twenty-five years has attention been forcefully called to the dangers involved in wholesale and unselected admissions, and only since the close of the World War has any reasonably sound immigration policy been adopted by Congress. The Federal Congress, as the keeper of the gates, has permitted an almost free flow of aliens of ever-increasing racial heterogeneity, and has thrown the burden of their assimilation into our national life on the States, to handle as best they could. An almost childlike faith has been expressed in the public school as the "melting pot," even though the great bulk of the immigrants never come in contact with the school. While the responsibility for the coming of the alien hordes has been national, the burden of their education and training for citizenship has been thrown wholly upon the States. The States to the North and West, too, are those which

have borne this burden, since the Southern States, aside from Texas, have but few of the foreign-born within their borders.

With the children of the immigrants the school has been remarkably successful, as Figure 53 shows. In addition to training them for literacy, the school seeks to instill in them that reverence for American traditions and that faith in American ideals which we regard as the birthright of our youth, and often this is done in the face of opposition from an alien home and clan and church. Of the approximately thirty-six millions of dollars this service is costing the States each year, it would seem fair that the Federal Government should bear some reasonably large proportion. It would also seem just that the Federal Government should pay a very large share of the costs for the Americanization and illiteracy-elimination work with adults now undertaken by evening schools, citizenship classes, and other forms of educational organization financed by the States. Just what this cost would be, if the work were properly developed, there is as yet little means for determining.

Summary of the proposals. We have now presented four different items, for each of which it has seemed that there are certain responsibilities the Federal Government may well be deemed to bear toward the States. The first two, which aim at partial equalizations of differences in ability to maintain adequate state educational systems, based on sparseness of population and small social income, are more debatable than are the second two, which relate to the responsibility of the Federal Government in the matter of the education of the negro and of the immigrant. The estimates as to needs for these purposes as given were as follows:

1. Due to sparseness of population	c. $40,000,000
2. To equalize drain on social income to 3 per cent	c. 80,000,000
3. To give negroes same quality of education as whites	57,194,924
4. For the education of children of immigrants	35,365,260
Yearly total	c. $212,560,184

There would be, however, quite a little overlapping in these items, which would materially reduce the amounts of the calculated grants. The great majority of the negro school children (89 per cent) were shown (page 504) to be in the States which would be helped under the 3 per cent social-income grant, and this would reduce grant 3 to $6,291,442. A small portion of this amount — certainly enough to reduce the sum to $5,000,000 — would also be covered by the aid due to sparseness of population. There would also be some duplication between the grant for edu-

cation for the children of immigrants and the sparseness-of-population grants in the Western States — probably enough to cut this amount as low as $25,000,000. This would then leave the total of the four grants listed above at about $150,000,000 a year, or an annual cost of approximately two and three tenths of one per cent (.0026 per cent) of the social income of the Nation.

The Education Bill, as sponsored for six years by the National Education Association, proposed a grant of $100,000,000 a year to the States, for the following purposes:

1. For aid in the removal of illiteracy	$7,500,000
2. For the Americanization of immigrants	7,500,000
3. For the preparation of teachers, particularly for the rural schools	15,000,000
4. For physical education and health	20,000,000
5. For equalization of educational opportunities	50,000,000
Yearly total	$100,000,000

Of the above, 1, 2, and 5 are included in the forms of grants we have previously considered. The addition of 4 would be desirable as a stimulus to activity within the States, and is certainly as defensible in principle as are many forms of aid now made to the States through the Department of Agriculture. Number 3 is more debatable, especially as applied to teacher-training for the present type of rural school. The great need of the rural school of to-day is not a subsidy to train teachers for the type of school existing, but such a reorganization of rural and village education as will make the rural school attractive to teachers trained for the best of educational service. A grant for the general improvement of instruction in the normal schools and teacher-training institutions, without reference to the type of teacher to be trained, would be a much better form of grant. Another better form of grant would be one to stimulate consolidation and the establishment of rural high schools, together with effective rural school supervision.

Distribution of the grants. Assuming that the American people, as represented in Congress, should decide the question of federal aid by agreeing to make important grants to the States for the promotion and advancement of education, a most vital second question would be raised as to just how, and under what conditions, and on what bases of apportionment the various grants should be made. As was pointed out in the previous chapter, merely to vote or raise the money and apportion it to the subordinate units (here the States) to use as they see fit would be a poor use of the taxing power. The grants ought to be so dis-

tributed as to secure the largest educational results on the part of the States themselves, and certain standards as to state education ought to be insisted upon by the Federal Government as a condition of making the grants. While direct oversight of the spending of the grants in the States, in view of the well-known tendency of federal officials to be arbitrary and bureaucratic, is not desirable, the enforcement of certain general and uniform rules as to the receipt and use of the funds ought to be an essential part of the plan. These might well include stipulations:

1. That the grants made are primarily for the purpose of improving conditions and, except where made specifically to reduce high costs, are not to be used for the purpose of decreasing local support. To enforce this provision detailed statistical reports should be required.
2. That a legal school term of at least 24 weeks, which ought to be increased gradually to 32 weeks, should be required for all schools in all States aided.
3. That effective compulsory attendance legislation be provided and enforced, that children may be required to attend the schools provided.
4. That the English language be made the basic language of instruction in all schools, public and private. Made as a condition of sharing in federal grants, such a provision probably would be held legal by the courts.
5. That Congress should prescribe, and change from time to time as experience indicates as desirable, the general method of apportionment of the different funds to the States, and probably also designate the main general lines along which the grants shall be apportioned and used within the States.
6. That the different types of schools and education aided shall always be open to visitation by agents of the Federal Department of Education. Such agents should have no power to direct, but should make reports to the Federal Department on the workings of the laws under which the grants of federal aid are made.

In a later revision of the proposed Education Bill (66th Congress, 3d Session), in an effort to appease certain opposition, a provision was added governing the distribution of the proposed aid the wisdom of which may well be doubted, as follows:

That all the educational facilities encouraged by the provisions of this act and accepted by a State shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted state and local educational authorities of said State, and the Secretary of Education shall exercise no authority in relation thereto; and this act shall not be construed to imply federal control of education within the States in the conduct and management of their respective school systems.

Some national oversight and control of expenditures and work done is desirable, as long as the control is general and not too detailed. Such control is exercised by the Federal Government over its appropriations in aid of agricultural and mechanical colleges, highway construction, the Smith-Hughes work, and some other forms of less important aid granted to the States. In view of the many faulty and wasteful state apportionment laws, the inadequate state educational organization existing in many of our States, and the great desirability of establishing standards for work done, the wisdom of complete state control of federal-aid grants may well be doubted. Despite the objections that have been made to it, the form of federal supervision exercised over the Smith-Hughes funds is probably much wiser than that proposed in the later revisions of the Education Bill.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Distinguish between local and general benefits from taxation, and show the position of education in the matter of support.
2. Give some illustrations of the unequal distribution of natural resources to show unequal ability to maintain an educational system.
3. Using the map given in Figure 80, show that the draft made on the social income of a State by costs for education is a much better measure of effort made than per capita costs are.
4. Show that the one item of equalizing costs for a certain standard of education to a percentage of the social income (say 3 per cent) would, if a single basis of aid were to be chosen, be most nearly equitable. Show what an equalization to 2.01 per cent would do for the States.
5. What objections can you see to the arguments presented for federal aid to the States for negro and immigrant education?
6. Compare the different recommendations for federal aid contained in the first three Education Bills with the arguments of this chapter, and show their relationships and general similarity.
7. Give your estimate of the proposals, for federal aid, in the Education Bill, as stated on page 508. As listed on page 509.

PROBLEMS

1. Formulate a statement of the arguments, *pro* and *con*, for a federal subsidy to the States for the advancement of public education, and a suggested plan for granting the aid.
2. Study the older Education Bill, as it has been presented to Congress, and estimate the wisdom and the balance of the general recommendations for federal aid which it contained.
3. Look over the volume of "hearings" on the Education Bill (see References), and select the strong arguments advanced for and against it, and, if possible, what alignment of interests is represented in the testimony.
4. In the same volume, read and analyze the majority and minority reports of the U.S. Chambers of Commerce.

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DIVISION V
MATERIAL ENVIRONMENT AND EQUIPMENT

CHAPTER XIX

SCHOOL BUILDING CONTROL

Development of schoolhouse construction. During the past half-century an entirely new theory as to schoolhouse construction has been evolved, and numerous and detailed standards for school buildings have been worked out by school architects and students of the problem of proper school building construction. To-day the planning and erection of a modern school plant has become so costly and so technical a matter that a number of our States have legislated in more or less detail on the subject, and in a few States quite elaborate School Building Codes have been formulated and enacted into law. In this chapter we shall consider the problem of state control of the school plant as another aspect of the general problem of state educational control.

In the early period of our national history when schoolhouse construction was a simple job of carpentering, details, aside from size and cost, were left largely to the builder. The simple sketch and contract form shown below, for a schoolhouse to be erected

FIG. 82. EARLY SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE AND CONTRACTING

in Providence, Rhode Island, a little more than a century ago, shows well how simply the whole matter was formerly handled by both the contractor and the school board.

As we have learned more and more by experience, as the school system has expanded and been differentiated into parts, as education has become more and more scientific and our educational needs have become clearer, as larger and better school buildings have been called for, as school supervision has become more and more of a science and better trained men have been drawn into the service, and as architecture itself has become more and more artistic and scientific, a series of entirely new types of school buildings has gradually been evolved. So clearly has this evolution taken place that the trained eye to-day can almost tell the "vintage" of a school building by a picture of its exterior, while a cursory examination of its interior will reveal the educational ideas of the superintendent and architect who planned it.

A century ago the graded school had not as yet been evolved, and the limited curriculum of the time was taught by a few teachers in a few large schoolrooms. Rooms seating two to three hundred pupils were not uncommon, and two-story two-room buildings were the usual type. Each room was presided over by a master, while his one or two assistants either helped in the large room or took small groups into the one or two small and adjoining rooms usually provided. This was the common type of school building erected all over the Eastern part of the United States. Sometimes the older boys were upstairs and the younger ones downstairs; sometimes the division was on the basis of sex, although most schools were for one sex only; and not infrequently each schoolroom contained pupils of all ages. All early schools were much alike in character and instruction.

Beginnings of modern schoolhouse construction. In 1847 the graded school building was first worked out in Boston,[1] and in 1848 a new elementary-school building erected in the same city provided for small classrooms (55 pupils each) and the grade-school type of organization. The building was four stories high, had four classrooms to the floor, and an assembly room on the fourth floor. This building and form of organization was much

[1] In 1843 Horace Mann visited Europe to see schools, and in his *Seventh Annual Report* to the Massachusetts State Board of Education (1844) he described the German type of graded elementary school. In 1847 John D. Philbrick, the principal of the Quincy Grammar School in Boston, later Superintendent of Schools there, reorganized his school after the German model. This is considered to have been the first graded school in the United States. The following year the new Quincy School was erected in Boston, and Philbrick, as principal, worked out a new type of school architecture. Instead of a school of two large rooms, seating about 200 each, he developed a building of twelve classrooms and an assembly hall, and a total seating capacity of 660 pupils.

talked of and written about, and by the decade of the seventies the 8 to 16 classroom building, with a principal's office, but usually without an assembly room, had become the common type of elementary-school building throughout the United States. It was regarded at the time as a great advance by all, and many thought it represented the best type of school building that would ever be evolved. It was adapted to the grade-school and classroom type of instruction only, and to a drill-and-content type of course of study. Though far better types of school buildings have since been worked out, many such old-time schoolhouses are still in use in our cities, and some are still being built.

Beginning about 1900, a superior type of elementary-school building began to be erected — one better adapted to the newer type of educational program by that time coming into use in the more progressive cities. This new type made provision not only for classrooms, but for kindergarten, manual training and home-arts studies, office, teachers' room, toilet rooms, and an auditorium, and was also an improvement over what had preceded in lighting, heating, and sanitary arrangements. This type of building, with many individual modifications, is still being built and used to-day. In fact, it may be said to be the rather common type of better school building now in use, with two stories and a basement the general style followed.

Within recent years — since the coming of the junior high school, and the increased emphasis on the expression studies in instruction — the tendency in our cities has been to build a still larger elementary-school building, and to adapt its interior arrangement still better to the most advanced modern teaching programs. In consequence, our recently erected elementary-school buildings represent a more differentiated type of structure than anything that has gone before. Figure 83 shows, in the form

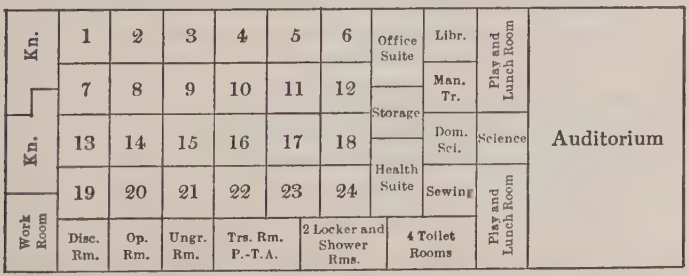


FIG. 83. SPACE DISTRIBUTION OF AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL OF TO-DAY

of a diagram, what one might expect to find to-day, both in number of rooms and proportional distribution of space, in a thoroughly modern elementary-school building. This provides a structure adapted to a modern teaching program, with emphasis alike on the drill, the content, and the expression subjects. This type of building is easily adapted to the platoon type of elementary-school organization, should this be thought desirable for use.

The high-school building, too, had experienced a quite similar evolution. In its earlier beginnings the high-school building was much like that of an elementary school in that it consisted merely of a number of study and recitation rooms and a principal's office. Each year-class was seated by itself, and taught by one teacher. The upper left-hand portion of Figure 84 represents this early stage. The upper right-hand portion presents a later evolution,

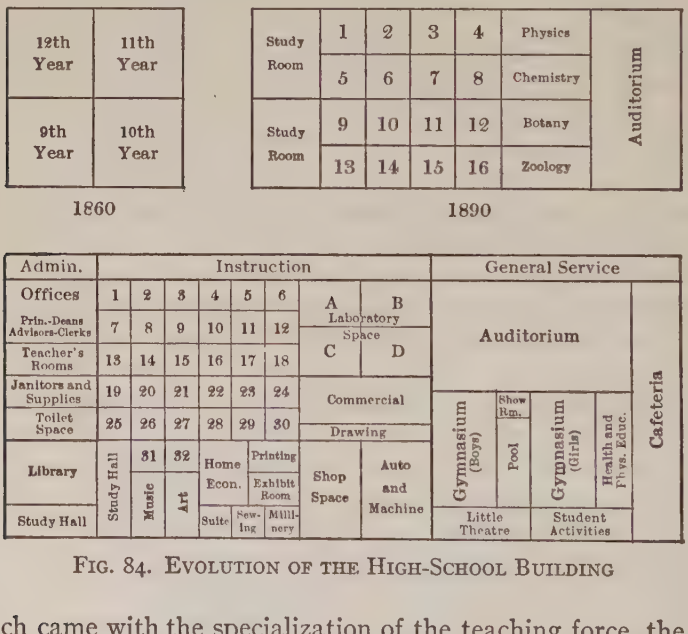


FIG. 84. EVOLUTION OF THE HIGH-SCHOOL BUILDING

which came with the specialization of the teaching force, the addition of science teaching in the laboratory, and the use of the morning assembly as a common meeting place for the whole school. The new high-school buildings of the period from 1880 to 1900 were nearly all of this character. The lower half of the figure shows the general plan of space distribution for a modern high-school building of the so-called cosmopolitan type, one offering

cultural, scientific, commercial, home-economics, and manual-arts courses, such as one might expect to find to-day.

Within the past two decades an entirely new creation has been evolved in America — the junior high school. This new type of school calls for still another type of building, the general plan of which is shown in Figure 85. This new type of school, in addition to providing instruction in the usual drill-and-content subjects of the grades, looks after the health and physical development of

FIG. 85. THE NEW JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING ORGANIZATION

the pupils, provides a social atmosphere of large value in the training of early adolescents, carries on a considerable amount of exploratory work with the pupils, and offers much prevocational instruction of value. This calls for a special type of building and a rather extensive equipment to enable the school to do its work.

The rural school also has been greatly changed in character during the past quarter-century. The common "weather-boarded box" is being displaced by a much better type of rural-school building, even when the one-room school is retained, while the newer consolidated-school buildings being erected in the villages and in the open country are often as well built and as complete in their organization and equipment as are good modern city-school buildings.

Changes in construction and architecture. Along with the changes in the character and distribution of room space, which the figures just given show, there has also come a change in almost every type of construction standards. Wood has largely given place to brick and concrete; the lighting has been changed from two sides to one, and so banked as to distribute it better; the heating and ventilation have been greatly improved; in smoky cities the air supplied the rooms is washed; much better artificial

lighting has been provided; many new forms of desks and tables have been introduced; the cleaning is done more thoroughly, and the building is more sanitary; the drinking fountain has supplanted the drinking cup and water pail; the toilet facilities have been vastly changed in character and usefulness; and in dozens of other ways the comfort, convenience, sanitation, and attractiveness of school buildings have been enhanced. Still more, instead of crowding two- or three-story elementary-school buildings on a quarter of a city block, as used to be done quite commonly, and with almost no play space, the whole tendency of the past twenty-five years has been toward buildings of not more than two stories, outside of the largest cities, and the provision of ample playground space. A site of five acres for an elementary-school building, one of eight acres for a junior high school, and of twelve acres for a high school, and with an average city block as a minimum even in the larger cities, has come to be accepted as representing satisfactory modern standards.

In plan, organization, equipment, and purpose the school of today, in any of its divisions, is a vastly different institution from that of a third to a half century ago. To the ordinary citizen the change in the character of the work of the school may not be evident without an inspection, but the change in the character of the school plant is apparent even to those who give to the school only a passing glance. The new school buildings now being erected in American communities attract attention not only by reason of the pleasing types of architecture employed, but also because of their size, equipment, and adaptability to a modern educational program. The development which has taken place in the character of our school buildings within the past half-century, and especially within the past twenty to twenty-five years, represents an important evolution in an effort to adapt the building to the changing character of the instruction which the school has been called upon to provide, and stands as one of the most visible marks of the change that has come over education itself.

Standardization of construction. A large amount of important work has been done, during the past ten to fifteen years, by school architects and building-survey workers in the standardization of the many items that enter into the planning and construction of a school building. Almost every type of construction item and room has been standardized, so that we know now what ought to go into a school building of any type. Rooms, hall-

ways, cloakrooms, special rooms, assembly rooms, cafeterias, heating and ventilating arrangements, lighting, toilet and washroom facilities, water supply, swimming pools, cleaning arrangements, janitor's quarters, stairways, door arrangements and swing, window placing, ceiling height, roof construction, wiring, blackboards, signal systems, fire escapes and control, chimney construction — these and other features have all been reduced to standard arrangements and forms. Schoolhouse planning, in consequence, has by now become an expert piece of service, calling for much special knowledge and skill.

The development of score cards for rural and city school buildings, which has come about in the past ten years, has enabled survey workers to score existing school buildings on a 1000-point scale, and to show the strength and defects of a building. The most generally used of these — the Strayer-Engelhardt Scales [1] — provide 1000 points for a perfect building, with around 750 for a quite satisfactory one. The score card for elementary school buildings allots 125 points for size, form, and location of the school grounds; 165 points for the placement and general internal and external structure of the building; 280 points for the service system — heating, ventilation, lighting, cleaning, fire-protection, water-supply, and toilets; 290 points for classroom location, illumination, equipment, cloakrooms, and finish; and 140 points for special rooms, offices, and service rooms. Scored by such scales, many existing buildings have been shown to rate very low.[2]

The beginnings of state oversight and control. While some form of state aid toward school maintenance has for long been common, and with it some state oversight of teachers and the conditions of instruction have been enforced, until quite recently the erection of a schoolhouse has been considered entirely a local problem, with which the State was but little or not at all concerned. Excepting minor state aid for the erection of consolidated schools, given in a few States only and quite recently at that, the cost for the erection of schoolhouses of all kinds has everywhere through-

[1] Published by Teachers College, New York City:
1. *A Score Card for City School Buildings.*
2. *A Score Card for Village and Rural School Buildings.*
3. *Standards for High School Buildings, with Score Card.*
4. *Score Card for Public School Janitorial-Engineering Service.*

[2] The median score for 334 large cities is given by Strayer and Engelhardt as 463, distributed all the way from six buildings scoring between 1 and 100 to one building scoring between 900 and 1000, and with the largest number of scores between 500 and 600. These two men have made and standardized the school-building survey, and their work is always important and of high character.

out the country been borne by the local community. Therefore, the kind of schoolhouses erected has been regarded as a problem for each local community to determine. This complete local liberty has led to the erection of many very poor and very inadequate school buildings. Especially in the rural school districts have many cheap structures, poorly adapted to the needs of instruction, been built. Every school building survey has revealed waste in schoolhouse construction, as well as the existence of many improperly built, unsanitary, and wholly inadequate structures.

As the standardization of schoolhouse construction has proceeded, the need for some form of state oversight of local school authorities in the matter of schoolhouse construction has gradually become evident, and has manifested itself in legislation that has established and gradually extended state or county oversight and control. The first legislation usually related to town and rural schoolhouse construction, and merely required the approval of plans by the county superintendent of schools before new school buildings could be erected. Another early step was in the direction of setting up standards [1] for the approval of a rural school as a so-called Standard School (*Source Book*, pp. 250–53). The next step seems to have been general legislation relating to heating and ventilation, lighting arrangements, room temperatures, egress from doors, construction of stairways, provision of fire escapes, and the location of the heating plant. Drinking facilities, blackboard provisions, classroom requirements, general character and location of site, the location and character of privies and toilet facilities, and general sanitary conditions seem to have been the next points for legislation. By 1915 a number of States had enacted legislation concerning these matters, and three States had enacted State Building Laws [2] which made rather detailed provision as to just how school buildings should and should not be constructed.

Since 1915 legislation regulating the construction of schoolhouses and the approval of plans has gone forward rapidly, and a number of States now have quite complete state building codes, with provision for some form of supervisory control by state or

[1] See article by L. W. Rapeer, on "Standardization of the Rural School Plant," in *School and Society*, vol. 1, pp. 217–26. (Feb. 13, 1915.) This describes a number of state plans, and lists the essential features of a rural school plant. These represented early forms of the Standard Score Card, later evolved.

[2] The Indiana Sanitary School House Law of 1911, and the Ohio State Building Code of 1911 and 1913, are among the best examples of the earlier legislation.

local authority. The tendency is marked for the State to regulate in detail the location, construction, interior arrangement, sanitation, and use of the local school plant, and further to extend state control to the sanitary condition and even to the condemnation of existing schoolhouses. Sometimes the formulation of these codes has been taken by the legislature direct, and sometimes indirectly by empowering the State Board of Education or the State Board of Health to prepare and adopt general building regulations that shall govern the site, location, construction, maintenance, and repair of all school buildings in the State. College buildings have usually been exempted from the requirements, and cities employing a school architect have usually been given larger latitude in certain less important details. By 1922, ten States had enacted good building laws that covered in general the essential items of schoolhouse construction, and fourteen other States had made a beginning in such legislation. Since 1922 additional legislation has been enacted on this subject, and to-day the tendency is clearly toward general state laws and some form of state approval to regulate new construction.

The State's proper function. The question for consideration here is, to what extent has the State a responsibility for proper schoolhouse construction, and how far may it interfere in the carrying out of local plans for the location and erection of school buildings? If we keep in mind the principle that it is the business of the State to set standards, below which communities shall not be allowed to drop, and that the State must determine the minimum educational program to be provided and the minimum conditions under which this shall be permitted, we are able to define the State's duty in this matter and to see how far the State may properly go in determining what may or may not be done.

With the increasing complexity of and cost for adequate school buildings, it is clearly a right and a duty of the State to guard against waste in expenditures and unsafe construction. The State may, then, very properly require that any building to be erected for school purposes shall be structurally sound, and that, in such details as classrooms and special rooms, lighting and heating arrangements, ventilation, hallways, staircases, swing of doors, cloakroom and toilet facilities, plumbing and water supply, provisions against danger from fire, and sanitary arrangements, it shall at least meet minimum standards, as formulated by general law or regulation, for a school building of its particular type

and class. The State may also very properly formulate certain general requirements as to site, play facilities, location, and placement of building.

On the other hand, the State should not attempt to control the shape, form, artistic appearance, extra facilities, or cost. If a community desires to exceed the minimum standards set by the State it should be allowed to do so, and departures from a general plan or type ought to be permitted freely, since out of such experimentation much of value is evolved. The work of the State, here as elsewhere, is to enforce minimum standards, and not to prevent variation and progress and artistic development.

How such state oversight may be exercised. The plan now most commonly employed for exercising control over school building construction is to require the approval of all plans for new construction by the county superintendents of schools. This may be done, regardless of whether or not there is any important state legislation as to building standards. While this approval is far better than no oversight, it often means little, unless there is a fairly well-defined state building code prescribing minimum standards that must be enforced. Even then the supervision is likely to be perfunctory, or, still worse, arbitrary and technical.

By far the better plan for the State to follow is the creation of a division of schoolhouse construction and sanitation, or of a division of schoolhousing, in the State Department of Education, and the assignment to such division of the enforcement of all state laws or regulations relating to schoolhouse construction and alteration. The head of this division should be appointed by the State Board of Education, on recommendation of the Commissioner or Superintendent of Education, his term of office and salary being fixed by the board. He should be a person skilled in the field of architecture, and experienced in the problems of schoolhouse construction. He should be given adequate staff and equipment for the carrying out of all needed supervision of schoolhouses and schoolhouse construction and repairs throughout the State, and of all other duties that may be assigned to his division.

Among the powers and duties of this division should be:

1. To enforce the provisions of the state law, or the state schoolhousing code.
2. To examine all plans and specifications for new construction, or

alterations and repairs to existing buildings costing over a certain sum (say $500 in districts, and $5000 in cities), to see if they conform to the legal requirements.

3. To pass on the adequacy of new sites, and on building location, within limits determined in the building code.
4. To visit and advise with local school authorities, on invitation, concerning plans for the erection and reorganization of school buildings, and to conduct surveys as to schoolhousing needs and programs.

Cities employing a certified school architect might well be exempted from all such supervision, so long as the structural requirements of the law are observed by the city school architect and school authorities. Even variations from the requirements of the school building code, where structural weakness, sanitary conditions, or fire risks are not involved, might at times be allowed. We should not hamper the work of our Coopers and Ittners and Snyders by too rigid state regulation, since such as they have given us the best ideas we now have. Much originality is likely to be shown by good city architects, and this should be encouraged by leaving them free to work out their own designs.

All plans and specifications submitted to the state division of schoolhousing should be examined and checked, using printed check lists,[1] to see that they meet the minimum standards of the State. If they do, they should be approved; if they do not, the school authorities submitting them should be informed, in writing, in what particulars plans need to be changed to bring them into conformity with the minimum requirements of the law or the school building code.

Other work of such a division. The mere approval of school building plans constitutes but a small part of the work which a state division of schoolhousing ought to perform. An important early function should be to help in the formulation of a state schoolhousing code. This ought to be done by a schoolhouse code commission, to be appointed by the State Board of Education, on recommendation of the Commissioner of Education, and of which the head of the schoolhousing division should be a member. The other members should be experienced school architects, engineers, and educational experts who have specialized in schoolhouse construction. When the Code reaches final shape, it should be subject to approval by the State Board of Education, and later

[1] The purpose in using printed check lists is to establish objective standards for estimating plans, and to eliminate subjective opinions as much as is possible.

possibly by the legislature, though the amount of technical detail which such a code must contain makes its approval by the legislature difficult.

It ought also to be the duty of this division to work out a number of different plans and specifications for rural, village, and consolidated school buildings that may be loaned, without charge, to school districts desiring to use them. This service would materially reduce the expense of schoolhouse construction throughout the State, and would repay the cost for this division many times over each year.

Still more, it should be made a duty of this division to conduct, at near actual cost, school-building surveys for any school district requesting such services, and to make a report in writing as to needs and necessary procedures for the provision of a school plant in which a modern school program can be carried on. The charges made to-day by private individuals for such surveys are often excessively heavy, and as a result many communities now proceed without such expert advice. The use of such surveys should be made more general by the State providing the service, at prices but little if any above the actual cost, but without preventing districts from employing other service if they so prefer.

Another important duty with which such a division should be charged is that of making inspections and sanitary surveys of the existing school plant in the cities, towns, and counties of the State. This should be done on the request of local school authorities, and, under certain conditions, it should be possible also on the initiative of the state division of schoolhousing itself. The division should then have authority to submit a program of alterations, repairs, and corrections that will, when executed, meet the minimum requirements of the State Code. The division should also be empowered to set a time limit within which the changes must be made, provided the payment for the same can be arranged for within the legal taxing limits of the school district. Under certain very bad sanitary or structural conditions the division should further have power to order the use of the building discontinued. The State can go only so far, however, in the condemnation of existing school buildings, in district-system States or in States that are very poor, without meeting the question of state aid for the erection and repair of school buildings.

State Schoolhousing Codes. An examination of any one of our State School Building Codes (*Source Book*, pp. 500–25), or of

a proposed code, will reveal the large amount of detail that such a code must of necessity contain. Many small items need to be described in written or table form, and many constructive details need to be given, even to enumerate the minimum standards which the State wishes to enforce.

In the first place there must be a classification of buildings as to kind, as high school, junior high school, city elementary school, village or consolidated school, and rural school. Then there must be a further partial classification based on type of construction — wood, brick, stone, concrete — or as Class A, B, or C. Then the Code should set forth minimum state standards for each type of building, concerning the following items:

1. Site — size, location, drainage, play space.
2. Building — orientation and placement.
3. Gross structure — foundations, height, walls, strength, roof, floor and roof loads, entrances, space per occupant.
4. Lighting — area, direction, window placing, artificial lighting, wiring.
5. Air supply — source, amount, distribution, ventilation, temperature.
6. Heating system — hot air, steam, stoves, radiators, flues, exhausts, fans, air-washers, room openings, location of heating plant.
7. Fire protection — fire walls, building materials, exits, escapes, extinguishers, alarms, types of stairs.
8. Cleaning system.
9. Water supply — drinking facilities, washing facilities, plumbing.
10. Toilet facilities — types, sizes, number, location, flushing, septic tanks, vaults, cesspools, privies.
11. Classrooms — standards, finish, doors, windows, floors, cloakrooms, lockers, fixtures, closets, blackboards, wall colors, illumination.
12. Recitation rooms, study halls, library, special rooms — same as 11.
13. Gymnasium, playrooms — general details, major equipment.
14. Laboratories and shops — general details.
15. Auditorium — floor, seats, gallery, platform, steps, entrances, exits, curtain, lighting, picture booth, side rooms.
16. Offices and teacher rooms — standards, types, equipment.
17. Cafeteria, lunch rooms — size, arrangement, equipment.

Such a code, while very useful when properly formulated, may easily go too far and standardize items which should be left to the discretion of local authorities. It might be perfectly proper, for example, to require that a classroom door should not be less than 40 inches wide and be located near the front of the room and swing

outward, but to require that it should always be 40 inches and have, or not have, a transom over it would be to require too much. Similarly, to require that all classrooms should be equipped with hinged windows so as to be used as open-air rooms, or that buildings should always have a certain orientation, would be much too fixed. Differences in local needs, differing climatic conditions, and differing school clientele often call for much local liberty in adapting standards to meet local needs.

State school-building programs. As an adjunct to the formulation of a school building code, or the inauguration of a new state educational policy, an opportunity is presented to formulate a state school-building program covering a period of years, the general result of which will be the development of a new type of schoolhouse structure and a desirable reorganization of school-housing facilities throughout the State. An additional duty of a state division of schoolhousing should be to study the school-building situation throughout the State, and to formulate a flexible and developing plan for improving the character of the school plant, the better adaptation of it to the needs of a modern educational program, and the improvement of sites and grounds. The recent school building survey of Delaware [1] offers such an example of constructive work in a small State, and the numerous recent surveys made in our cities [2] afford good illustrations of general school building reorganization on a large scale. The plan of educational reorganization outlined for the State of Osceola [3] gives a similar general plan for the school plant of the towns and rural districts of an entire State.

In our district-system States many small school districts are conducting instruction in buildings that could not meet any reasonable standards, either from the point of view of building structure, adaptation to a modern educational program, or from that of sanitation and hygiene.[4] Yet, as was pointed out above,

[1] *Delaware School Building Survey*, by Strayer, Engelhardt, and Hart. Service Citizens, Wilmington, Del., 1919.

[2] See especially the published school building surveys for Cleveland Heights, St. Joseph, and Cedar Rapids — all excellent examples of their type.

[3] See the author's *State and County Educational Reorganization*, Art. 6, and Sec. 133.

[4] "The rural school, from the standpoint of health and general fitness for its important use, is the worst type of building in the whole country, including not only all types of buildings used for human beings, but also those used for livestock and all domestic animals. Rural schools are, on the average, less adequate for their use than prisons, asylums, almshouses, stables, dairy-barns, pig pens, chicken-houses or dog-kennels are for their uses." (T. D. Wood: "Child Welfare and Rural Schools"; in *School and Society*, vol. 2, p. 591. A report on existing conditions.)

these buildings can hardly be condemned because many of the districts are too poor to provide adequate educational facilities. Once a county-unit plan of educational reorganization is substituted the whole situation is changed, for the small and poor rural district then disappears and costs for proper structures can be pooled over the whole county. The inauguration of a county-unit in school administration becomes the opportunity of the State in the matter of enforcing new building standards,[1] and a subsidy might now be granted, for a time at least, to encourage the building of the right type of consolidated and village schools. In instituting the county unit in a district-system State the saving on teachers employed alone would be sufficient, during the transition period, to provide such state subsidies.

Care and upkeep of the school plant; janitorial service. A state division of schoolhousing, once established and under way, would be in a position to render many real services to the school systems of the State. One form of service would be in the formulation of standards, optional as to adoption for the most part, relating to the care and upkeep of the school plant; standardization of janitor service; better plans for the cleaning and disinfecting of buildings, and insurance of buildings; the publication of an occasional bulletin on schoolhouse-keeping and janitor service; and the help of cities and counties in organizing an occasional janitors' institute.

Another service is the formulation of standards for janitorial qualification, and the gradual evolution of janitor's and school-engineer's certificates. Just what should be required as evidence of competency to hold such certificates would need to be worked out somewhat experimentally, but that such a certificate could be made of use there can be but little question.

Financing school-building costs. In a large majority of our States no provision is made for financing school-building costs

[1] As an example of regulation in building matters, outside of schools, and where the State does not have to deal with district authorities, the Massachusetts laws regarding barns for dairy cattle may be cited:

"The barn must be clean, well lighted, and properly ventilated; the cows must have no less than 500 cubic feet of air space per capita; horses not be kept in same part of the barn as cows, and pigs not be kept in or under the barn; the premises must be well drained; manure not be stored near the cows, nor allowed to accumulate in the yard; hay not be kept over the cows, nor in such a position as to impart dust to the air of the tie-up; the cows to be clean; the water supply to be of good character, and the milk not be handled or stored in or near the tie-up."

Had the dairy business of Massachusetts been organized into thousands of little dairy districts, each with a separate board of dairy trustees, such regulations would have been hard to secure, and almost impossible to enforce.

except by payment by tax at the time the building is erected,[1] or by bonding.[2] In the days when building costs and construction standards were low, and educational needs relatively simple, these two alternatives were more satisfactory than is the case today. Under the tax plan many cities were able to build their elementary school buildings as needed by a tax levy during the year of erection of the building, and thus avoid bonding. Within the past two or three decades conditions as to buildings have changed very much. Building costs for both materials and labor have more than doubled, new and more costly standards in building construction have been set up, the reorganization of educational work has made necessary a new type of school plant, and the rapid growth of our cities and the great development of high schools have alike called for rapidly increasing expenditures for school buildings. Other municipal costs and needs have similarly increased. As a result, many cities that twenty years ago had no bonded indebtedness for elementary-school buildings have since been forced to resort to extensive bonding for school sites and buildings.

Bonding means the postponement of the debt to the future, leaving the generations in school to pay the bill. While twenty to twenty-five years, or less, represent the usual bonding limits, in some Western States school bonds may be issued for as long a period as forty years. In a rapidly growing city the interest item is cumulative, and in time the cost for this item alone becomes a very serious burden. Studies made of this problem show that, while bonding is a necessity in a rapidly growing city, there nevertheless comes a time when the cumulated interest charge becomes a heavier burden than a pay-as-you-go tax then would be.

Outside of the larger cities there are many communities where a school building is needed only every two or three years, or every five or six years in our smaller cities. In most county-unit school systems, after the first reorganization is complete, the building need would be even less frequent. In all such cases it

[1] A special building tax of from 75 cents to $1.50 per $100 of assessed valuation, to be used to erect a school building, is not an uncommon legal provision in our school codes.

[2] A recent tabulation of state laws as to bonding for school purposes showed that bonds may be issued for erecting school buildings in 39 States, for purchasing sites in 37 States, for furnishings in 34 States, for building repairs in 22 States, for additions to buildings in 14 States, for paying teachers' salaries in 4 States, and for insurance and emergency conditions in 2 States. (J. G. Fowlkes: *School Bonds*, p. 49.)

would be better to levy either an annual tax for building purposes, and allow the fund to accumulate, at interest, until needed, or to erect the building and pay for it by the issuance of properly-spaced, short-time, serial notes (three to five years), and thus avoid the long-time bonding and the cumulative long-time interest charge. City school districts and county-unit school systems ought to be permitted to exercise such discretion. Most school laws, however, do not provide for such a simple plan for financing new construction.

There will be many cases, though, where bonding is a necessity, and in providing for the issuance of bonds for school buildings certain fundamental principles should be kept in mind. There are two main types of school bonds — term and serial. Term bonds are issued for a definite period of years — twenty, thirty, forty — and are payable only at maturity. The entire debt thus comes due at one time, and to provide for such a contingency an annual tax is levied sufficient to pay the interest and to leave a margin for a sinking fund. This sinking fund is supposed to be invested so that the fund, plus interest earned, will equal the amount due at maturity. Sinking funds, though, are not infrequently poorly invested and handled, sometimes they are partly or wholly lost, and sometimes they are not even levied. Serial bonds, on the other hand, mature serially — that is, a certain number must be paid off each year. The annual tax levied must then cover interest and serial maturities, and these combined can be so calculated as to constitute either a constant or a variable annual charge. With term bonds the interest charge remains the same each year during the life of the bonds; with serial bonds it is a constantly decreasing charge.

The costs for borrowing. Of the two forms of bonds, serial bonds are preferable for school-building purposes. With equal municipal credit, serial bonds will sell to a slightly better advantage than will term bonds. Still more, high-interest-rate bonds do not sell to such good advantage as bonds which bear interest rates nearer the market rate for money, since most people dislike to pay a large premium for the bonds they buy. This may be illustrated as follows. Assuming a number of different issues and types of school bonds, all issued in $1000 denominations, and all on the same city school district, we might expect the different issues to sell at approximately the following relative yields:

Type and Maturity of Bond	To Yield
Thirty-year, term bonds, 4½ per cent interest	4.50%
Thirty-year, serial bonds, 4½ per cent interest	4.30–4.40%
Ten-year, serials, 4½ per cent interest	4.25–4.40%
Five-year, serials, 4½ per cent interest	4.25%
Serial, one to five year notes, 4½ per cent interest	4.15–4.25%
Thirty-year, serial bonds, 5 per cent interest	4.35–4.45%
Thirty-year, serial bonds, 5½ per cent interest	4.40–4.55%
Thirty-year, serial bonds, 6 per cent interest	4.50–4.60%

The size of a bond and the time and plan of interest payment also enter as modifying factors. The standard bond size is $1000, with $500 acceptable, but not preferred. If bonds are issued in irregular denominations, such as $250, $333.33, or $666.66, the cost for the loan is increased because few bond-buyers care to purchase such "irregular pieces." The cost is also slightly increased if only one or two bonds mature each year; if the interest is paid only once a year instead of semi-annually; and if the interest date is other than the first day of a calendar month. All these apparently trifling details, which large school districts can easily control and small districts often cannot or do not, do influence the cost of borrowing.

There is thus seen to be real economy in short-term issues, serial maturities, interest rates close to the market rate for money, thousand-dollar bonds, and a close conformity to market usages in interest payments. The excuse for high-interest bonds has usually been to secure the premium paid for them, and thus be able to put more money into the building than the people are asked to vote. For example, if an issue of $100,000 of 6 per cent serial bonds, issued to erect an elementary-school building, can, by reason of the high interest rate, be sold for $108,750, there is an additional $8750 that can be spent on a building costing nominally $100,000. The best way to handle this problem is to require by law that all premium money must be used for sinking fund or for interest and serial-maturity payments. This measure will compel building within estimates, and will tend to keep down costs by lowering the interest rate.

Bonding proceedings are quite technical and, for small districts, very expensive. Under the district system the added cost often makes the rate paid for the money very high. An $8000 rural-district school house, at 5 per cent bond interest, and $1000 paid off each year, after two years, with a cost of $800 for printing, election, validating opinion, advertising, and sale costs, would

figure out to near 7 per cent interest for the money borrowed. Under a county-unit form of school administration, with larger issues and county credit, the same money probably could be borrowed at about 4½ per cent net.

Wider use of school plant. That our schools have changed greatly in organization, and equipment, and purpose, and character within the past three decades is a matter of common knowledge. The progressive school of to-day is a vastly different institution from that of a quarter to a third of a century ago. Not all the newer activities of the school have been primarily concerned with the children, however; many have had to do with the parents. Of the latter, the most significant has been the change of the schoolhouse from merely a place where children are instructed, for a few hours each day, to a center for the higher life of the whole community and available for use at almost any time. School buildings have been opened to the people after school hours, in the evening, and on Sunday, and a great variety of exercises have been carried on in them for public benefit. Classes have been held for instruction in school subjects, in citizenship, and for teaching the laws. The schoolrooms have also been used for club meetings of many different kinds, rehearsals, gatherings of local societies, and similar purposes. The hallways have been used for exhibits and receptions; the shops for vocational instruction; the laboratories for the teaching of science; the gymnasium facilities for games and contests and dances.

Probably the largest use has been made of the auditorium, where public meetings have been held, school exhibitions and entertainments given, concerts and dramatic work presented, and debates listened to and judged. With the addition of a moving-picture booth the auditorium has found further use in the presentation of educational films. In it, also, extension lectures have been given, and farmers' institutes and other meetings have been held. The domestic-science facilities or the cafeteria are frequently called upon to provide for occasions of a purely social character, such as banquets and important celebrations.

To study ways and means for promoting this wider use of the school plant, to advise communities how to build their school plant to serve such purposes, and if necessary to secure the needed legislation, is another of the important functions that a state division of schoolhousing might take up and carry on with advantage.

The function of the State. In all the work of state oversight and control of school buildings it should be the chief function of the State to study conditions and needs, to advise, to disseminate knowledge, to formulate standards for adoption, to stimulate to new activity, and to compel only where standardization has proceeded so far that there can no longer be any doubt concerning the desirability of the requirement. In the matter of school-building construction, and the contracting of indebtedness therefore, there is far larger room for the exercise of state authority than in matters of curriculum or instruction, not only because standardization has proceeded further in these respects, but also because standardization can do less harm here than in relation to instruction.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Can you cite any examples of the recent erection of the old grade-school and classroom type of elementary school building, such as characterized the decades of the seventies and the eighties?
2. Show how such an elementary school building as is shown in Figure 83 is "adapted to a modern teaching program," whereas the old grade-school building is not.
3. State something of the nature of the changes which have taken place in our national life that have made a different type of education and, consequently, school building necessary, if the school is to render proper service.
4. State why the requirement that the county superintendent of schools approve all plans for new schoolhouses in the districts has both good and bad points.
5. Show that the progress of general legislative regulation of different items in schoolhouse construction, as described on page 522, has been a natural evolution toward general state regulation of construction details through a state school building code.
6. If a school building code is worked out for a State, is there any reason why it should not apply also to private and parochial school buildings?
7. On what basis would a State be justified in demanding that, in addition to sound structure and good sanitary conditions, a new elementary school building should contain a kindergarten room, or facilities for instruction in domestic science, or that the grounds have at least 50 square feet per pupil of play space?
8. A city, in arranging its plans for a new junior high school, and to arrange for instructional needs, grouped the parts of the building in such a manner that the ground-plan looked something like the capital letter L. Would a State be justified in disapproving of such a plan on the ground of large cost for structure? Why?
9. Who should have the final approval of a state schoolhousing code? Why?
10. Under what conditions would you give the authority to a state division of schoolhousing to enter a city, when not requested to do so by the local school board, and make a sanitary survey of the school plant?

Under what conditions would you give such a division authority to order the use of a school building discontinued?

11. Show how differing climatic conditions in a State may affect detailed classroom standardization plans.
12. Show how the added element of safety of a serial over a term bond would tend to make it sell at a more advantageous price.
13. A number of States have developed what are known as Standard Schools (*Source Book*, pp. 250–53), and plans for state approval for extra money grants (*Source Book*, pp. 327–30). The two cited are types. May these devices be regarded as beginning forms of state inspection and approval of schoolhouse construction? If so, in what ways? What is the future usefulness of these schemes?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION

1. Examine three or four recent general city survey reports, read the chapter on buildings and grounds, and draw your conclusions as to the adaptation of the school plant to modern educational needs.
2. Examine some one of the recent city school-building surveys, and report on the handling of the building problem by the surveyors.
3. Compare the Oklahoma and the Osceola (Secs. 133–34) plans of granting state aid for the erection of consolidated school buildings, as far as scope and value are concerned.
4. Report on the Delaware school building survey.
5. Look up different state plans for creating standard rural schools, and estimate their value and effectiveness.
6. Analyze the Ohio, or Indiana, or New Jersey school-building codes, and determine just what they require.
7. Compare any one of the state codes with the standard schoolhousing code proposed by Hart.
8. Investigate the legal bonding provisions for school buildings in a number of selected States.
9. Watch the advertisements of issues of school bonds offered for sale by bond houses, in the financial pages of a large city daily newspaper, and note the varying credit of different communities and the different yields for bond issues having different rates of interest.
10. What qualifications for janitors are required by our larger cities?
11. What legal provisions have been made in selected States as to the wider use of the schoolhouse as a community center?

PROBLEMS

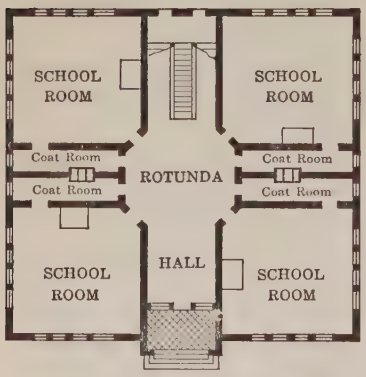
1. On a Strayer-Engelhardt *Score Card for City School Buildings*, figure the score for some elementary school building which is at hand.
2. The following conditions were found in a group of selected school districts in a Mississippi-Valley district-system State:

District	Census	Average Daily Attendance	Assessed Valuation	Yearly Cost for School
2	12	4.7	$ 9,021.40	$411.55
5	14	5.5	13,142.28	459.03
9	15	6.6	16,426.18	516.49
16	16	7.9	19,642.80	562.79
21	18	8.2	42,641.20	767.32
34	21	9.9	56,515.10	1191.86

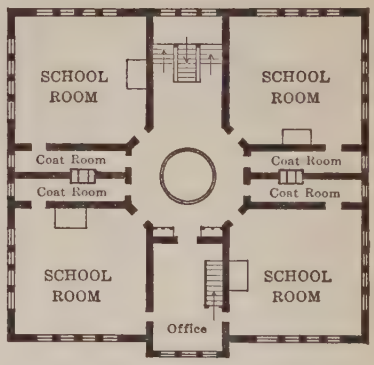
The valuation set on the schoolhouse was less than $500 in the case of the first three districts, and over $1000 in the case of the last one only. The districts cannot vote bonds for over 5 per cent of the assessed valuation, and are limited to an annual tax rate of 50 cents on the $100 for maintenance and 50 cents for buildings and repairs.

Assume now that a state schoolhousing division, after inspection, orders the schools in districts 2, 5, and 16 permanently closed, in district 9 remodeled at a cost of $2000, and in district 21 at a cost of $600. What can the districts do to meet the state requirements? What are the equities in the different cases, from the point of view of the children, the parents, and the State?

3. Assume that as a county superintendent of schools, or a member of the staff of a state schoolhousing division, the following plan for a ten-room town schoolhouse is submitted to you for approval. What changes or additions would you recommend, and what changes would you insist on?



FIRST FLOOR PLAN



SECOND FLOOR PLAN

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1. *Schoolhouse construction*

Almack, J. C., and Hill, A. P. *School Buildings and Building Programs.* In preparation; to be published early in 1928. A comprehensive treatise on all phases of the problem.

American Engineering Standards Committee. *Code of Lighting School Buildings.* Illuminating Engineering Society of America, 1924. 39 pp. A carefully prepared code that has formed the basis of a number of state code requirements.

Ayres, May, Williams, J. F., and Wood, T. D. *Healthful Schools*, chaps. I–X. Describes the constructional requirements for a schoolhouse.

Cooper, I. F. *Report of Committee on Schoolhouse Planning.* 164 pp. National Education Association, Washington, 1925. A very important and very useful report.

Cubberley, E. P. *State and County Educational Reorganization.* (The Osceola Code.) New York, 1914.

Art. 3, Sec. 12, div. 6, and chap. IX, outlines the organization and work of a state department of schoolhouse construction and sanitation.

Cubberley, E. P., and Elliott, E. C. *State and County School Administration; Source Book*, chap. 19.

Donovan, J. J. *School Architecture; Principles and Practices.* 724 pp. New York, 1921.

An important volume on school planning.

Dresslar, F. B. *American Schoolhouses.* 132 pp., 267 plates. Bulletin 5, 1910. *Rural Schoolhouses and Grounds.* 162 pp., 44 plates. Bulletin 12, 1914. *American School Buildings.* 100 pp., 45 plates. Bulletin 17, 1924. All three Bulletins of U.S. Bureau of Education.

Each of the above contains many plans and illustrations of the better type of American school buildings.

Dutton, S. T., and Snedden, D. *Administration of Public Education in the United States.* 2d Ed., 1912.

Chapters XI and XII good general reading on the construction and adaptation of the schoolhouse.

Edwards, I. N. "The Law Governing the Use of School Property for Other than School Purposes"; in *Elem. Sch. Jour.*, vol. 26, pp. 585–95. (Apr., 1926).

Shows trends in type states, and typical court decisions, with many citations.

Engelhardt, N. L. *A School Building Program for Cities.* 130 pp. Teachers College Contributions to Education, no. 96. New York, 1918.

Engelhardt, N. L., Reeves, C. E., and Womrath, G. F. *Score Card for Public School Janitorial-Engineering Service.* Teachers College, New York, 1926.

Fowlkes, J. G. *School Bonds.* 177 pp. Milwaukee, 1924.

An important study of the problem of bonding for school buildings.

Hart, F. W. *A Standard State Schoolhousing Code.* With checking lists and forms. 172 pp. C. F. Williams & Son, Albany, New York, 1924.

Melchior, W. T. *Insuring Public School Property.* 187 pp. Teachers College Contributions to Education, no. 168. New York, 1925.

Mills, W. F. *American School Building Standards.* 616 pp. Columbus, Ohio, 1919.

Detailed discussion of all features of school building construction.

2. *Building Surveys and Score Cards*

Nearly all the city school-survey reports contain chapters on the school plant, many of which are excellent for illustrating existing conditions. The building surveys made by Strayer and Engelhardt, and their associates, are especially noteworthy, as they represent the best work that has been done. The following Building Surveys are excellent:

1. Cedar Rapids, Iowa. 98 pp., 1924.
2. Cleveland Heights, Ohio. 39 pp., 1920.
3. St. Joseph, Missouri. 103 pp., 1924.
4. Berkeley, California. 195 pp., 1926.

Flannegan, R. K. *Sanitary Survey of the Schools of Orange County, Virginia.* 28 pp., 8 plates. Bulletin 17, 1914, U.S. Bureau of Education.

A good example of bad conditions frequently found.

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Results in Delaware, with scoring.

Strayer, G. D., and Engelhardt, N. L. *The Delaware School Building Survey.* Wilmington, Del., 1919.

Strayer, G. D., and Engelhardt, N. L. *Score Cards and Standards for City Schools, Rural Schools, and High Schools.* Teachers College, New York.
Three different scales for use in scoring buildings. The most generally used score cards.

Strayer, G. D., and Engelhardt, N. L. *Standards for High School Buildings.* 95 pp. Teachers College, 1924.
Bibliography and diagrams.

Strayer, G. D., and Engelhardt, N. L. *Schoolhousing Series.* Albany, N.Y., 1921.

3. *Building Codes*

The more important school building codes are as follows:

Indiana. *Rules and Regulations Governing the Construction, Equipment, and Maintenance of Sanitary Features of Public and Parochial School Buildings.* Indiana State Board of Health, Indianapolis.

New Jersey. *Building Code and Rules and Regulations of the State Board of Education Concerning Public School Buildings.* State Board of Education, Trenton.

Ohio. *The Ohio State Building Code.* State Industrial Commission, Columbus.
This is probably the most stringent of all present codes.

Other States having Codes covering the majority of essential items are:

Illinois	Minnesota	Vermont
Maryland	New York	West Virginia
Massachusetts	Pennsylvania	Wisconsin

4. *Special Bibliographies*

Almack, J. C. "The Literature and Problems of School Buildings"; in *Journal Educational Research*, vol. 12, pp. 228–35. (Oct., 1925.)
Codes, programs, surveys, needs, location, old buildings, and building program.

Fowlkes, J. G., and Carlile, A. B. *Bibliography on School Buildings.* 76 pp. University of Wisconsin, Bureau of Educational Research, Bulletin 6. (March, 1925.)
A well-arranged list of books and magazine articles.

CHAPTER XX

HEALTH AND SANITARY CONTROL

Development of health work and physical education. Closely associated with the movement for better schoolhouse construction and sanitation has been a general movement in behalf of some state direction and oversight and control of the health and physical development of the pupils in the schools.

The beginnings of an interest in physical education go back to the introduction of military exercises, calisthenics, and the German type of heavy gymnastics, about 1830. This and later enthusiasms were not permanent in influence, however, and it was not until about 1880–90, when the Swedish or Ling systems of gymnastics were introduced into this country that our public schools began to be really interested in physical training. It was at that time assumed that physical training was almost the only approach to health and physical welfare, and that gymnastics and calisthenics were almost a necessity if health and strength were to be realized and maintained.[1]

Beginning in Boston in 1894, in Philadelphia in 1896, and in New York City in 1897, a new school-health movement, based on medical inspection, had its origin. Started in consequence of a series of epidemics and in an attempt to control the spread of disease, these experiments soon led to a vast expansion of this new health work. Permissive legislation was soon obtained, and cities everywhere began to establish the service. The school nurse was soon added (1902), and proved to be of great value. The new work was welcomed as a desirable addition to the older physical education. By 1911 as many as 411 cities had provided medical inspection for their school children, and 415 school nurses

[1] "With the introduction and growth of physiology, biochemistry, pathology, and closely allied medical subjects, we began to realize more and more that there is no single approach to health and physical perfection. Indeed, we have learned that there are many factors which are of even greater importance in the maintenance of health than daily exercise. Malnutrition, focal and other infection, impaired elimination of the body's waste matter, insufficient sleep and rest, faulty habits of living, nervous instability — any of these may contribute far more to a 'break-down' than does neglect of exercise. Again, we have learned that there is little in the usual physical education that will greatly help sub-normals, although some physical educators place great emphasis on this particular objective." (Dr. John Sundwall, in address at Boston Conference, 1923.)

were at work. Since 1911 this movement has become so general that even small cities to-day employ at least one school nurse, and permissive legislation for nurses and school physicians is now quite general in the laws of our States. In 1906 Massachusetts enacted the first state medical-inspection law, and by 1911 twenty States had some form of such legislation. In 1912 Minnesota organized the first state division of health supervision of schools, and this new idea has since been adopted by a number of other States.

As this work was organized and developed, it was soon realized that the attempt to detect and control disease, after it had become established, was only a first step in the process of health supervision, and that any school-health program of value had to be extended in many new directions. The school inspections brought to light an alarming number of physical defects, such as diseased teeth, nose and throat troubles, malnutrition, defective hearing and vision, heart and lung disorders, bone and joint diseases, and similar developmental infirmities. Taking average school children, approximately 70 per cent were found to have actual or potential, and also largely curable, physical defects.[1] Physical examinations to detect hidden diseases, and a constructive health-and-physical-development program for the schools, were the natural outcomes of this new movement. The movement came at first almost wholly from the medical profession, but it has been earnestly supported from the beginning by school officers.

Although originally introduced and developed as a health measure, physical education soon became largely lost in its own technique and failed to utilize the many advances of the science of medicine. Concerning itself largely with gymnastics, calisthenics, play, games, and athletics, the important approaches to health and physical efficiency which the medical workers were developing were not appreciated or applied by the teachers of physical education. The rise of the play movement, about 1900, with its emphasis on free play and athletics, added further to the decline of the old physical training, although the play movement itself soon changed — for the older pupils — into athletics, with its consequent over-training of a few and a bleacher type of exercise for the many.

[1] Rural children run even higher. In the many studies made, rural children average higher, in almost every physical defect, than do city children. Poor rural homes, unhygienic habits of living, poor and inadequate schoolhouses, and faulty health instruction — or none at all — lay a heavy toll on rural children.

Recent developments. The appalling revelations of the army-draft medical examinations of 1917–18 came as a rude shock to the American people. In the first draft, approximately one in four of the young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, the time when a man should be in the prime of physical condition, was rejected for the army because of physical defects which would incapacitate them for the life of a soldier. Others who were accepted had to be placed in "developmental battalions" to bring them up to physical standard. Over all, approximately one third of those called for military service were found to be suffering from physical defects, with the largest percentages rejected coming from the cities and manufacturing States, and the States having large numbers of the foreign born.[1] This is well shown in Figure 86.

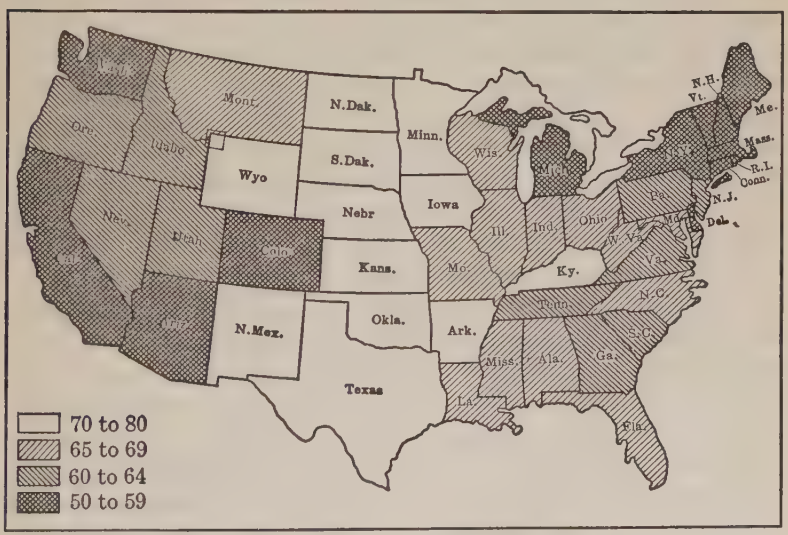

FIG. 86. PER CENT OF DRAFTED MEN PASSING PHYSICAL EXAMINATION BY STATES
(After Ayres.)

Such results from tests of the Nation's stamina were startling, and gave an impetus to new legislation that has since made physical training and health education a subject of much interest

[1] It was found that 100,000 country boys produced 4790 more physically fit soldiers than an equal number of city boys; 100,000 whites 1240 more soldiers than an equal number of colored; and 100,000 native born 3500 more soldiers than an equal number of foreign born. (L. P. Ayres, *The War with Germany*, p. 21.)

to the American people. Prior to 1915 only three States — North Dakota (1899), Ohio (1904), and Idaho (1913) — had laws relating to physical education. During the War years, 1917–18, eight additional States enacted legislation requiring physical education to be given in the schools, and seventeen more States put similar laws on their statute books before the close of the year 1921. Other States have followed since, and the movement now promises to become general. Thus physical education has come to the front again and, along with medical inspection and health teaching, has been made a requirement of law. Thus one of the by-products of the World War is a new and a deep interest in health and physical education, and there is every likelihood that we shall make progress in the scientific organization of the work during the next decade which might not have been made in twice the time if the War had not revealed to our people the extent and the importance of the problem.

As might be expected of any new movement, the development has in general been somewhat haphazard, and there has been much less correlation between possible health agencies than is desirable. Sometimes the development has been placed under the State Board of Health; sometimes under the State Board of Education; sometimes under some specially created board; and sometimes local authority has been similarly divided. In many cities the health department controls the medical inspection in the schools, a special division under the school department looks after the physical education work, and the teaching of health and hygiene rests with still other control and supervision. Locally, at least, the result has been waste, friction, and lack of effectiveness. The recent marked tendency has been to place the work under educational rather than medical direction, and with both educators and physicians in charge. The time is rapidly approaching when a unified educational control will be necessary throughout if the best results are to be obtained.[1]

A health-education program for a State. A unified health and development program for our States is as yet largely in the mak ing, though here and there it is being worked out. Certain con-

[1] "The public is not willing to support, in our school systems, two separate agencies which are concerned primarily with the sound, vigorous, and harmonious development of the body. Nor do our school administrators want this arrangement. Too much misunderstanding, lack of sympathy, friction, duplication, and academic and economic loss are the invariable results of a dual administration of the school's physical-welfare activities." (Dr. John Sundwall, in address at Boston Conference, 1923.)

clusions have been reached which indicate that in its final form it should include at least the following elements:

1. Schoolhouse sanitation. As was described in the previous chapter, this should include the construction, care, upkeep, and sanitary condition of schoolhouses, and the provision of proper and adequate play space for the pupils. A separate division of schoolhouse construction and sanitation should have charge of this portion of the health program, but it should work in close co-operation with the health and development program for the State.

2. Physical education. The inauguration of that type and form of graded physical exercises that will reach all the children of school age, through story-plays, folk-dancing, drills, plays and games, gymnasium exercises, organized athletics, and mass competitions, with a view to the development of strength, agility, endurance, and trained muscular control, together with the moral and social qualities of initiative, courage, self-control, and co-operation. There should also be provision for corrective work with a view to the elimination of faulty posture and curable developmental defects.

3. Health supervision. This should include all that has been developed under the new medical inspection, health supervision, and the work of the school physician and nurse, and should also include a program for guarding and guiding the health of the children in such matters as eye and ear, nose and throat, teeth, heart action, nutrition, and nervous coördination, together with the supervision of special classes for physically handicapped children. This service should be extended to teachers and janitors, the care of the health of teachers being especially important.[1]

4. Health training and instruction. This calls for a broad constructive program of health teaching and instruction on the one hand, and training in health habits on the other. The purpose is to give to the pupils sound knowledge as to health conditions and demands, to awaken right attitudes toward personal health and physical efficiency, and to give that necessary training in health practices which serves to translate sound theory into good personal habits.

[1] That the actual status of physical education is far from this ideal may be seen from the fact that, by 1925, but 31 had laws for physical education with high-school pupils, and many of these were permissive laws — largely preliminary to a later program. There are as yet few teachers to carry out an intelligent physical education program.

5. The hygiene of instruction. The organization of hygienic programs of work, and the continuous study of the hygiene of instruction and of mental development. This would include the hygienic aspects of such matters as school programs, home study, examinations, textbooks, study periods, fatigue, part-time work, the school activities, discipline, grading and promotion, handicapped children, and mentally exceptional children. More than any other part of the service, this would represent scientific studies of the problems of educational hygiene.

6. A teacher-training program in health and physical development. An organization of the health and physical education portions of the teacher-training program in normal schools and teachers' colleges, and the training of prospective teachers in educational hygiene, health knowledge, and health habits. The program should also include the instruction of teachers in service, and the certification of those specially qualified to become directors and supervisors of different phases of the work.

Organization for the work. The working of such a general state program calls for both state and local organization.[1] From the state end it demands the creation of a division, in the State Department of Education, to deal with the whole problem of health, physical education, and child welfare. Such a division should help to work out and formulate a state program along the lines indicated above; should conduct studies as to needs, and results attained; should conduct health and sanitary surveys; should stimulate and guide the work in health supervision and instruction and training in the schools of the State; should similarly stimulate and guide the work in physical training and playground organization in the State; should make studies as to the hygiene of instruction; should disseminate information and ideas as to the care, nurture, and nutrition of both school children and those of pre-school age; should conduct demonstrations and make health exhibits, much as the agricultural colleges have done in their lines for the farmer; should establish and direct short vacation training courses for the teachers in service; should study the health and physical needs of teachers and janitors; and should at times organize and direct state campaigns for health, social hygiene, sanitation, and physical welfare. Much of what is to be

[1] In 1921 a so-called Fess-Capper Bill was introduced in Congress (see *Educational Review*, vol. 63, pp. 57, 81) which proposed to grant a fund to the States, in proportion to the number of children in each 6–18 years of age, to be matched by the States, to provide physical training for all between those ages.

done will need to be formulated by this division as a part of the work of the State Board of Education, as much of it is too detailed and too technical for general legislation. Most of what is to be done, too, should — at least at first — be tentative in form, and be required by the State Board of Education only as worked out and well standardized in practice.

Where the county is the unit of educational organization, or can be made the unit for the purpose, the organization for the subordinate units is easy. The large city, the county, city and county combined, or even two or more counties can be organized as units for the work, and a well-planned health and physical development program be inaugurated. In States where the district system prevails, either the county must be made the unit and health and development supervision be superimposed, or else the slower process of voluntary district unions [1] be permitted and encouraged. The district unions have the disadvantage of being too small for adequate organization, they are hard to form, and when formed the districts most in need of health and physical development services are usually left out. The best forms of organization and the most effective results are to be obtained under the city, the county-unit,[2] or the city and county combined. These offer a unit large enough for the provision of the required doctors, nurses, special medical services, and general health supervision and instruction.

The state program, when organized, should extend to all children in all schools, public, private, and parochial, the work being of such importance that the two latter should also be required to follow the program and give the health and development training as indicated for the public schools. Still more, it should be possible for teachers, janitors, and other school officers

[1] These have been authorized in a few States. They may be formed much as are union high-school districts, drainage districts, mosquito-abatement districts, or other forms of permitted local effort. A few are formed among the more intelligent portions of the population; the other portions do without such service. California offers a good example of such permissive legislation for local health districts. There they are general in character, covering community as well as school health matters, and are under the general supervision of the State Board of Health. So far, however, very few such voluntary unions or districts have been formed.

[2] The Census of 1920 showed a rural population of approximately 51,000,000 people, and of these only 11 per cent were receiving any form of health supervision. Two hundred and thirty-one counties — 8 per cent of the total — had some form of rural health service under whole-time officers. In eighteen States not a single county had been organized for health supervision. Since 1920 there have been material additions to the above, due to the new general interest in health work, but the total is as yet small.

and employees to share in the advantages of a school health-service, as corporation employees do where a health and medical service is provided for them.

Such a program for health and physical development is an important part of a national program for increasing the wealth of a nation, and one that ultimately results in large financial returns. To decrease the number of those who are sick, and increase the number of those who are well, is adding to the productive capacity and the economic wealth of a people just as certainly as is an increase in the number of pure-bred stock, miles of railway lines, going manufacturing concerns, or savings bank deposits. Health work in the schools, while an added expense of course, is nevertheless one that pays for itself, many times over, in the increased health and wealth and productive capacity of a people.

Military drill. When the new legislation requiring a state program of physical education began, during the years of the War, military training was included as a portion of the program by five States.[1] In only one of the five, however (New York), was military training made compulsory.[2] The tendency since has been to confine the work to physical training, and to omit military drill from the program.[3]

The usefulness of military drill for boys of high-school age is seriously questioned by students of health and physical education. Its advocates are chiefly those who believe in military preparedness, and in a training in learned responses that tends to develop unquestioning obedience to authority. In the development of such desirable traits as initiative, resourcefulness, social cooperation, group loyalty, and love of play, military training cannot compete with games and sports. The drill takes so much time that little is left for real physical education, and the drill is so heavy for immature youth as to tax severely the strength and endurance of many high-school boys. It is a type of exercise adapted

[1] New York (1916); California, Nevada, and New Jersey (1917); and Washington (1919).

[2] There the work in physical education was placed under an appointed state military commission, whose duties were to appoint a state supervisor and assistants for the work, advise the Regents (State Board of Education) as to courses in physical training and citizenship, and to prescribe and direct military training for boys between 16 and 19 years of age.

[3] The Massachusetts legislature appointed a special commission (1916) to report on the practicability of providing military training for boys, and this commission reported as opposed to military drill, but in favor of systematic physical training and hygiene teaching. See digest of report in *School Review*, vol. 25, pp. 168–70, with selected testimony and opinions, pp. 170–76.

to mature young men, and too often is physically harmful to younger and weaker boys.[1] Its uniform nature transgresses one of the most fundamental laws of physical education — that of the adaptation of exercises to needs and capacities — and the clothing required to be worn is not such as should be worn during vigorous exercise. Still more, military drill is given by officers designated for the purpose, is not under the department of physical education, except nominally, and seldom is carried on under hygienic or medical supervision.[1] Being much inferior to directed exercise for physical development, the tendency to-day clearly is to omit military training from any public school plan for physical education.

Pre-school health-and-development guidance. In Chapter XII (pages 328) we pointed out the importance of the pre-school years, both physically and educationally, and stated that the many movements now under way, in this country and in Europe, are almost certain to emphasize more and more these pre-school years. The numerous health movements in our cities, the infant-welfare work now being developed, the classes being organized for instruction in infant hygiene, the baby-week campaigns, the child-conservation work — these and many other recent undertakings are directing new attention to the importance of the problems of maternity, infant care, and community hygiene.

The development of parental training, home teaching, infant care and welfare, and pre-parental education are parts of the health-and-welfare problem of a State. Until recently we have not concerned ourselves with these problems, conceiving of them as belonging to the home. The establishment of the Children's Bureau (page 102) by the Federal Government, the passage of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Act (page 59) by Congress, and the creation of child hygiene and child welfare divisions by our States, are indicative of a change in attitude as to responsibility on the part of our people. Just what connection the forms of organization developed in our States to deal with these new problems ultimately will have with the school remains to be seen, but many who have thought on the problem feel that an extended (downward) kindergarten, and an extended school-health service, will in time be called upon to contribute much

[1] As carried on, faintings and prostrations are reported as not uncommon among high-school boys during drill periods; and organic injuries, such as heart lesions and kidney trouble, are likely to result to some.

toward the working out and handling of these new problems. For such service the school already has a potential staff in its medical service — nurses, home-visiting teachers, teachers of home economics, and health supervisors. It may well be that, in the near future, pre-school health and welfare and guidance work may be added to the health and physical welfare program of our state school systems.

Child-welfare research stations. In this connection the State of Iowa has recently (1917) inaugurated a form of state service of great possible future significance through the creation of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station. This has been established in connection with the state university, and is an attempt to do for child life what we have been doing for forty years and more for pigs and cattle, wheat and corn, and fruits and vegetables. It is an effort to carry over the agricultural experimental station idea — for long endowed by our Federal Government (*Source Book*, pp. 90–96) — to the study of the child-welfare problem of a State. The beginnings of the service were made in 1915, when the legislature enacted that any boy or girl in Iowa "under 16 years of age who is afflicted with some deformity or suffering from some malady that probably can be remedied," and whose parents are unable to provide means for surgical and medical treatment and hospital care, might be treated free of expense in the hospitals of the university. In 1919 this age limit was removed. In 1917 the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station was established at the university — the first of its kind in this country or abroad — for scientific research in the conservation and development of normal and superior children.

The purpose of the work, as developed, is to make scientific analysis of the factors contributing to child betterment, to develop practical methods of child rearing, and "to give to parents dependable counsel to insure the continuous improvement of every child to the maximum ability consistent with its native endowment and special abilities." To this end the station has organized divisions of anthropometry, nutrition, maternity and infant hygiene, corrective speech, eugenics, sociology, and psychology; and coöperates with the university schools of public health, nursing, medicine, dentistry, the children's hospital, the psychopathic hospital, the extension division of the university, and the State Board of Health. In 1924 the State organized an Iowa Child Welfare Commission, and further

extended the work of the station by authorizing this commission to call on the station for assistance in its work for delinquent, dependent, neglected, or illegitimate children. While, theoretically, the services of the station are available to any parent in Iowa, in practice the facilities provided have proved entirely inadequate to meet the demands made upon them. On this point a recent (1924) bulletin of the station says:

> The facilities are still quite inadequate to meet the many demands for the care and training of children. Many a crippled child has to wait months before it can be accommodated in the hospital where its lameness can be cured. Thousands of mothers could be assisted in the problems of child training if funds were at hand to extend the services that are now being developed. Urgent scientific problems are delayed in their solution because of the lack of trained workers and proper facilities.

Such work as this at Iowa marks a mere beginning of a service that our States might provide, and that the Federal Government might aid in providing, which would be of the greatest value to the rising generation. Perhaps some day, when the world turns its energies from fighting and preparation for fighting, and realizes that well-developed children may be as valuable to a State as an increase in pork and butter fat or the yield of oats or barley, such child welfare stations will come to be regarded as a necessary part of a state educational service, and be supported accordingly.[1] Few other forms of service that a State can provide will do more to help teachers, supervisors, and parents to care better for the health and the proper physical development of children of school and pre-school age.

General sanitary control. The general oversight, examination, and exclusion of pupils suffering from contagious disease would naturally be a part of the work of the medical-inspection division of a school-health service. This would apply to all forms of contagious disease, including smallpox. As a means of mitigating the ravages and danger of smallpox, our States have generally enacted laws requiring evidence as to the satisfactory vaccination of all school pupils as a pre-requisite for attendance at the public schools.

No problem of the health and sanitary control of public educa-

[1] Yet in this State, the legislature recently increased the appropriation for the study and elimination of tuberculosis among cattle from $100,000 to $250.000, and refused to increase the appropriation for the investigation of tuberculosis among children from $5000 to $10,000.

tion has presented more complications, or caused more trouble to school authorities, than has that of compulsory vaccination. Almost every aspect of the question has been before the courts, from lowest to highest, of most of our States, and all the fundamental principles involved have been carried to and been decided upon by the Supreme Court of the United States. In substance, this highest of courts has ruled that a State may require the compulsory vaccination of all children as an exercise of the police power, and as essential to public safety and health;[1] that it is within the power of a legislature to determine whether vaccination is or is not the best mode for the prevention of smallpox, and the protection of the public health;[2] and that local school boards may exclude children from school and deny them the advantages of education if their parents refuse to comply with the state laws as to vaccination.[3] (*Source Book*, pp. 537–41.)

The attempt of school authorities to enforce such legislation, when no case of smallpox is in the vicinity, has almost always been a cause of trouble for the school authorities, and much bitter feeling has at times been engendered as a result of such enforcement. School superintendents enforcing the regulation have at times lost their positions as a consequence. Another result has been the enactment of new legislation permitting the exemption of "conscientious objectors," thus virtually nullifying the law. Many school boards and superintendents, tired of the community contention which enforcement often awakens, have given up the struggle, and the result is seen in the increasing percentage of unvaccinated children and the increasing number of smallpox cases.

This is essentially a health regulation for the protection of the entire public, based on scientific evidence that seems thoroughly reliable. The school population is only a minority portion of the total population, and the proper place to lodge the enforcement of this regulation is with the medical profession. Legislation making the enforcement of the law a duty of state and local boards of health, and relieving school boards of the burden, should be enacted generally.

National coöperation in school health-work. There are numer-

[1] See Lawton *vs.* Steele; 150 U.S., 136.
[2] See Jacobson *vs.* Massachusetts; 197 U.S., 11.
[3] See Viemeister *vs.* White, President of the Board of Education, *et al.*, 72 N. E., 97. (*Source Book*, pp. 537–41.)
For additional decisions on this question, see pp. 274–79 of *State School Systems*, III; a series of legislative acts and judicial decisions, compiled by E. C. Elliott, and published as Bulletin 2, 1910, of U.S. Bureau of Education.

ous federal agencies that are more or less intimately concerned with public health. One of the most important of these is the Child Hygiene Section of the United States Public Health Service, which deals with health work among children of school age.[1] Its work consists of investigations of health conditions in the States; the rendering of assistance to child hygiene sections of State Boards of Health; a study of delinquency, dependency, and mental defects; studies in feeding and nutrition; studies in oral hygiene; the mental and physical examination of children brought before juvenile courts; and medical inspection of schools. A large portion of its work is done in the schools.

Here is a large and important field in which the Federal Government, with its superior knowledge and trained staff, might render very large aid to the States. Its work would be to stimulate them to activity, with subsidies if necessary, and to help standardize the work among the States in the health supervision and physical development of children in school. Much valuable aid could be given where it is now badly needed. A yearly subsidy to each of the States, for the establishment of child welfare stations to do for child welfare and child hygiene what the Hatch Act of 1887 (*Source Book*, pp. 90–95) and its subsequent extensions enabled the agricultural colleges to do for agricultural research, would be a better form of stimulation of the States than a general grant of money for "the promotion of physical education," as was proposed in the Smith-Towner and later education bills.[2]

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show how the new interest in physical education was a natural result of the World War, and that there was a natural tendency at first to overemphasize drill and training instead of health education.
2. What elements of a state health and physical-education program should enter into the instruction of a teacher-training institution, and what should a teacher be expected to know and be able to do when certified for teaching?
3. Show the ease and simplicity of health organization for rural communities under a county-unit, or city-and-county-combined plan.

[1] This coöperation is extended as requested by the States, and so far has reached probably not much over one half of the States. See article by E. Blanche Sterling, on "Federal Participation in a Health Program for Schools"; in *Elementary School Journal*, vol. 22, pp. 279–85.

[2] The various education bills proposed a yearly grant of $20,000,000 to promote physical education in the States, to be apportioned to the States on the basis of total population, for their use for this purpose, as they saw fit. The Federal Government will soon give (see page 54) a grant of $90,000 a year to each State for the promotion of agricultural research, or a total to the 48 States and 3 Territories of $4,590,000 a year.

4. Show the analogy between voluntary district-unit organization for health service, and voluntary district-unit consolidation for better rural schools, and show that much the same defects must result from the use of either plan.
5. Do you agree with the statement that a state health-and-physical-development program should be made to apply equally to public, private, and parochial schools? If not, why not?
6. Point out the economic as well as educational values in extending school-health supervision to teachers and janitors, as well as to children.
7. Show the advantages of the school for work in pre-school guidance in health and nutrition and welfare work.
8. Just how far should the school go in furnishing what children need for good school work, when the home does not or cannot? For example, the school furnishes pencils, pens, papers, ink, and books. Should it also furnish, as needed:
   (*a*) Pupil vaccination,
   (*b*) School feeding,
   (*c*) Dental service,
   (*d*) Adenoid removal,
   (*e*) Eye glasses,
   (*f*) Medical supervision for anæmic and tubercular children?

   On what do you base your answers?
9. Show that a health supervision for teachers becomes more important, by way of the conservation of expenditures, in proportion as the teaching force becomes better trained and educated.
10. Prove the statement that the improvement of the health of a nation increases its economic wealth, and in consequence its ability to have, to produce, and to enjoy.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Make a study and comparison of the state laws as to physical education, with regard to nature, purposes, means, and scope.
2. Secure the detailed outlines for the work in some State having a good health and development program, and similarly study and analyze these.
3. Investigate the work and results of the New York state military training program.
4. The work of state child welfare and child hygiene divisions.
5. The work of the Child Hygiene Section of the United States Public Health Service.
6. State laws and regulations as to vaccination of school pupils.
7. Just what is done for the health and care of school children, and just what is furnished, in some large city which is well-organized for health and development service?

PROBLEMS

1. State A places the health supervision and medical inspection in the schools under the general control of the State Board of Health, and the work in physical education under the general supervision of the State Board of Education. Work out a plan that will still provide unified local supervision and control, in city and county-unit school systems.
2. Take the Bulletin (no. 1, 1922) by Storey, Small, and Salisbury, and pick out from the laws given (pp. 17–40) the best one of the recent state laws relating to physical education.

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CHAPTER XXI

TEXTBOOKS AND SUPPLIES

Importance of the textbook. The textbook has always occupied a position of large importance in American education. In the early days of the school, when trained teachers were exceedingly few in number, and when teaching equipment was exceedingly limited, the success of the instruction was very largely determined by the textbooks the teacher happened to have to work with and from. The great and widespread influence of such early textbooks as Pike's *Arithmetic*, Morse's *Elements of Geography*, Lindley Murray's *Grammar*, and Webster's blue-backed *Speller*, and the great improvement in instruction in arithmetic made possible by the publication of Warren Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi*, are known to every student of the history of education in the United States. Still familiar to the older generation of our people are such famous textbooks as Ray's *Arithmetics*, McGuffey's *Readers*, Appleton's *Geographies*, and the Spencerian *Copy Books* for the teaching of penmanship, all of which set new standards in instruction. Still later successes were the Guyot, Frye, and the Tarr and McMurry *Geographies;* the Appleton, Baldwin, and Cyr *Readers;* the Barnes, Fiske, and the McMaster *Histories;* White's *Arithmetics;* Harvey's *Grammar;* and the Vertical Writing texts which displaced the Spencerian slope writing. Each of these textbooks educated a body of teachers in new methods of instruction, and each profoundly influenced the teaching in our schools. To-day other and newer textbooks are contributing their part toward reshaping and directing instruction.

There are special reasons why the textbook should have occupied, and for a long time to come probably will continue to occupy, a position of importance with us unknown in those European countries [1] where the instruction is highly organized and central-

[1] The European observer of American schools is always impressed by the very great importance of the textbook in American school instruction. Accustomed to a quite permanent and largely male teaching body, well educated and well trained for the work, and a teaching body which instructs the pupils while the text is largely a pupil's guide and source of information, he is amazed at the great dependence placed on the text here by both pupils and teachers.

ized, where for generations there has been a body of carefully trained teachers, and where the yearly turnover in the teaching corps is quite small. The teachers in our elementary schools are almost entirely women, their average teaching life is but a few years, the percentage of trained teachers in most of our States is as yet small, and the number of beginners each year is very large.[1] As nearly all beginning teachers are textbook-teachers, and as most teachers adhere rather closely to the textbook during all their teaching days, the textbook is destined to continue to play an important part in American education for a long time to come.

Our peculiar American textbook development. Partly because of the peculiar teaching needs we have had to meet, partly because of the absence here of any European type of standardization and uniformity of instruction and instructional tools, and partly because of the resulting open competition in the preparation and production of textbooks, the business of preparing textbooks for use in the schools has become a great American business, of a type unknown in any other land. Instead of having the State decide just what shall be taught, issuing a uniform and largely an unchanging course of study for all schools to follow, selecting uniform textbooks to carry out the State's decisions, and even at times prescribing the methods to be followed in instruction, we have, very fortunately, allowed school communities large liberty in the matter of both courses of study and textbooks. Even where uniform textbooks have been adopted for a State, liberty to prepare the courses of study locally, and to supplement the state-adopted books with other texts has seldom been denied, at least to our city school systems. As a result, American authors and publishers have been left free to compete in the production of the best textbooks they are able to prepare.

Largely in consequence of this freedom from a deadening state uniformity in prescription and printing, the school textbook business in America has become one of very large importance for the

[1] Less than 14 per cent of all our teachers are men, and excepting a few men teaching elementary-school children in one-room rural schools and some small town schools, virtually all our elementary-school teachers are women. Statistics show that the teaching life of our normal school graduates is short, the average in many places being about three to four years of service. Statistics also show that the annual turnover among teachers runs from 10 to 40 per cent, that only 9 States have 75 per cent of trained teachers, and that in 12 States the percentage of trained teachers does not reach 20 per cent. Over half a million children, in 1920, were being taught by teachers who had not studied beyond the elementary school, and approximately three million by teachers who had not completed a high-school education.

progress of education. The investment of much capital has been involved, large and costly plants have been created to print and bind the textbooks, an able body of teachers, illustrators, and salesmen have been employed to prepare the books and to explain their merits, and their production has enlisted the services of some of the best intellects of the country. In no country are there more teachers engaged in the work of textbook-making, and nowhere are textbooks in preparation subjected to such a severe trying-out process before publication. In no country, moreover, are the textbooks in use revised more frequently to keep them abreast of the progress in knowledge and the best educational thought.

Unlike the usual European textbook, the American school textbook is usually a fine piece of workmanship, distinguished for its excellence in typography, paper, illustration, binding, and general make-up, and it is, at the same time, sold at a comparatively low price. As a result, textbooks written and printed in the United States are sold all over the English-speaking world.

The advantages to our schools from this highly competitive textbook industry have been great, and have contributed much to offset a lack of professional preparation on the part of the mass of the teaching force. In no other land does the beginning teacher have so many aids in the form of textbooks to help her get started in the work of teaching, and nowhere does the experienced and capable teacher have so many supplementary texts to put into the hands of her pupils as do the teachers of the United States. The excellent character of the American school textbook, then, is one of the important forces that have enabled us, in spite of difficulties as to teaching force not experienced in older European lands, to create the type of schools we have.

Rise of a demand for uniformity in textbooks. Originally the parents of children everywhere provided the books necessary for study in the schools. In the early period, when individual instruction was the common method followed, the children brought to school any school book the family happened to have, and the teacher assigned work and heard lessons from a miscellaneous assortment of texts. With the grading of instruction and the working out of graded courses of study, which came after about 1850 in the cities and after about 1875 in the towns, there came a demand for uniformity in textbooks so that the course of study might be taught in the same manner to all children. With uni-

form texts in the hands of the pupils, teachers were able to classify them and systematize the work of the school much more effectively than was possible under the old plan. This required the purchase of uniform textbooks, with the district, town, or city the unit of adoption. The laws then made it the duty of the people in annual meeting, or of the trustees, to determine the textbooks which were to be used in the schools, and parents were then expected to provide their children with the adopted books. To prevent too frequent changing of texts, books once selected were usually required to be continued in use for four or five years.

This plan worked very well as long as people remained stationary, but nowhere in the world do people move about as much as they do in the United States. No European country has any such conditions as to mobility of the population as to-day exist with us. A new people, with large opportunity for individual initiative to show itself and reap the rewards that come from its employment, possessed of 40 per cent of the railway mileage of the world, and given to the traveling-for-pleasure habit as is no other people, it is natural that the mobility of our school population has been large.[1] The result has been a popular demand for uniformity in textbooks, most in evidence in the South and West, so that new books need not be purchased when the parents move from one school district, or township, to another. To the parents the cost has seemed large, and matters involving cost easily become political issues.

The result has been a series of state laws requiring town or township, county, or state uniformity, at least for elementary textbooks, in all Southern and Western States. Only in half a dozen Western States, where the district system is too strong to permit of such centralization, has legislation for state uniformity been successfully resisted. Even in these States general price-fixing has been employed. Everywhere in New England the town is the unit for adoption, while the township serves that purpose in New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and North Dakota. Five States have made the county the unit of adopting, with county-unit adoption permissive in a sixth State, Iowa.

[1] The studies made by the Bureau of the Census as to inter-state migration have shown, for decades, a large inter-state movement of peoples. A recent study as to intra-school movement of rural-school pupils, made by the California Curriculum Study Committee, showed that but 29.2 per cent of the pupils reaching the 8th grade had continued in the same school system from the 1st grade, while 28.6 per cent had changed school systems four or more times.

Throughout the South and the West, as will be seen from the map, the State has been made the unit.[1] But two States north of the Ohio and the Potomac and east of the Mississippi — Indiana and Delaware — have employed the State as the unit for uniformity.[2] The distribution is well shown in the map given below.

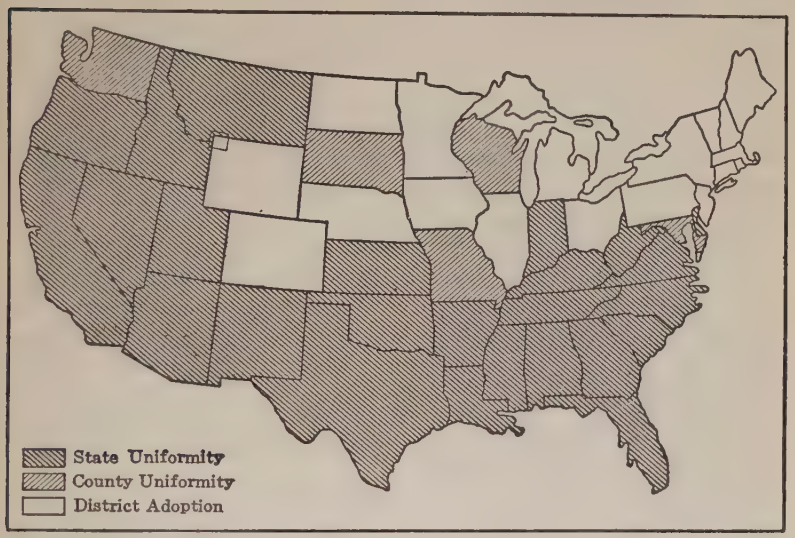

FIG. 87. THE UNIT FOR TEXTBOOK ADOPTION[3]
(After Hood.)

Selecting boards. So long as the school district, city, town, or township remains the unit for textbook uniformity, the local district school board would naturally be the adopting body. In such a county-unit State as Maryland, the adopting authority would be the county board of education. In the few district-system States which have a county-unit for textbook adoptions, and in the States having state uniformity, it has been necessary to create or designate some board as a text-adopting body.

[1] That is, for elementary texts. In a number of States district adoption for high-school texts exists side by side with state adoption for elementary texts.

[2] There are certain reasons which explain the distribution of state-uniformity States, as shown on the map. The general distrust of local control and the tendency toward state centralization in the South, the sparsity of population in the West, the unfortunate adventure of Indiana some thirty-five years ago into state authorship and publication, and the small size of Delaware which has resulted in general state control for nearly all school matters — these are the chief explanations.

[3] Some States having State or county uniformity exempt certain "independent districts" from the elementary text adoptions.

In the county-uniformity States not organized for general school administration on the county-unit plan, a county textbook board has been created, and various plans, good and bad, have been followed in its creation. The county superintendent of schools has usually been made a member, and teachers, citizens, county officials, and state representatives have all been added, different plans being followed in the different States. In size the adopting boards run from five under the best conditions, to a regular convention of county officials and school district representatives in one State. No intelligent and general plan for county-unit textbook adoptions, such as would be followed under a sound county-unit plan of educational organization and administration, is as yet in evidence in the non-county-unit States.

In the 25 States having state uniformity, the adopting body is the State Board of Education in 11 States, a separately created State Textbook Commission in 12 States, and a combination of State Board and appointed members in two States. One finds here more of a tendency manifest to use or create boards educational in character than is the case with county adoptions, most of the specially appointed boards being composed of persons engaged in some form of educational work.

When the state board of education is the adopting body it is important that it act only on the advice of its commissioners and specially appointed professional readers. When a state board of education begins to act independently, or, still worse, to ignore educational advice and follow personal or political motives in making adoptions, trouble is just around the corner, and the uniformity in texts then imposed is, and ought to be, resented by the school superintendents and teachers of the State. An application to county and state textbook selections of the best technique worked out by our cities would improve both the method and the character of the state adoptions. The work of a state board is to approve contracts, not to usurp educational functions.

State price-fixing and depositories. In the nine States not having either state or county uniformity — all located in the Upper Mississippi Valley, except Colorado and Wyoming — we find state listing laws. In Ohio, it is required that listed books shall be sold at a price which does not exceed seventy-five per cent of the published price. In the other States, before books can be adopted by district boards, publishers must submit copies to a state body or board and agree, in writing, to supply the books to

the schools at prices which shall be as low as are given in any other State. If lower prices are given elsewhere subsequent to the contract they must be made to apply to the State concerned as well. Under this plan no book not approved as to price and place on the state lists can be adopted by any local school board. The intended purpose in creating these boards is to enable the schools to secure books in the open market at low wholesale rates, without imposing state uniformity in textbooks on the schools. Where the method is fairly employed, and no attempt is made by the State to work such a hold-up game on publishers [1] that the best available books are not submitted for listing, there is some argument that can be advanced in favor of the plan. When carried out in a fair and businesslike manner a commissioner in the state department can do all that needs to be done; there is little reason why a state board of education should ever take time to pass on such matters.

The advantages, however, are more imaginary than real, and the final result is to stabilize the prices of school books on a higher level, instead of permitting that free and open competition between publishers which will result in large contracts being awarded at low prices, and retail business being charged what it costs. The moment a publisher lists a book, say in the State of Ohio, at a discount off list price of 25 per cent, it means not that the State of Ohio is to receive the lowest price on that book that a publisher can give, but rather that it is the lowest price which that publisher will give in Ohio, or in any other State under a state contract form. It is the conviction of the writer that the general result of state price-fixing legislation has been to increase the prices at which textbooks are sold, rather than to decrease them. It is an attempt to force wholesale prices on retail sales to pupils, and the result has been to abolish quantity rates and to force special editions, manufactured on a cheaper basis, for state adoptions.

Legislatures sometimes try another tack, thinking thereby to

[1] In the case of two States, in recent years, the attempt of the legislature to fix low prices has resulted disastrously to the schools of the State. A legislature has the right, of course, to enact a law that no Third Reader shall be sold for more than 25 cents, and no History of the United States for more than 50 cents, or that all prices submitted shall be not less than 25 per cent below the publishers' lowest wholesale prices, but no legislature can compel a publisher to submit his best books at such prices. Such legislation is largely for political effect; at best could save the people but a few dimes; and is almost certain to deprive the public school children of the entire State of the use of the best available textbooks.

secure lower prices and at the same time favor local dealers, and provide that the publisher must maintain a depository for all adopted books at some central point within the State. Not knowing or unmindful of the fact that modern business methods and transportation facilities have practically abolished the jobber, and that publishers, as wholesale and mail-order houses of all kinds, have by efficient business organization become able to handle their business anywhere from their established branches, the legislature tries to reinstate the local jobber by holding up the publisher for a price at which books may be sold below list and the jobber still have his profit. The result is that the larger publishers have not as yet found a way by which they can meet the State requirements as to price without violating contracts made with other States. The children of the State are then forced to use books selected from those that are offered, under such conditions, and not infrequently these are of local origin or inferior in character.[1]

If a publisher sells his books to the State depository at 25 per cent discount from the list price, so that it can sell them to local dealers at a discount of say 15 per cent, so that they also can make a profit, this actually works out that the pupil pays about 98 per cent of list for his book. Without any state adoption whatever under state listing laws any teacher could order for his class half a dozen copies of the same book from the publisher's nearest branch office, at list less 25 per cent, plus transportation, which would work out at not over 85 per cent of list price, delivered. In other words, the effect of state adoption with state depository is to increase the price of books to the children of the State, though the law ostensibly is designed to reduce prices.

Disadvantages of state uniformity. Uniform state adoption and price-fixing have been taken up by our States largely to reduce the cost of textbooks to the parents. To promote uniformity of instruction has of course been an element, but in the minds of legislators this has been quite subordinate to that of price reduction for its political effect. The arguments in favor of state-wide uniformity were well summed up in a majority (favor-

[1] A good case in point is the recent attempt of one of the States to secure low prices, with a state depository required. As the publishers were required to supply the depository with books at such a price that it could bill them to dealers at 25 per cent discount, and as this would require that books be supplied the depository at around 67½ per cent of list, which would violate price agreements in many other States, a number of the larger publishers were unable to submit their books for adoption.

ing) report of a special textbook committee, reporting to the Wisconsin legislature, in 1911, as follows:

1. It secures the lowest price of the best textbooks published.
2. It supplies instead of the poor selection of purely local (school district) boards, textbooks selected by people thoroughly acquainted with the educational problems.
3. It avoids the large, increased cost owing to a continually shifting population.
4. It makes possible the formulation of a minimum course of study for the State that can be and will be taught in the schools.

These arguments, however, are capable of rather definite answers. To the first it may be said, as pointed out on the previous page, that this may be had anyway. To the second, it may be said that local selection by town, township, city, or county educational authorities — the district system always excepted — is just as likely to be good as is state adoption. The third argument disappears when textbooks are made free. To the fourth an answer may be made in part to the effect that required state courses of study are not desirable, and it may be added further that courses of any type should not be outlined in terms of textbooks. This last argument rests on the conception that teachers are to teach textbooks rather than subject matter or children. It is this wrong conception of the educational process that underlies the whole textbook-adoption problem. The emphasis in education should be placed on the ability of teachers to teach; legislatures have much more largely focussed it on textbooks.

While there is more to be said in favor of uniform textbooks for the elementary school than for the junior or senior high schools, from an educational point of view there is much to be said against any general state-wide textbook uniformity. Our cities have found that general uniformity in elementary texts is not desirable even for all parts of the same city, and progressive city school systems — where state laws do not prohibit them from doing so — are giving their teachers large liberty in the selection of both basal and supplemental texts. In cities where school pupils are divided into ability divisions, and minimum, average, and maximum courses of study are used, it has been found that texts of different character — in sentence structure, style, difficulty of material, and scope of treatment — are desirable for use with the different ability divisions. What is true here is true also

for the differences between city schools, town schools, and rural schools, and for school systems of the same kind and class in different parts of a State. In state adoptions the best that can be done is to strike as near a general average as is possible, with the result that the books adopted are usually too difficult for the more backward rural portions of the State, and not up to what the better city school systems desire to do.

Still more, uniform state textbooks tend to fix a uniform content for all instruction, and this in turn tends to defeat progress along one of the most important professional lines. We want to encourage original and adaptive thinking in teaching and curriculum construction.[1] Rural children ought to have a somewhat different type of readers, arithmetics, and language and science books from those used by city children, and there are several gradations from district schools to real city schools. This to-day they do not have, as city needs dominate in textbook adoptions, and always will under any plan for general state uniformity. It is a heavy price that the people of our rural districts pay, in a lessened interest in school and an away-from-the-farm tendency for their children, in following the lead of politicians intent on currying favor by trying to save them a dollar or two on the cost of the school books they buy.

Perhaps the most serious objection to state-wide adoption of textbooks is the fierce contest for business that results, and in which the educational idea is largely lost sight of. Even in the best of our States, state adoption of textbooks has not been free from criticism, while in a number of States the contest leads to the employment of local but prominent attorneys to represent the book houses, and to a kind of pressure upon and favors to individuals that have no place in the selection of books from which children are to be taught. The larger the contract the more the danger of corruption, in one form or another, and the less likely are the children to get the best books. That the same kind of pressure might be applied to local school superintendents is clearly possible, assuming that they are inefficient and weak enough not to resent it, but it is not nearly so likely to be applied to those who in the vast majority of cases know what they want and are honestly trying to serve the children concerned.

[1] See the Introduction to the *Nineteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (1920) Part I, *New Materials of Instruction*, for an interesting report along this line.

The uniform-content conception. To some types of minds the idea of a uniform content, at least to all elementary instruction, makes a strong appeal. Such minds would standardize instruction, as the Germans did, and have all the pupils in a State given a uniform content. One defect of the plan lies in deciding who shall determine this uniform content. If we assume, however, that this is possible, we have the experience of the Canadian provinces, which certainly is not reassuring. There the books were prepared by selected commissions, working under the supervision of Provincial Departments of Education, and the official results were imposed by law on the schools, much as uniform textbooks in America have at times been imposed by our States. The criticisms that the books were highly traditional in content, and almost impossible of revision, is not encouraging, to say the least. Little else might have been expected, however; original work is done largely by individuals, and seldom by commissions, which almost always represent quite average opinion.

A textbook is an instrument to help carry out the ideas underlying a course of study, and a well-made course of study represents a constructive effort, on the part of some one who has been thinking, to put into teachable form an organized philosophy of the educative process. Different courses of study represent different conceptions as to what it is desirable to try to do with and for different groups of children, and the important elements that condition success with a course of study are the textbooks and the teaching material available for use, and the character of the teaching force that must carry the educational ideas represented by the course of study into execution. If the principle just stated is a sound one, and the writer holds that it is, then the unit for adoption of courses of study and textbooks should *always* be the unit of supervision — that is, either the city or the county unit. In district-system States the county should also be the unit for all schools under county supervision, even though this supervision may be neither close nor professional in character. In the New England States it should be, as it is there, the city, town, or supervisory union of towns. With such a small State as Delaware, after exempting the large city of Wilmington, it should be the State,[1] which there is the unit for administration and supervision.

[1] Delaware has but three counties, is largely rural, is only 1960 square miles in area, and has but one city (Wilmington) of over 5000 population. The whole State, Wilmington excluded, would be equal only to about a good-sized county-unit school system.

A State may very properly issue certain outline or "core" elementary-school courses of study, and may even place certain fundamental subjects by grades, during at least the first six years of school work, to avoid omissions and duplications for pupils transferring from one school system to another, but the detailed working out of the courses of study, and the selection of the textbooks to be used, should always be left to the different units of school supervision, and be made by the educational authorities there responsible for the work that is to be done. The provisions of the constitution of the State of Osceola (Sec. 12), cover the essential provisions of proper state textbook and courses of study control.

Uniformity as applied to high-school work. The disadvantages of uniformity in textbooks become still more marked when we pass from a consideration of the elementary schools to the junior and senior high schools. The problems of the latter are not analogous to those of the former as they relate to instruction and textbooks. Both types of high schools are new and rapidly changing institutions, and both are and probably always must be largely experimental and exploratory in character. Method in instruction counts for less, and knowledge and personality of the teacher for more, than is the case in the elementary school. Teacher knowledge, ability, efficiency, and working conditions all vary much in these schools. The teacher in a rural high school, with small and numerous classes, must have a textbook that will largely carry the subject; the teacher in a large city high school, with good library and laboratory equipment, large classes, and highly specialized instruction, has entirely different textbook needs. It is as preposterous to demand that all high-school teachers throughout a State use the same textbooks[1] as it would be to demand that all carpenters in a State use only a certain size of Simonds saws, Murphey's planes, Randall's chisels, and Higgins's files. In the instruction of adolescent youth it would be unfortunate if all the children of a State were to be standardized in their views by instruction from the standpoint of one author. Such uniformity is the uniformity of death rather than of life. There

[1] When a bill requiring uniform high-school texts was before the Indiana legislature, some years ago, the *Indianapolis News* opposed the legislation, and in an editorial said with effect:

"We are surprised that any one, who knows anything about the problems and processes of school work, should be in favor of establishing uniform textbooks for high schools. Progress in life does not come through uniformity, but through di-

can be no saving in costs with high-school books, and claims to that effect represent either sheer ignorance or "political bunk."

There is another aspect of the uniformity question that applies to high-school books with more force than to elementary texts. With the junior high school just taking shape, and the high school changing so rapidly in character, the progress in textbook-making for these schools exceeds that being made along any other part of the educational ladder. New textbooks for these schools — textbooks that modify the type of instruction in them because they represent real advances in content or in the organization of subject-matter — are appearing in some field of instruction almost every month. Uniform state adoption almost inevitably prevents the use of these new texts for a long time, because state adoptions are usually for a period of from four to six years, and the best new books are slow in getting onto a state list, and some of the best never get on. Under the open-list plan a high school may adopt a new textbook almost on its appearance; under state uniformity it may have to wait for it for years, and possibly never secure it.

The cost question from another angle. As a matter of fact, the best schools will not and do not wait; they have the pupils buy (or they themselves furnish) the required state texts, and then they provide, from local funds, the desired new texts as "supplemental" books. In this way a series of uniform state texts has often been defended as a good thing, because the schools usually have to supplement the adopted texts with a parallel line of other texts to ensure adequate instruction, and they thus secure a desirable variety of teaching equipment. This is the usual result, but financial saving for the taxpayer vanishes in the process.

One would think, from the way legislators and newspapers play up the question of textbook expenses, that it is one of the chief items in the cost of school maintenance. As a matter of fact it is a very minute part, and the saving that may be effected through uniformity is exceedingly limited. Without uniform adoption, and with or without state price-fixing, the same economies, if there are any, can be effected. On the other hand, we are continually building "community prides" in the form of new types of school

versity. All nature teaches that lesson. Books that some teachers can use with the best advantage do not appeal to other teachers. It is results that educators and legislators should think of first and last; not the tools with which the results are accomplished. The bill now before the House we believe to be wrong in principle, and we believe that its adoption would be a serious blow to the best interests of Indiana high schools."

buildings, many of which evidence more waste of money than the entire cost for textbooks to the community for the lifetime of a generation of school children. Politicians and legislators and newspapers have emphasized the textbook question out of all proper proportion to its importance. A state board or commission sits solemnly down, with much publicity for its labors, to decide on a textbook that represents from one sixth to one quarter of one per cent of the annual cost for school maintenance, and often spends much time in hearing arguments and arriving at a decision, while the low standards required of teachers to obtain salaries, representing seventy to eighty per cent of the annual school cost, are given almost no attention by the politicians or the press.

A number of investigations as to the cost for school textbooks have been made,[1] all of which have shown rather low amounts. It may be taken as a statement not far from the truth that the cost to-day for school textbooks in the United States is about one and one half per cent of the total expenditure for instruction. If by state textbook uniformity this could be reduced one fifth, the resultant saving by using cheaper books would be about one third of one per cent of the total cost of the schools; from the importance given the subject by legislators and newspapers one would at times think the saving would be almost one third of the total cost of all instruction.[2]

As a matter of fact, even the retail prices of textbooks are very

[1] One of the best of these studies was that made by the U.S. Bureau of Education and published as Bulletin 36, 1915. This deals with the cost of textbooks and school supplies in cities of all sizes from 5000 upward. While the costs given are of course pre-War costs, they may be said to show an even larger percentage of the total costs than now, as salaries and supplies of all kinds have increased more rapidly since then than have the costs for school books. This study was based on confidential data obtained from forty-three schoolbook publishers in the United States whose business was more than purely local. It showed total textbook sales for the year of $14,261,768, with 18,609,040 children enrolled in the schools, and not counting California, which printed its own books. This showed for the cities an average annual textbook cost of 78.3 cents out of an average total instructional cost of $38.31 per pupil per year; a per-pupil-enrolled cost of 56.8 cents, and a per capita of the total population cost of a little under 15 cents per person per year. Adding on the local dealers' profits brought the annual cost for textbooks, at pre-War levels, to approximately 2 per cent of the annual cost for maintenance and equipment. At present price-levels it would be near 1½ per cent.

[2] A good illustration, given by Buckingham, took place in Illinois in 1912. It was then proposed that the State print its own textbooks, and the president of the State Federation of Labor made and published an estimate of what could be so saved. Politicians and newspapers asserted that the saving to the people would exceed a million dollars a year; later it was found that the entire schoolbook business of the State was only about $750,000 a year. Similar exaggerated claims have been made in other States whenever the textbook business has been made a question of politics. (*Ohio Educational Research Bulletin*, April 2, 1924, p. 144.)

reasonable. No other forms of publication, except certain magazines of wide sale that are carried largely by their advertising matter, are sold so cheaply. When one compares our well-printed and substantially bound school textbooks, with their excellent illustrations and maps, good paper, clear type, and careful composition and proof-reading, all of which has required extra expense, and the absence of advertising within their covers,[1] with the average novel, history, book of travels, book of essays, or book discussing political questions, one realizes how cheaply school books are actually sold.[2] The low prices are only possible, of course, by reason of the wide market and large sales. The first edition of a widely used text usually shows a good-sized loss; some books fail to succeed and show a total loss; and a successful book is successful only because of the profits made on succeeding printings.

Free textbooks as a solution. Why, then, does the cost for textbooks bulk so large in the public estimation, and offer such an opportunity to politicians to fool the public by apparently effecting for them such "tremendous savings"? In the first place, because the general public is not quantitative-minded; the "savings of millions" the politician talks about are seldom reduced to per capita costs, or to percentage of total expenditure, to see how little they would really mean per unit, even if true. Still more, because the cost for textbooks and supplies, under other than a free textbook system, falls on the parent and for all the children at one time, and at the same time as do shoes and clothing and other school needs. For many parents, textbooks are the only item of school costs they ever have to meet. In consequence, the cost for school books seems much larger than it really is. State textbook uniformity and state price-fixing have been ineffective attempts to relieve this cost pressure; the complete way lies through the provision of free textbooks and supplies. Where this has been done one hears little as to the cost problem, and at the same time

[1] Imagine, for example, the advertising value, in a successful and generally used school reader, of a page ad. for Wrigley's Chewing Gum or Horlick's Malted Milk, or a page ad. for Coca Cola or Hershey's Chocolate in a high-school history.

[2] Compare, for example, a high-school history, well printed and bound and illustrated, with good maps, of about 600 pages, 200 illustrations, 20 colored maps, 10 full-page colored drawings, and selling at retail at $2.00, with a novel of 400 pages, larger type and wider margins, cheap paper and binding, and half a dozen black and white drawings, and selling at retail for the same price. The investment in the case of the first for plates probably ran to $12,000; of the other to about $3000. A volume of travels, memoirs, or political or economic discussion will be sold for two or three times as much as a high-school textbook of equivalent size, but costing more to produce.

the children get better books at no increased cost. A number of States, as the map given in Figure 88 shows, have already taken this step, and a number of other States have made the step permissive. As soon as free textbooks are supplied, however, almost the whole reason for any type of uniformity in them disappears.[1]

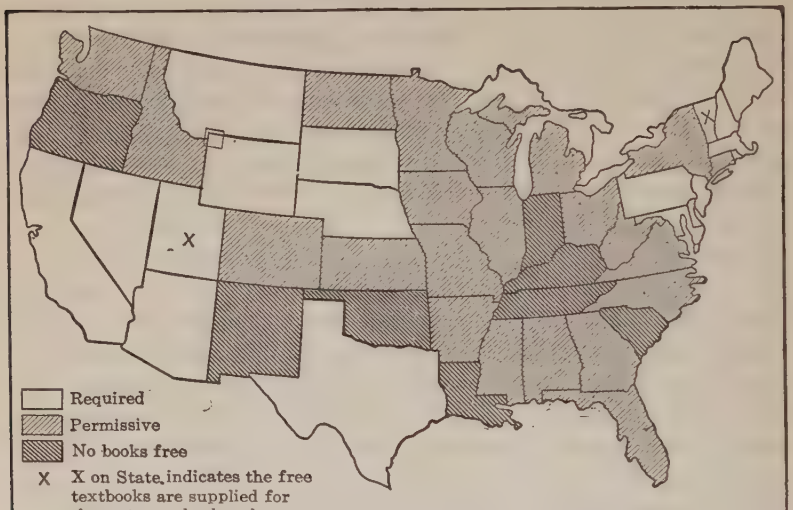

FIG. 88. STATUS OF FREE TEXTBOOK LEGISLATION
(After Hood.)

The plan of supplying free textbooks began in the cities, long ago. Philadelphia first provided them in 1818, Newport (Rhode Island) in 1825, Jersey City in 1830, and Newark in 1838. New Hampshire ordered free textbooks for indigent children as early as 1827; Massachusetts gave permission to the cities and towns to provide free textbooks generally in 1873, and in 1884 made free textbooks compulsory. Maine followed in 1889, Nebraska in 1891, and Pennsylvania and Rhode Island in 1893. By 1900 ten States — all east of Ohio and north of the Potomac, except Nebraska (1891) and Wyoming (1899) — had ordered free textbooks provided in the schools. By 1925, nineteen States had made their provision mandatory, and twenty-two other States had made it permissive,[2] as is shown on the map.

[1] There is still a small — though a very small — argument left on the basis of a uniform content in certain "core" subjects in the elementary school, but this is practically negligible and can be met with any good series of elementary texts.

[2] The provision of free texts for "indigents" was usually a first step. Under this

Arguments for and against. The chief arguments for free textbooks are that their provision is only in line with the provision of free schools, free fuel, and free school supplies; that free textbooks and compulsory school attendance naturally go together; that the common delay in starting a new term because parents do not provide school books promptly is eliminated; that the unpleasant dealing with indigent parents and children is avoided; that the trouble with the public over the cost of school books is no longer in evidence; that the demand for uniform textbooks disappears with the coming of free books, greatly to the advantage of the schools; and that under the plan the unit of school supervision can now supply such texts and such variety of texts as it deems best for its instructional needs.

The chief arguments against free textbooks are that the pupils are deprived of the use of the books during the summer vacation; that the retention of the books as part of the home library is no longer possible;[1] that the system is a second-hand system, that the books are not clean, and that danger of the spread of disease is inherent in the plan;[2] that the pupils do not take care of public property as they would of private property; that the sense of ownership is lost;[3] that the cost for free books increases taxes, and hence awakens opposition; that the custodial care of free books imposes an unprofessional duty on teachers, and hence interferes with instruction; and that the free plan tends toward a state socialism and encourages the public to lean more and more on the government.

A balancing of these arguments seems to leave the weight of evidence in favor of the free textbook plan, and the steady headway which it has made since it first began as a state-wide un-

system free books must be provided the children of any parent who would sign a statement declaring that he (or she) is too poor to buy the necessary books. Sometimes this has to be a sworn and witnessed statement. Often some of the most deserving cases are those children whose parents are most unwilling to make such a sworn statement.

[1] Many States have met this argument by permitting the sale of textbooks to children whose parents want them to have their own, and retain them for home use. California has done this, but the total sales for such use the last year for which statistics are available were but $8164, or about one and a half cents' worth of schoolbooks per pupil enrolled.

[2] Much depends here on the care which is taken in handling the books, and their disinfection, and in any case it is not greater than with supplemental readers, or with the second-hand books now so commonly sold by dealers.

[3] This probably is slight. Few pupils to-day retain books under any circumstances; most pupils sell them to the second-hand store, or turn them in at the "exchange price" in case of a new adoption. The old scholarly sense of ownership in books seems largely lacking to-day, even among university students.

dertaking (1873 permissive; 1884 required), and especially in the States having large city school systems, would seem to indicate that in practice the advantages, both educational and financial, have been on the side of the free books. Under it the burden of cost is both shifted and greatly reduced. Books can be bought by a city considerably cheaper than they can be by individuals through dealers, and a book is used for from three to five years in the schools.[1]

The unit for free textbook purchasing. Of the nineteen States making the furnishing of free textbooks mandatory, six provide the necessary funds from state sources, though four States supply free books in the elementary schools only, and California pays for the elementary-school texts from state funds and requires the high-school districts to provide the high-school books. In the fourteen other States furnishing free textbooks, and the twenty-two States which permit of their being supplied, the books are bought and paid for by the local authorities. Aside from the state-unit Delaware, required free elementary-school textbooks combined with state uniformity are found only in five Western[2] and two Southern States.[3] Of the twenty-two States permitting districts to provide free textbooks, but without compelling them to do so, only ten have state uniformity, and these are all Southern or Western States. In other words, state uniformity is a rural and an agricultural affair, and is seldom found where city populations dominate. State-wide uniformity in school textbooks clearly tends to disappear, too, with the provision of free texts, as it should.

Free textbooks also take care of the inter-state migration of pupils, which state-wide uniformity does not do. The unit for textbook adoption under a free system should be, as was stated earlier in this chapter, the unit of local supervision and course-of-study construction. Under a state free-textbook plan no supervisory unit should be limited to any one text in any school subject. It is immaterial whether one thousand books of one kind are purchased by a school system, or two hundred and fifty books each of four kinds, as far as cost is concerned, while there are many

[1] "An investigation, made in 1915 by the U.S. Bureau of Education, indicated that the cost of installing a system of free textbooks for all the children in the elementary schools of New York State would be about $1.25 per capita. The initial cost would of course be higher at the present time, but would probably not exceed $2.00 or $2.25." (Wm. R. Hood, *Free Textbooks for Public School Pupils*, p. 8.)

[2] Arizona, California, Nevada, Utah, Montana.

[3] Oklahoma and Texas.

advantages in having a variety of tools with which to work. Neither should the supervisory unit be required to adopt its textbooks for a definite number of years. The usable life of different kinds of textbooks varies, as does the frequency with which new and better books appear. A textbook should be used until it is worn out, be it three years or six, or until a much better book on the same subject appears.

One of the arguments for free textbooks, not stated above, is that educational progress is more easily possible under such a plan than when parents provide the books. State-wide uniformity, even with free textbooks, tends to prevent the making of such progress because it is difficult and expensive to secure desirable changes. Under a local free system, textbook uniformity and formal adoptions are no longer factors, and new books can be purchased and supplied to the schools as needed. When an economy wave hits the State, with the local free system the schools are not forced for a time to do without new books or to exist on very limited rations. Under this system, also, old books can be replaced gradually, or used for other purposes in the schools. In fact, a well-regulated school purchasing plan provides for the replacement, each year, of a portion of the texts used. The distinction between regular texts and supplemental books likewise tends to disappear. So well do many of our cities in the free-textbook and district-purchase States handle the textbook-and-supply problem that a definite sum per pupil is provided in the annual budget for the regular yearly purchase of such materials.

The unit for providing school supplies. What has been said as to free textbooks applies also quite well to the furnishing of school supplies, such as paper, pencils, ink, chalk, erasers, etc. Under the old plan, when each pupil brought his own supplies to school, the cost and incident delay to instruction were of importance. Largely as a means for improving instruction our States have quite generally required the school districts to assume the charge for supplies. While the expense for these under the district system, where each little board of school trustees makes its own purchases, is still excessive, nevertheless we hear almost nothing about questions of cost for these items. The three main reasons for this are that there is no labor union here interested in building up a state business; that there is little chance for a legislator or a newspaper to play politics or to curry favor with the electorate by making an issue of the question; and that a bill proposing

general uniformity and large-unit purchasing in school supplies would almost certainly be met by a lobby from the numerous school-supply houses and local stationers, aimed to defeat the bill. Yet the yearly waste in the purchase of school supplies in the small school districts greatly exceeds the savings possible under any textbook uniformity plan. One of the strong sources of opposition to county-unit school legislation has been found to be these same school-supply houses, who would lose their very profitable district-unit trade if a county-unit purchasing plan went into effect.

In our cities the matter of school supplies is handled simply and economically through large-scale buying and centralized supply and distribution. Under the county-unit of school administration similar economies could be effected, and this is the desirable plan to follow — cities excepted, if they desire to do their own buying. The State has at times been proposed as a unit for purchases and distribution, but it is too large a unit for the best results. Manufacturers can distribute bulky supplies directly to the counties and cities both more cheaply and more expeditiously than can the State, and any attempt at compulsory state machinery for distribution is certain to increase costs.

State publication of textbooks. Another phase of the textbook problem that occasionally rises to vex our school systems is the question of whether or not the State should go into the textbook business itself, and print and publish the textbooks used in its schools. Indiana had an attack of this fever a third of a century ago, but soon recovered from it. It has since showed evidence of breaking out from time to time here and there in the States, and two States — California and Kansas — now print a part or all of the school books used in the elementary schools of the State. In Georgia, in 1914, a legislative committee investigated the plan of state publication as carried on in California, Kansas, and Ontario, and reported against it. In Colorado a proposal to this effect was voted down a few years ago. In California it was recently proposed to print the high-school texts, also, but fortunately for the schools the proposal failed of enactment, and free high-school books, with district adoptions and at district cost, were provided for instead. This State has had the longest experience with the state-publication plan, almost all phases of the matter having been tried there, and the solution finally arrived at is perhaps the best that can be worked out if the plan of state printing is to be

retained. We shall, therefore, in considering state publications as a possible means for furnishing textbooks, confine our consideration of the problem largely to the experiences of California.

The California experience. In 1884, in an anti-book-trust movement which swept the State, and for which publishers' agents were largely responsible, the constitution of California was amended to provide that the state board of education should compile and publish a state series of textbooks for the elementary schools. The legislature of 1885 appropriated $150,000 for added equipment for the state printing office, and $20,000 to pay for the services of authors and editors to compile the books. The appropriations were made from the State Treasury, and were to constitute a so-called "revolving fund," presumably sufficient for all future needs. The sums, however, proved wholly inadequate, supplemental appropriations had to be made by succeeding legislatures, and up to 1913, when textbooks were made free in the State and the extra-cost item was lost in the general state charges, a total of $812,354.57 had been appropriated by the legislature to provide for the writing and printing and handling of school textbooks.[1] For this sum no interest charge or sinking-fund charge has been assessed against the cost of manufacturing the texts, and the publication prices given to-day utterly ignore the costs for this long developmental experience. In addition to the amount named above, other indirect charges, which any publishing house would have to include in its cost-accounting or go into bankruptcy — interest, depreciation, storage, postage, telegrams, carrying charges, adoption[2] charges, unsuccessful books — have also been ignored in price-fixing, and have further increased the extra appropriation cost to at least $1,000,000 for the twenty-eight years the State printed and sold its books. Yet, despite this added charge on the taxpayers,[3] and the ignoring of it in price-fixing, California was not able to provide school books materially

[1] Brown, J. F. *State Publication of School Books.* Two tables, pp. 3, 4.

[2] The cost for the adoption of one elementary-school textbook, all indirect and not charged into the cost of manufacture, was recently figured out by the California Teachers' Association at $868.00, as follows:

Per diem, seven members State Board of Education at $15 day, two days each	$210.00
Expenses of members to and at meeting at $25 each	175.00
Thirty days' time of State Commissioner, investigating books and preparing briefs.	333.00
Five expert readers, examining and reporting on selected books, at $25	125.00
Clerical assistance in handling extra work	25.00
Total	$868.00

[3] This was equal, for the period 1885–1910, to an added tax charge of 23 per cent to the cost of textbooks, as paid by the parents purchasing them.

cheaper than the publishers would have supplied the same books, printed on better paper and better bound.[1] Concerning the plan a former State Superintendent of Public Instruction, in a published Bulletin[2] in which he considers the results under the first twenty-five years of state publication, well remarked:

> Those in charge of state publication became very uncomfortable over the general clamor. They revised books and added to them in vain, and continually they looked for some way to improve the matter, and stop the howls. Undoubtedly, if it had not been planted deep in the Constitution itself, state publication would have gone by the board during this period.

The early California textbooks, written by California authors, were so unsuited to school needs and were subjected to so much criticism that an opinion of the Attorney-General, in 1903, uncontested by any interest, permitted the State Board of Education to abandon local authorship and begin a new plan of leasing plates of books issued by regular publishers, and on a royalty basis. The books were still to be printed and bound at the state printing plant. By this "legal legerdemain" the schools were enabled to rid themselves of what was by far the worst feature of the plan, in that better books could now be obtained;[3] the taxpayers' burden still remained. Finally, in 1913, free elementary-school textbooks were provided for, the charge to the parent disappeared, and the cost — whatever this now may be — is buried henceforth in the general tax burden of the State.[4] If the budget allowance is not sufficient now to enable the State Printer to supply the school books needed by a growing State, the schools merely get along on short rations.

This experiment in state publication in California has been a costly one to the taxpayer. While at present the books seem to be manufactured at reasonable figures, and mechanically are reasonably satisfactory, it is evident from the statement of costs issued

[1] The details to prove this need not be given here, as they may be found in the documents given in *State and County School Administration, Source Book*, by E. P. Cubberley and E. C. Elliott (chap. XXI), in *State Publication of School Books*, by J. F. Brown, and in publications of the California Teachers' Association.

[2] Published under date of July, 1915.

[3] A few local books are still adopted (readers, speller), but the compulsion to use these is no longer present, and they enter now on a free competitive basis.

[4] An economy administration, able to withstand the opposition of the State Printing Office and labor interests, could render a real service to the schools of the State by abandoning state printing, providing for city-district or county-unit adoption and assumption of costs, and thus shift the entire charge for providing textbooks from the State to the local units concerned.

that all cost items have not been taken account of. The developmental expenditures over a long period of time have been heavy, but these are never included. Every undertaking of this kind has by its very nature to bear large developmental costs, and these the political advocate for the plan almost invariably ignores. State publication has been condemned repeatedly by the teachers of the State, and at times by some of the newspapers; its chief supporters have been legislators, the State Printer, and union labor. Teachers and school officers who have opposed the plan have had their motives impugned, and have been accused of being "consciously or unconsciously influenced by the book trust." That their chief argument against the practice is educational rather than financial, in that it forces a uniformity on the schools of the State which is most undesirable, those interested in upholding the plan refuse to see. Were the plan good from an educational point of view, the greater cost that might ensue could easily be assumed.[1]

No call for state publication. One often wonders how long the people of California, Kansas, or any other State will continue building schoolhouses as architects direct, and equipping them with all needed teaching devices; employing teachers who have been trained at public expense, and selected with care; paying good salaries to superintendents of schools to direct the education of youth and efficiently manage the schools; and then continue to ignore all expert advice as to teaching tools, and allow politicians to determine plans for textbooks that affect the education of millions of children — all because they promise a little pecuniary saving — when the prime question is not *cost*, but *quality*, and *teaching*.

[1] A good illustration of how this matter of state publication may be rushed into as an economy measure is found in a recent (1925) Message to the Legislature by the Governor of the State of Washington. Relying on some mistaken figures, furnished him by the State Printer, he said in his message (p. 14):

"California and Kansas have demonstrated that state publication of schoolbooks means a reduction of approximately 50 per cent in the cost. State adoption of books for the grade schools and the printing of these books by the public printer on the non-profit plan . . . should result in a saving of nearly $500,000 annually, and I recommend that this subject be given your most careful consideration."

Surprised by the figures, the editor of *The Oregon Voter* went to Olympia, employed accountants, tabulated the actual schoolbook expenditure for every school district in the State as reported to the State Auditor, covering the five-year period of 1920–24 inclusive, and published the results. He showed that the average yearly cost for textbooks in the public elementary schools, for the five-year period, had been $1.35 per pupil and $315,406 for the entire State, and for high schools $2.23 per pupil and $117,694 for the State. The total cost for all public schools was therefore $423,100 per year, or $76,900 less than the governor's estimate of possible savings by state publication. The publication of these figures ended the discussion.

With no constructive grasp of the problem involved, with puerile insinuations of the motives of those who oppose them, with open boasts as to the probable attitude of the people, with demagogic claptrap instead of educational argument, these men — impervious to educational ideas and in the name of economy — are allowed to tinker with the educational machinery and drag instructional efficiency down to the level of political necessity for the little printing and political patronage that it affords. A recent writer on the subject effectively said: [1]

> Is it not passing strange that in the face of this universal professional attitude on the part of teachers, politicians persist in pushing plans for State publication? And does it not also provide just ground for criticism of the practical efficiency of our form of American government that professional opinion is so lightly swept aside in a matter of so great national importance?

A good textbook is an evolution, and cannot be made to order. Every successful publisher, like every successful manufacturer, is continually experimenting, and a successful textbook is usually the outcome of a long period of trial and error. Large publishers, too, have as authors men and women who write for the English-speaking world, and not for the confines of a State. If we abandon the idea of state authorship and plan to lease plates, as California was finally forced to do, we are still confronted by the inability of a state printing plant to produce the quality of output provided by the best publishers. Only after long and costly experimenting, well illustrated in the case of California, does a state printing establishment reach a point where it can manufacture even tolerably good books at a competitive figure. If all developmental costs are included and paid for, it cannot reach a competitive basis in half a century, and it is an exhibition of the utmost lack of good financial judgment — to say nothing of educational considerations — for a State to embark on state publication of its schoolbooks. The making of books is an art, and small plants seldom attain to a high degree of workmanship at any reasonable figure. Still worse, however, is the limitation of the schools of a State, under state publication, to one text in each subject, whereas all educational considerations point to the desirability of the local adoption of multiple lists. All the legitimate interests of a State in the matter of textbook control can be met by approved listing — and even this is not necessary — with freedom to the

[1] Brown, J. F. *State Publication of School Books*, page 46.

units of supervision to adopt the working tools they see fit to employ. Anything less is a violation of the professional attitude and spirit of the teaching force of a State. President Harding's utterance that America needs "more business in government and less government in business" applies well here. State printing tends to make the supplying of school textbooks an appendage to political ambition and political needs, and to subordinate educational interests to those of personal and party politics. The unbiased judgment of those who have examined the question most carefully is that there is no educational or business reason why any State should attempt it; all arguments for the plan, such as the home-industry idea, rest on grounds other than these.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show how the dependence of American teachers on the textbook, coupled with freedom from cramping state restrictions as to instruction, has led to the creation of a remarkable series of American textbooks.
2. Show how a general adoption of the Canadian uniform-content idea, with books prepared by commissions to carry it out, would stifle initiative in the teaching force, destroy creative effort in texts, and give an unnecessary advantage to the private and parochial school.
3. Show how State price fixing covers all needs as to state control.
4. How do you explain the alignment of forces, *pro* and *con*, on the state publication question, as stated on page 577?
5. Show how uniform state adoption for high-school texts would be far more damaging to instruction than would be the case with elementary texts.
6. Show the advantages of supervisory-unit adoptions over state uniformity, and multiple choice over single texts. Draw up the arguments, *pro* and *con*, on each side.
7. Do the same for free textbooks *vs.* individual purchase of texts.
8. On what kind of a conception of the educative process was the South Dakota plan for textbook adoptions (footnote 1, page 560) based?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Obtain some lists of state adoptions, and try to determine, from an examination of the books, what needs or influences have dominated in the selection of the particular texts.
2. Cost figures for textbooks in any city or state, operating under a free system, for which data are available, compared with a state uniform adoption plan.
3. Look up the Kansas state publication experience, and results.
4. Look up the Indiana state publication experience, and results.

PROBLEMS

1. Work out a good technique to be followed in the selection of textbooks for adoption by either a state or a county-unit educational board.

2. When Kansas was considering (1908) the question of state publication, the State Printer submitted a report to the legislature in which he stated that Kansas "could print its own textbooks, just as good books, on just as good paper, for little more than one half of what the State now pays for its books." Assuming the estimate to have been made honestly, enumerate and estimate the percentage cost of, and the items not entering into, his calculation.

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DIVISION VI
THE STATE AND THE TEACHER

CHAPTER XXII

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS FOR SERVICE

The beginnings of teacher-training. The specific training of teachers for service is almost entirely a nineteenth-century idea. All teaching, up to the eighteenth century, was based on the assumption that all that was necessary was some little knowledge of the subject-matter to be taught. The first real teacher-training school was the normal school founded by Abbé de la Salle, in France in 1685, to educate and train teachers for the schools of the Order he had founded — the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The beginning of teacher-training in German lands was Francke's *Seminarium Præceptorum*, established at Halle, in 1697. La Salle's school was to train teachers for the elementary schools; Francke's for the secondary schools. Both schools, however, were essentially subject-matter schools, their chief purpose being to give a good grounding in the required subject-matter, but with little opportunity provided for observation of classes under instruction. The training-school idea took root but slowly, and the beginning of the nineteenth century found less than two dozen teachers' seminaries in all Europe, nearly all of which were designed to train teachers for the secondary schools, and along subject-matter lines. The chief reason for this slow development was that there had as yet come into existence no real theory as to the educative process, nor had any teaching technique in which to train teachers been developed.

The memorable work done by Pestalozzi in Switzerland, during his quarter-century (1800–25) of effort at Burgdorf and Yverdon, changed the whole aspect of the teacher-preparation problem. His work was so fundamental that in time it completely redirected the education of children. His great contributions were that the mental development of the child is organic, and proceeds according to law; that education is individual, and a drawing-out and not a pouring-in; that the basis of all education exists in the nature of man; that the method of education is to be sought and constructed from work with children; that an entirely different subject-matter from the religious instruction and the Catechism of the time was needed; and that a new methodology for instruc-

tion must be created by experimentation. These ideas in time gradually reshaped the education of youth, and upon the basis of these ideas the modern secular elementary school has been built. Pestalozzi created the first real normal school, and on the foundations laid by him the Prussian normal school system was erected, in 1809. This system became the model for the German States, and was in the main the type followed when, in 1839, Massachusetts created the first American state normal schools.

The early American development. There had, however, been an even earlier development in America in the direction of teacher-training in the Lancastrian schools, which as early as 1810 had evolved classes to train monitors. A few private teacher-training schools of the high-school subject-matter type,[1] with practice obtained by teaching in the rural schools in the winter, were also established in New England in the twenties and thirties. As early as 1821 the Board of Regents of the State of New York had declared that it was to the academies of the State "that we must look for a supply of teachers for the common schools." In 1826 Governor Clinton recommended the establishment of a central state seminary for the education of teachers, but after examination and rejection of the proposal by a legislative commission, the New York Law of 1827, appropriating aid to "promote the education of teachers" in the academies, was the result. A few academies now took up the work of "qualifying teachers for the common schools" by "imparting instruction in the higher branches of English education," and by introducing a new course called "Principles of Teaching."

Little was done, however, until in 1834 a further law, usually regarded as the first specific provision for the training of teachers in the United States, stipulated definitely for the education of teachers in the academies; made a state appropriation therefor; and placed the administration of the law with the Board of Regents of the University of New York (State Board of Education). Within a year after the passage of this law four academies reported 138 students in teacher-training courses, and by 1841 there were twenty-four academies, with 600 students enrolled, engaged in the preparation of teachers for the common schools of

[1] The work of the Reverend Samuel R. Hall, at Concord, Vermont (1823–30), Andover, Massachusetts (1830–37), and Plymouth, Massachusetts (1837–40), and that of James G. Carter, at Lancaster, Massachusetts (1827) form the conspicuous examples of these early efforts. Both are well described in *Barnard's American Journal of Education.* (See *Index.*)

the State. The training of teachers in the academies of New England as well soon became common, and we were on our way toward the development of a system of county training, much like the present French normal school plan or the American county normal school, when a change in direction was given to the movement by the introduction of the Prussian type of teacher-training into the State of Massachusetts.

The publication of the *Reports* on the Prussian school system by Cousin (1835) and Stowe (1837); the visit of the German Dr. Julius to America; and the propaganda work of the Reverend Charles Brooks, James G. Carter, and Horace Mann in Massachusetts — all combined to give support to the idea of the establishment of a series of state normal schools for the training of teachers,[1] as opposed to a series of local academies. As a result the first state normal school in America was established by Massachusetts, in 1839, and the idea was exploited and defended by Mann for a decade afterward. Other States took up the work, and by 1860 there were a dozen state institutions for the training of teachers in nine States,[2] and by 1865 the number had been increased to twenty. The privately founded tuition normal school also began its work, and, in the days before the public high school and the state normal school had become thoroughly established in the minds of our people, rendered a valuable service in providing teachers who possessed more knowledge and better professional insight than did the great bulk of the teachers of the time.

It required a generation, however, for the state normal school idea to become at all well established in America. After 1870 it may be said that the teacher-training conception had been accepted, in principle at least, and since then the number of such state institutions has increased rapidly.

Rise of a demand for trained teachers. The whole American development is easily comprehended in the light of the history of the growth of educational theory in this country. The first half of the nineteenth century with us was clearly the period of the

[1] See the author's *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 285–94, for a history of this early American development.

[2] The first dozen state normal schools in the United States, with dates of foundation, were:

1839	Massachusetts (1st)	1854	Massachusetts (4th)
1839	" " (2d)	1854	Rhode Island
1840	" " (3d)	1855	New Jersey
1844	New York	1857	Illinois
1849	Connecticut	1859	Pennsylvania
1849	Michigan	1860	Minnesota

knowledge-conception of education. The purpose of schooling was the mastery of knowledge, and the work of the teacher was to assign tasks, hear recitations, and impose order. Visiting committees and school trustees inspected the work by having the pupils spell, do sums, and recite facts. For this type of school a peck of knowledge and a strong right arm were far more useful than any theory about the educative process could possibly be. This was the day of the man teacher, who taught school for a few months in the winter and worked on the farm in the summer. It was not until after the advent of the new Pestalozzian conceptions as to the nature and content and method of education, first made popular with us by the work of Sheldon at Oswego, after 1860, that the basis for a new type of teacher-training was laid. While Pestalozzian procedures had been introduced into the normal schools of Massachusetts much earlier by Guyot and Krüsi, the work of Sheldon was largely responsible for their general acceptance by American educators.

The normal school now came into its own. A "science and art of teaching" now arose, and the ability to teach scientifically superseded, as the prime qualification for a teaching position, the older ability to organize and discipline a school. A new psychology of the instructional process now became the guiding principle of the school, and the imparting to prospective teachers of a methodology of instruction in each school subject became the great work of the normal school. By 1880 the new normal-trained woman teacher began to be markedly in evidence, and the displacement of men teachers from this time on was rapid in all parts of the United States. During the great reorganization and redirection of elementary education which took place between 1860 and 1900, the normal school and teacher-training were firmly fixed in the minds of our people as necessary additions to the work of public education, and the public normal school has since received continually increasing support. Since 1910 the number of schools has increased more rapidly than ever before, the attendance at existing schools has more than doubled, state support of teacher-training has been better and more wholeheartedly given, and an earnest effort has been made by most of our States to increase the percentage of properly educated and trained teachers at work in our schools. So deep, in fact, has the interest in teacher-training become that, in an effort to provide some type of training for as many teachers as possible, many States have tried a number of

more or less temporary expedients by way of supplementing the work of the state normal schools.

Present conditions as to teacher-training. Yet, despite all the efforts that have been made, extending now over nearly a century in time, the percentage of trained teachers in the United States is still low, and in a number of the States it is very low. A recent study made by the Research Division of the National Education Association [1] estimated that not over 44 per cent of all the teachers in the country have had what has been designated as standard training, namely, two years of professional preparation following the completion of a four-year high-school course. Of the other 56 per cent, many have not had a high-school education, and some have not gone beyond the elementary-school course.[2] Accurate figures are difficult to obtain because many of our States

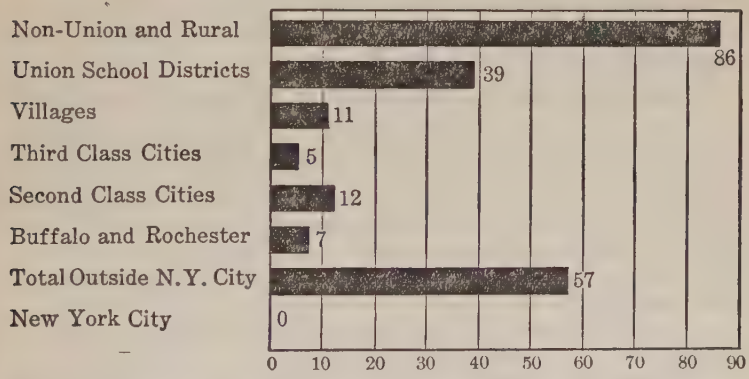

FIG. 89. PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS WITHOUT ADEQUATE TRAINING

(After Cooper.) Data for elementary-school teachers for New York State, 1920–21. Percentages of teachers holding certificates requiring preparation less than or not more than high-school graduation.

have given so little attention to the problem of teacher-training that they have not assembled accurate figures, and few careful

[1] See *Research Bulletin of the National Education Association*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan., 1923), Table 20, p. 43.

[2] "Over half a million children are still taught by teachers who have never studied beyond the elementary school; approximately three million children by teachers who have never been graduated from a high school; approximately two and a half millions by beginning teachers, who work mostly without any supervision; and about the same number by teachers who are too young to be allowed to vote. In the high schools of the United States, taking the country over and as a whole, from half of the teachers in the smaller schools to a third of the teachers in the accredited schools have not had a four-year college course — the minimum accepted standard preparation for teaching in the high school." (E. P. Cubberley, *Introduction to the Study of Education*, pp. 450–51.)

studies of the problem, as that of Cooper for New York State, have as yet been made. For five States — two in the South, two in the West, and one in New England — no figures as to training were available. Of the figures obtained for the remaining forty-three States the results were as shown in the adjoining table.[1] This is not a good showing for a country such as ours,[2] and is distinctly poorer than that of any other great nation.[3] As our educational progress is primarily dependent on the competency of the classroom teacher, no substantial improvement in the effectiveness of the public school system, in many of the States, can be expected until there has been a substantial increase in the numbers of properly-trained instructors.

Percentages of Teachers with Standard Training	States
10 or less	4
11 to 20	5
21 " 30	7
31 " 40	7
41 " 50	7
51 " 60	1
61 " 70	4
71 " 80	2
81 " 90	5
Over 90	1

The following are several reasons for the existing conditions:

1. The low salaries paid our teachers, particularly in the town and rural schools, making the cost for training an unprofitable investment.
2. The increasing cost for training in specialized state institutions, which call for a professional decision before entering on the work, and which are lengthening their courses.
3. The great number of women in teaching, a large percentage of whom soon marry and are lost to the school.
4. The many business opportunities of a new country, which offer greater financial rewards than teaching.
5. The rapid turnover in teaching, due to 3 and 4, and other reasons. The district system of school administration, with its small uninteresting schools, the poor living conditions for teachers, and the low salaries paid, also contributes its share to driving teachers to other work.

[1] The lowest percentages were in the Southern States, and the dozen States which equaled or exceeded the average for the United States were California (93 per cent), Connecticut (90 per cent), Arizona (89 per cent), Massachusetts (88 per cent), Rhode Island (87 per cent), New York (82 per cent), New Jersey (80 per cent), Oregon (79 per cent), Utah (69 per cent), Pennsylvania (67 per cent), Louisiana (67 per cent), and Minnesota (66 per cent).

[2] Bagley, in a more recent inquiry (*School and Society*, July 25, 1925), found Massachusetts highest with 89.5 per cent, with Arizona, California, Rhode Island, and Connecticut following, in that order, and each over 80 per cent. He also found that eight States had made marked recent progress, and concludes that "in at least half of the States the majority of the teachers now have standard training; and in at least a third of the States the general level of training is still deplorably low."

[3] Many of the trained teachers of Europe were lost in the World War, and conditions are not so good now as before 1914, yet they are better even now than in most American States. In France, Germany, England, Scotland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian States the trained teacher was almost universal.

Of all these reasons, low salaries and rapid turnover are the most serious. With the average teaching service of those who teach in our rural schools running from two to three years, in our States as wholes from four to six years, and with six to ten years for our cities having good school systems, the difficulties in the way of securing a properly educated and a professionally trained teaching force for our schools are indeed great.

A number of recent studies in teacher turnover have been made which reveal the very unstable condition of the teaching body. Cooper found, for New York State,[1] an average teaching life of 6¾ years. Anderson found, for Wisconsin,[2] yearly changes in position as follows:

Rural teachers	65 to 68 per cent
Graded school teachers	56 " 60 " "
Village and city grade-school teachers	30 " "
High-school teachers	41 " 48 " "

In a state-wide survey made in the State of Washington,[3] it was found that the number of teachers at that time new to their positions was 40 per cent for the State as a whole, but varied, with the size and type of school, as follows:

School with average daily attendance of	Per cent of First-Year Teachers
Over 5000 children	12.7
1000 to 4999 "	27.6
500 " 999 "	43.7
250 " 499 "	47.6
100 " 249 "	54.9
Under 100 (3 or more teacher schools)	54.9
One- and two-room rural schools	76.9

Norton recently completed a study[4] as to the number of teachers required each year, by States, to replace those leaving the profession. He found the average for the United States to be 16 per cent, varying by States from 4 per cent in Florida to 47 per cent in Wyoming, and 110,560 new teachers called for each year.

Recent changes in the normal school. A quarter of a century ago the state normal schools were, quite generally, open to those who had finished the elementary-school course, but within the past

[1] Cooper, H. E. *The Cost of Training Teachers.* Baltimore, 1924.

[2] Anderson, C. J. *Status of Teachers in Wisconsin.* Madison, 1923.

[3] A state-wide survey, made by the executive secretary of the Washington Education Association, and printed in the *Washington Education Journal*, May, 1922, p. 292.

[4] *Research Bulletin, National Education Association*, vol. 2, no. 5 (Nov., 1924), Table 3, p. 144.

ten to fifteen years nearly all normal schools, in the better financed States, have moved their entrance requirements upward to require graduation from high school for admission, and, in a number of States, the candidates must also be recommended graduates and on the same basis as for admission to the state university.

Another recent significant change is the very marked tendency of the normal schools to lengthen their course to three and four years, and to change their designation to that of teachers' colleges.[1]

During the past decade a vigorous agitation has been carried on by the normal school presidents to effect such a change. The arguments advanced have been many and varied, the main ones being summarized in Figure 90, which gives the results of a recent inquiry [2] as to the causes for this new movement. The desire for a collegiate status has received much support from the new demands now being made upon the American school by reason of the changing conditions and relationships which have taken place since the Spanish-American War, and to which the World War has given new emphasis. The cities, in particular, have felt these changes, and have asked for a better educated and a better trained teacher to meet the new needs; the college-educated woman without professional preparation who has turned to elementary-school teaching has revealed new possibilities in teacher-training; the growth in the amount of our professional knowledge and our organized teaching technique, and the incorporation of this knowledge and technique in teachable textbooks, have also helped along the transition; and the increasing differentiation and specialization in the primary, intermediate, and junior-high-school years have alike called for longer and more thorough training. The National Education Association Committee on teachers' colleges, reporting at the Chicago meeting of the Department of Superintendents, in 1922, said on this point:

In the opinion of this Committee the teachers' college movement is sound in policy. The normal schools began as secondary schools with

[1] The movement began in 1890, when the state normal school at Albany was transformed into a four-year institution and reorganized under the name of the "New York State College for Teachers." In 1897 the Michigan State Normal School became a degree-granting institution known as the "Michigan State Normal College." From these beginnings the movement has spread, until the 1926 *Educational Directory*, published by the United States Bureau of Education, lists 90 state teachers' colleges and 116 state normal schools for the country, although 13 of the latter go by the title of teachers' colleges.

[2] "Trends and Problems in State-Supported Teacher-Training Institutions"; by Ralph E. Wager, in *Peabody Journal of Education*, vol. 3, pp. 9–25. (July, 1925.)

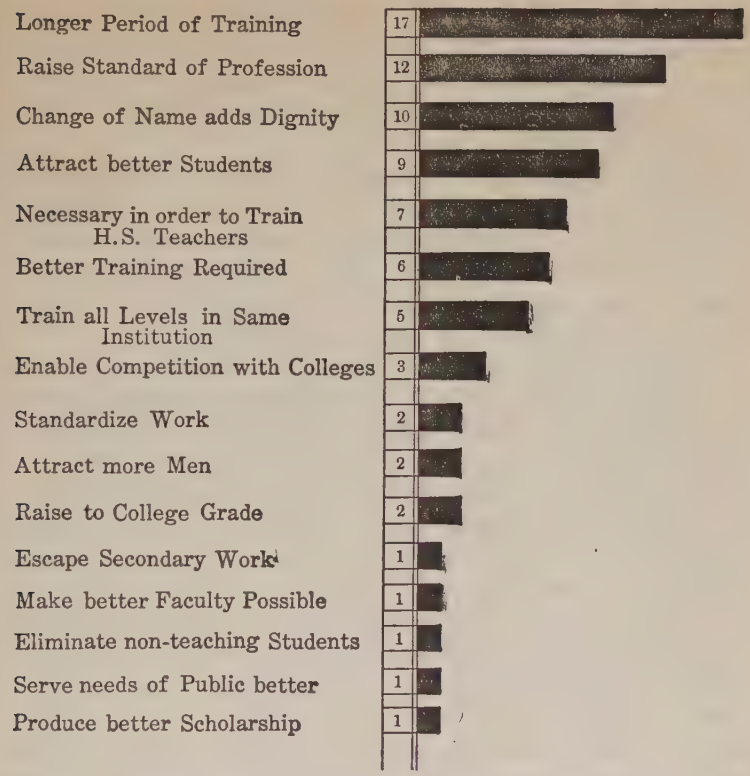

FIG. 90. REASONS FOR CHANGING FROM NORMAL SCHOOL TO TEACHERS' COLLEGE

(After Wager.) Numbers indicate frequencies of reasons given in replies.

a professional purpose. As public education progressed they advanced to the rank of junior colleges, and with the further progress of public education it is perfectly clear that they should develop into professional colleges. This development is in complete harmony with the general advancement of organized education. Moreover, it is a necessity if we are to have a body of trained teachers with a professional attitude toward their work.

The result has been the rather rapid recent evolution of the teachers' college — with a four-year degree course, a president instead of a principal, and professors instead of instructors — out of the older state normal schools. In a number of States this transition has already been effected, and in others the designations have been changed by law and the path cleared for completed action, though the alterations are as yet only under way. These

changes in the character of our older teacher-training institutions now seem so well assured that we may look forward with confidence to seeing, before many years, a number of four-year teachers' colleges in all States where finances will permit of such organization.

In addition to training a superior type of teacher for the schools of the State, these institutions are quite likely to be called upon to serve as regional colleges for the State, where general academic training also will be provided. With the increasing crush of students at our state universities; the privately endowed and older denominational colleges being forced to limit their numbers, because of lack of financial resources to extend their work; and the increase in the number of American families desirous of providing collegiate training for their sons and daughters — the demand that these teachers' colleges become general collegiate institutions as well will in time probably be irresistible. Especially will this be the case in the Western States, where few denominational colleges exist. If the teachers' colleges are to train secondary teachers as well as elementary teachers, which they nearly all aspire to do and are now beginning to do in some places, the provision of good departments of history, English, mathematics, science, economics, and other subject-matter courses will be a necessity. Once these are established, there is little reason why general collegiate training as well as special training for teaching should not be offered, and this may be expected in time. That such a development will be favorable for teacher-training, and that it will draw into teaching many able students, men as well as women, who now do not contemplate the work — because it requires advance decision as to a career, and attendance at a specialized state institution before they have had a chance to learn what education is about or what teaching means — there can be little question.

A fundamental change taking place. Though the evolution of the teachers' college out of the normal school has been promoted largely by local communities and by ambitious normal-school presidents and faculties, it could never have been accomplished if this evolution had not been expressive of a deep and fundamental change which has been taking place concurrently in the character of American education itself. That this change involves the teacher primarily, the public has as yet only dimly seen. We have said much recently about education, and have measured our

progress in terms of new and better school buildings, more costly equipment, new types of schools organized, and increasing totals expended, but we have so far largely failed to grasp the fact that our teachers are the key to all educational advancement. Expenditures for education are almost meaningless except as expressed in the superior quality and skill of the individual teacher. If the billions we recently spent to preserve democracy abroad are not to be largely wasted, millions must now be spent at home to improve the character of the teachers in whose hands, to a great extent, the future of this Nation rests.

To attract the best minds to the teaching service — men and women "fully informed as to what the rising generation may become and dedicated to such achievement — we must offer them sound training for the teaching profession and make it possible for them "to attain to distinguishing rewards of success through teaching careers."[1] To train them, as the future of our Nation demands that our teachers be trained, calls for their contact during the period of training with well-educated and large-visioned instructors, and in order to attract such to the teacher-training institutions these schools must offer a type of education suited to the new needs of a rapidly changing world. The calling, too, must offer economic rewards comparable to those offered by other fields of public and private service. A new type of teacher-training institution, and a materially increased salary schedule for teachers, are the immediate necessities.

It seems to be rather generally admitted by students of the subject that the older type of two-year normal school, in our better-financed States, has passed its period of maximum usefulness, although the demand for the two-year course and graduation therefrom is still large. The recent Carnegie Foundation study of teacher-training in Missouri,[2] our most exhaustive consideration of the problem, so far, was clearly and definitely of this opinion. Technically, the old normal school was a trade school, giving a short vocational preparation for only one line of service. As such a type of institution it rendered an important service, and as such it still has a deserved place in our national life. The new

[1] Recently Thorndike well said: "A nation which lets incapables teach it, while the capable men and women only feed, clothe, and amuse it, is committing intellectual suicide."

[2] *The Professional Preparation of Teachers for American Public Schools*, Bulletin 14, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. 475 pp. New York, 1920.

social and educational conditions we are facing, however, as well as the increasing demands of the near future alike call for a different type of teacher-training institution, one that will provide a broader and more extended professional preparation and fit young people better for the educational service of the State.

The problem is as yet largely a question of what the State can afford. Wherever the salary schedule of a State is such as to warrant the longer training, it may be regarded as an accepted principle of action that some at least of the normal schools should gradually extend their instruction, improve their equipment in libraries and laboratories, procure better professors, offer a good grade of collegiate work,[1] and establish a four-year curriculum leading to a degree. Almost the only hope of again attracting men students to our normal schools, and of drawing into teaching the many able men and women who now go into business or into other lines of professional service, lies in such an expansion upward and outward of the teacher-training work as will make of these institutions strong regional and professional colleges for the State. Such a development will require some time and much more money, but it is a development which is already under way in this country. How well the change can be carried through will depend very largely upon whether our States will finance the developing teachers' colleges adequately to enable them to provide the additional and more costly work, and establish and maintain true collegiate standards as to teaching staff, teaching load, and curricula.[2] If adequate finance be not forthcoming to carry through the development, the change may be productive of more harm than good, but, based on the history of other expansions which this Nation has finally accepted as desirable, the writer believes that by the time another generation comes on the scene our people will have provided the necessary funds and the transition will have been effected. In the meantime, while

[1] "The teachers' colleges should address themselves to the task of standardization. If they are to be colleges in name they should be colleges in fact. This means that for the entrance requirements, students' load, content of courses, academic preparation of faculty, faculty load, number of weeks' teaching a year, etc., they should square with college standards. Teachers' colleges may never hope to have the respect and recognition of the colleges and universities and the public in general until this task of standardization is achieved." (National Education Association Committee on Teachers' Colleges, 1922 *Report*.)

[2] That our States have greatly increased their support for teacher-training may be seen from the fact that in 1899–1900 the income of the public normal schools was $5,231,856, whereas by 1923–24 it had risen to $48,948,515. In twenty-four years revenues increased nine and a half times, and the number of graduates increased but three and one half times.

the change is taking place, there still remains a very important place for the two-year normal school to fill.

Another view of the development. That such a development in teacher-training would be very acceptable to our cities there can be little question. The cities have long sought college-educated women for the grade positions, feeling that their broader cultural background largely balanced their lack of teaching technique. The single salary schedule, which has recently been so widely adopted by our cities, has also placed a premium on the securing of longer training by teachers. Within a short period of time it is probable that even our smaller cities could adjust their salary schedules so as to warrant the longer and more special preparation which the four-year teachers' college course would require. The better-financed town schools, and the larger consolidated schools, could also adjust their salary schedules so as to secure teachers of this longer training, provided there were any left after the cities had taken their supply.

Right here lies one of the most serious defects in the whole proposal to increase the length of teacher preparation. In but a very few of our States to-day is the yearly output of the state normal schools equal to the number of new teachers needed.[1] Despite the fact that the longest teaching service is in the cities, in many States the cities could still absorb the entire output of the normal schools and teachers' colleges. Many of the larger of these institutions frankly say that they no longer attempt to train teachers for anything other than city service. Where the village and rural schools would obtain teachers of any training if a four-years' course were made general—unless the number of teachers' colleges were at least doubled, and in many of our States quadrupled—is indeed a question. Again, with the poor salaries, bad working conditions, lack of professional supervision and stimulus, and the often almost impossible living facilities which are the usual characteristics of teaching under the district system, it is hard to see how a rural district school would ever secure a trained teacher. The economic returns and the professional satisfactions incident to rural teaching at present certainly would

[1] See Table 3, page 144, in Bulletin 5, vol. 2, of *Research Bulletin of National Education Association*, Nov., 1924. This gives, by States, the number of new teachers required to replace those leaving in each State, and takes no account of changes from one position to another within the State. But two States require less than 10 per cent of new teachers, and in eight States from 25 to 47 per cent of new teachers are required each year. The average for the forty-six States reporting was 16 per cent. This means an average teaching life of 6¼ years.

not warrant any one spending the time and money necessary to secure a teachers' college degree, and the district system of school finance would not permit the employment of teachers of such training even if they were available. The almost inevitable result would be a very serious lack of teachers for the rural and village schools, with the consequent breaking down of state certification standards in order to supply the deficiency.

The normal schools of our country were established for a very definite purpose. They and the elementary schools grew up together, the one preparing teachers for the other so that the children of the Nation might be better taught. During the past two decades our normal schools have largely abandoned the purpose for which they were originally created. In an effort to take over the training of high-school teachers, as well as city elementary teachers, they have almost ceased to prepare teachers for the town and village and rural schools. To be sure, nearly all state normal schools and teachers' colleges offer a so-called rural-teacher course — this usually being required by state law — but few students take it, and those who do leave the rural or village school for the city at the first opportunity. There seems little hope of ever being able to supply trained teachers for the district-system rural and village schools of our country if the normal schools are to evolve into degree-conferring teachers' colleges, and the district system of school organization and administration is to be retained. Instead, the rural situation will become steadily worse rather than better.

The high-school training class. This problem of rural teacher-training is not a new one. It has been before us ever since the training of teachers began, but by the close of the nineteenth century it had become a vital issue. The *Report* of the National Education Association Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools,[1] made in 1897, dealt seriously with the problem, and indicated that the solution then lay in organizing training classes in the high schools to give the service that the state normal schools seemed no longer interested in rendering. The Committee said:

> There is no doubt that the normal schools do not reach down and take hold of the rural schools. There is room for a series of normal-training classes suited in all respects to the need of a class of people from whom we draw our rural-school teachers.

[1] *Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools*, National Education Association, 1897. See the Report of the Sub-Committee on Supply of Teachers.

The first State to follow the recommendations of this Committee and establish high-school teacher-training classes was Wisconsin, in 1899. Minnesota followed in 1903, Nebraska in 1907, Vermont in 1910, Arkansas, Iowa, North Dakota, and Oregon in 1911, Maine and Missouri in 1913, and Ohio in 1914. Other States have since adopted the idea, and by 1925 approximately half of the States were employing some form of general plan for teacher-training in the high schools, while in seven other States some training was being carried on in these schools without there being a state plan for the work. This is in effect a return to the old New York academy method of teacher-training, which there never died out. In the twenty-four States operating under state plans there were, in 1922–23, the last year for which we now have figures, approximately 1725 high-school training classes, exclusive of 180 county training schools for colored teachers in the South, with an enrollment of about 31,500 students and a yearly

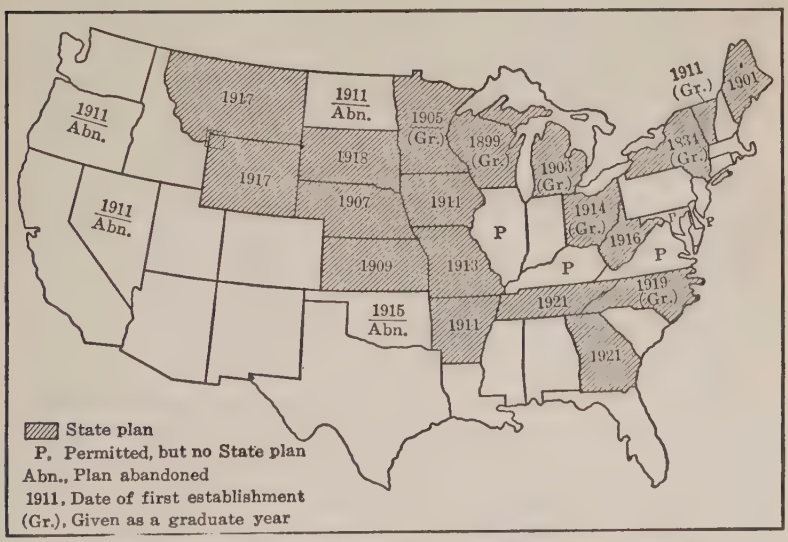

FIG. 91. THE HIGH-SCHOOL TEACHER-TRAINING CLASS

output of approximately 19,000 graduates. These are commonly given a one- or two-year certificate for teaching, which is usually limited to the county. In five States, so-called county normal schools or classes are used for the work. The customary plan in all these schools is to reserve the last year of a four-year high-

school course for the work, although six States by now (1926) make of it a graduate year, with the completion of the high-school course required for entrance, and the tendency is clearly in this direction. A small state subsidy is almost always given for the work, and the classes are subject to state inspection and the course of study to state approval.

While the training thus provided has been better than no training at all — and many States have had largely this choice — the courses have not proved very satisfactory. A few States which earlier established these classes have since abandoned them, or at least withdrawn the state subsidy for them, and there is a general tendency to regard such training as a transitional makeshift to be discontinued as soon as any better plan can be carried out. Many objections are advanced to the continuance of these classes. It is frequently said that the money spent on them would support another state normal school, and that it would be more profitably spent in this way. It is also claimed that the instructors of these classes are themselves but poorly trained, and that low-standard high schools are often approved for the work. As it is, the teachers too often go out with only meager academic and professional preparation. On the other hand, these classes have undoubtedly improved the professional attitude of the rural teachers and raised the standard of rural teaching, according to 90 per cent of the state superintendents — as reported by a recent inquiry [1] — and 74 per cent believed that the general effect had been to increase the attendance at the state teacher-training schools as well.

Usefulness and supervision of these classes. How far these high-school training classes may be useful is to be determined largely by the present situation as to teacher-training in, and the salary schedule of, any particular State. While still of value in a number of States, they must nevertheless be regarded as temporary expedients and as a cheap means for training large numbers of teachers for rural service.[2] Their greatest development and

[1] "Teacher Training in the Secondary Schools of the United States"; by Frank L. Wright, as reported in *School and Society*, vol. 20, pp. 39–45. (July 12, 1924.)

[2] The recent study by Miss Carney (*Rural School Leaflet*, no. 33, U.S. Bureau of Education, Sept., 1924) is illuminating as to conditions. Of the 300,000 rural teachers in the United States, she found fewer than 3 per cent were normal-school graduates; one third or more had had no professional preparation whatever; 50 per cent had not completed high school; and 10 per cent had never gone beyond the elementary-school grades. Of the total number, one quarter leave the work annually, while of those who remain approximately two thirds change schools each year.

usefulness so far has naturally been in the strong district-system States and in the South. They should be abandoned for longer and better training by any State as soon as a supply of teachers otherwise trained can be made available. Arizona, California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, for example, with their high percentages of trained teachers (ranging from 87 per cent in Rhode Island to 93 per cent in California) and fairly adequate supply of state training schools, have clearly passed beyond the need for such classes. On the other hand, in such a strong district-system State as Wisconsin, and in most of the Southern States,[1] such classes clearly answer a present need if teachers of any kind of professional training are to be had for the rural schools, with the salaries these schools now offer.

In handling these high-school classes, and in making the transition from them to the state normal schools, care must be exercised to keep clearly before communities that these classes are not local institutions, but part of a state plan and organization for teacher-training. To this end the State should authorize their establishment, outline the work to be done, hold it open to inspection and approval, grant them some subsidy, exercise control over the library and practice equipment, and train and certificate the instructors for the work. The State should also limit the number of classes to fit needs, reduce subsidies, and strive toward their ultimate abolition. One serious danger to be faced lies in the fact that these classes, once established, may prove so satisfactory to rural people and district-system trustees that they will be loath to pay for anything better. Coffman, in his survey of these classes in Minnesota,[2] put this phase of the problem clearly when he said (page 75):

> They are liked (in the rural communities) because they serve the local needs — because they permit girls to receive training who could otherwise have none; because they "cater to the local situation"; because they supply teachers who stay in the country for a little while (two or three years at the most, with rare exceptions), but who, if

[1] Professor R. E. Wager, in a recent study of the training of teachers in 93 Georgia counties (*Home, School, and Community*, May, 1925), found that the white teachers showed the following distribution as to training: 3.3 per cent were seventh-grade graduates only, 6 per cent only eighth grade, 8 per cent only ninth grade, 11.5 per cent only tenth grade, 27 per cent were eleventh grade (high school in the South), 5.5 per cent had had one year of normal training, 13.5 per cent were untrained, 13.5 per cent had had one to three years of college, and 11.5 per cent were college graduates. The high-school training class is a necessity under such conditions.

[2] *Teacher-Training Departments in Minnesota High Schools*, by Lotus D. Coffman. General Education Board, New York, 1920.

trained in normal schools, would not serve the rural schools for a day. These departments are now institutions with vested interests, and any effort to supplant them will meet with vigorous opposition. As they have given and are giving great and good service to the State, of course no one could wish to supplant them, except by other training institutions which are clearly better.

It must also be said in favor of these high-school training classes that they provide almost the only incentive now offered to young people in our high schools to turn to teaching as a career, in that they give the school an opportunity to set forth the advantages and possibilities of the profession. A recent writer [1] puts this aspect of the matter well in the following words:

> There are few arguments for the introduction of a college-preparatory curriculum or a commercial curriculum (in a high school) which cannot be given for a normal-training curriculum as well. If the high schools of the country totally neglect teaching as a calling, and yet introduce curricula in every other vocation under the sun, it is unreasonable to expect that some day the teacher-training institutions will be overflowing with capable prospective teachers, and that all the schools will soon be manned or "womaned" by efficient four-year graduates of teachers colleges.

The county normal school as a solution. In five States we find the county normal school (Michigan, Ohio), the county training school (North Carolina, Virginia), or the county rural normal school (Wisconsin) organized for the purpose of supplementing the work of the state normal schools, and by this means providing some type of trained teachers for the rural and village schools of the State. Mississippi, Nevada, South Carolina, and Tennessee have also experimented with the plan. A good example of the county training school has been developed in Wisconsin, and the schools as organized there may be taken as a type.

Any county there, not having a state normal school within its borders, may establish and maintain a county training school "to prepare teachers to teach in the common schools," or two adjacent counties may unite for the purpose. When created they shall be under state supervision and inspection, and the course of study to be followed must be approved by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Both one- and two-year courses have been provided, and graduates of these courses are entitled to certificates valid for teaching in the common schools of the county in which the training school is located — for one year from

[1] Frank L. Wright, in study previously cited, page 600, footnote 1.

date of issuance if without seven months' experience as a teacher, for three years if so experienced, and for five years if, in addition, graduation from a four-year high school has preceded the training course. Much emphasis in the courses has been placed on a good review of the common-school branches, agriculture and nature study, rural-life problems, and observation and practice teaching. Most of the schools also stress domestic science and manual training. In such a strong district-system State as Wisconsin, with so many one-room schools (Figure 27, page 164), such institutions doubtless render an important rural service. The defects of the instruction given in them seem, judged by opinions of the county superintendents, largly due to a lack of sufficient training of an academic nature. This results from the admission to the work of students who have had but little high-school work, and could and should be changed by higher admission requirements.

On the other hand, the graduates are enthusiastic for service, understand rural-life needs, know the common branches well, are good in organization and control and strong in methods of work, and thus make capable teachers for the rural schools. With the district system and the elective county superintendent under which to work, these schools have proved a vital force in unifying and systematizing and giving intelligent direction to the school work of the counties, and in a general way enriching country life. Their graduates have been unusually successful in their social relations with country communities, being strong where the graduates of the state schools usually are weak. At the same time these schools must also be regarded as temporary expedients, as are the high-school training classes, and to be done away with whenever better organization, supervision, and finance make possible a better type of teacher and teacher-training. Their strong points to-day reveal likewise their weaknesses; they are too much an institution for backward rural communities, satisfied with the type of training their graduates represent. They and the district system of school organization and administration go well together.

The junior college as a possibility. In between the high school on the one hand and the four-years' teachers' college on the other, another institution, now developing with us, offers possibilities of large usefulness as a teacher-training institution. This is the junior college.[1] As these institutions grow they might be per-

[1] It should be said that many of our teachers' colleges now provide a two-year junior college course that also leads to teaching, alongside of the four-year teacher-training degree course.

mitted to offer a two-year teacher-training course for elementary teachers, thus taking over the work of the old normal school in which the teachers' colleges are no longer interested. As many of the present junior colleges, especially in the Mississippi Valley States and the South, are privately endowed in type, this offers an opportunity for enlisting the services of these non-state institutions in the cause of teacher-training, if so desired.

The plan would offer certain decided advantages. Instead of having, as now, to decide upon a career in advance, go away from home to attend a state institution, and be advised to leave if proven unadapted to the teaching profession, students would have in the junior college an opportunity for a try-out course, and those to whom teaching made a strong appeal could later transfer to a state teachers' college for the last two years of the course. Many, too, who did not turn to teaching as a career would learn much about public education which would benefit them in their life work and make of them more useful citizens. The junior colleges would have most of the advantages that the high-school training classes now offer as means of interesting worthy young men and women in teaching as a career, would provide a higher grade of academic and professional preparation, and would in addition bring opportunities for teacher training to many who cannot now attend a state teachers' college. Since most collegiate institutions draw the great bulk of their student body from within a radius of seventy-five to one hundred miles, and normal schools and teachers' colleges from within still shorter distances,[1] the frequency of the junior colleges would tend to increase the number of students who prepare for teaching.

The normal-training department of the junior college could thus be made an integral part of the state system of teacher training, and from ten to twenty-five per cent of the junior college enrollment might be expected to turn to teaching as a career, either during or after their graduation.[2] The academic work certainly would be as well done as in the teachers' colleges, and probably better done, while the smaller groups enrolled would offer decided advantages for training in teaching technique over our large and

[1] See the 23 maps given in Humphreys' study, showing drawing power of normal schools in Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, and Texas, for evidence here. Cooper, in his study of 10 New York normal schools, found that 66 per cent of the entering students came from the county in which the school was located.

[2] A few instances have been reported recently in which over 50 per cent of the students enrolled turned to teaching as a career.

crowded state institutions, with their inadequate practice-school facilities. Until our States are willing to create and adequately finance a sufficient number of the four-year teachers' colleges to train all the teachers needed by the schools of the State, the junior-college plan seems to offer an effective and economical means of securing a trained teacher for every classroom. The disadvantage of using the junior colleges for this purpose lies chiefly in the fact that, as yet, these are largely city institutions, and so long as the district system of school organization and administration is retained, city-trained girls will not go to teach in the rural districts if any other kind of employment is open to them.

How the county unit would help to solve the problem. The old outgrown district system here, as in a dozen other matters of educational advancement, stands clearly in the way of securing better trained teachers for our schools. The small, isolated, inadequately financed, and unsupervised rural and village schools do not attract any teacher who understands modern educational needs and practices, and consequently wants to go where real service may be rendered and tangible rewards reaped. Every intelligent teacher knows that there are better ways and better markets in which one may sell that which a trained teacher has to offer. The county unit, or some modification of the county-unit idea, with the resulting consolidation of schools and the provision of proper homes for the teachers and adequate and professional school supervision, offers the opportunity here, as in many other directions, for transforming the character of rural education. Under a proper county-unit organization, with the consolidations that would in time inevitably result, from a quarter to a third of the present number of rural teachers would be dispensed with, far more attractive teaching and living conditions would be furnished, and adequate financing to provide for securing well-trained teachers could then be made possible.

If our normal school and teachers' college presidents were alive to their opportunities for service, they would unite in an active state and national propaganda to bring about better rural-school organization and administration and supervision. Few things they could do would contribute so much to create an increased demand for a well-trained output from their schools, or to place teacher-training on a firmer foundation. As yet the people of this country have accepted teacher-training in only a half-hearted manner, and most of our institutions giving such work content

themselves with trying to meet existing demands and to supply teachers who will fit existing needs. With the rapid turnover now taking place in the teaching world there is of course some justification for such an attitude. Our normal schools and teachers' colleges are, however, missing a large opportunity for constructive rural service in not taking the lead for a better type of rural school organization, one that will in turn demand a better type of rural school and rural teacher. At the present rate of progress, it will be at least a third of a century, and probably longer, before the glaring defects in the organization and administration of rural education can be remedied by voluntary action. By that time the intelligent farmers will have moved to the cities or made city connections for the education of their children, leaving a stratified rural peasantry to patronize the rural and village schools. There is to-day no away-from-the-farm influence operating among the better class of farmers and rural young people half so powerful as is the continuance of the district system and the present type of rural school and teacher.

The city normal school. Forty or more years ago, in an effort to secure teachers with some professional training, a number of our cities established local city training classes, or city normal schools, to create a supply of trained teachers for their school systems. Twenty-five years ago these institutions were very common in the cities of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the East. In the days when city salaries were low, trained teachers scarce, and the state normal schools much weaker than they are to-day, these city training courses served a useful purpose, even though the training consisted largely of apprenticeship work, and with but little theoretical instruction of any value. Within the past two decades, with the increase in salary schedules and the number of trained teachers available for city service, the manifest tendency has been to abandon these local training courses and to depend upon the open market to obtain the needed supply of teachers. To-day less than thirty such city training classes are in existence, and thirty per cent of them are found in the cities of two States.

For a large city, one of 250,000 and over, it is probable that the cost for maintaining a city normal school for its own needs — even a good one — would not be materially more than the city's share of taxes to train its quota of new teachers in the state normal schools. The chief objections to the maintenance of such local training schools, except in the largest cities, and somewhat even

there, rests on other grounds. One danger is that they may be wholly inadequately supported; another that they are often in large part apprenticeship schools, and their graduates come out deficient in both academic and theoretical knowledge and lacking in vision; another that they produce a uniformity of output, and of no higher level than the average of the schools of the city itself; another that it ought to be part of a teacher's training to go away from home for it, and learn to associate with new people under new conditions; another that the maintenance of such classes tends to produce an inbreeding of ideas and types, to the injury of the school system; and finally that, having trained the home girls, these graduates naturally feel that they have a prior claim on every vacant position, with the result that no new teachers are brought into the city from the outside. The city training class or city normal school, except in a few of our largest cities which maintain them adequately, represents much the same stage in the development of a state system of teacher training for the city as do the high-school normal classes for the rural districts of a county. They are largely temporary expedients, created to meet an existing need, but to be done away with as soon as state finances will permit of the provision of a better and a more adequate system of teacher training for the commonwealth.

The interest of the State calls for some supervision of the creation and maintenance of such teacher-training classes. The State should be interested in adequate teacher-training, and also in preventing an inbreeding of ideas and practices that result in weakened schools. To this end the state teachers' colleges should form a standard, and cities at least, regardless of what rural communities may be permitted to do, should be expected to live up to the best. The way, however, ought to be left open for any city to exceed the state standards in teacher-training. To this end, city training classes and normal schools should be permitted to be established only with the consent and approval of the State, and, while given large liberty to do better and different work from that done in the state normal schools or teachers' colleges, they should be open to state inspection and their work should not be allowed to drop materially below the level of that provided in the state institutions. Applying this standard, and with our States providing a sufficient number of teacher-training schools to meet state needs, it is probable that only a dozen or so of our largest cities would care to continue to maintain city

teachers' colleges. As the cost for these would not be materially different either way, it probably would be better if even these were transformed into state institutions and made a part of the regular state organization for the training of teachers, and the cities thus be given larger freedom to obtain their teachers from any source. In so far as a special city orientation is needed, this might better be done later by training-in-service means.

State schemes for teacher-training. We can hardly be said to have developed so far any single definite state scheme for the training of teachers, as the many expedients we now employ amply bear witness. Some States, such as New York, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, or California, maintain a large number of normal schools or teachers' colleges, located in different parts of their territory, in an effort to meet existing needs. A few States, such as Vermont, Ohio, Indiana, or Mississippi, have tried to confine teacher-training to one or two state institutions. Other States, such as Arkansas, or Wisconsin, have tried to supplement what is being done by the State by subsidizing high-school teacher-training classes or county-training schools. In Pennsylvania an attempt to secure a trained teaching force was made by adopting a general state teachers' salary schedule (Chapter XXIV), and then ordering that all teachers, after a period of years, must be trained teachers to be certificated and paid. Massachusetts, in her state apportionment plan (page 477) placed a differential in favor of trained teachers. A few States, such as California and Indiana, have tried to create a trained teaching force for the State by designating the privately endowed and denominational institutions of higher learning, along with the state university and the state normal schools, as state teacher-training institutions; by the provision of summer and all-year courses; and by the requirement that all teachers, both prospective and in service, must attend some institution for at least a minimum amount of time and follow a prescribed minimum course of instruction preparatory to teaching.

A study of the distribution of existing teacher-training institutions seems to indicate clearly that we are moving in the direction, for all the larger and more populous States at least, of the provision of an adequate number of properly located state teachers' colleges, large enough and so located that they will be able eventually, with the assistance of such privately endowed institutions as may be willing to help in the work, and supplemented by the ris-

ing junior colleges, to train all the teachers needed by the State. In order that our state teachers' colleges should be able to do the work which the future will require of them, it is important that they should be located in cities large enough so that adequate practice-teaching facilities may be available, and so that good living conditions and educative surroundings may be provided for the students while in training. The unintelligent location of state normal schools or teachers' colleges in little villages, and where they are not needed, is a phase of legislative patronage which clearly ought to end.[1]

Every program for teacher-training in any State is conditioned by certain facts, which must always be taken into consideration in formulating plans. Briefly these may be enumerated as follows:

1. The length of the course, and the prerequisites for it, which can reasonably be required and secure a supply of teachers.
2. The probable length of service of those who are trained.
3. The supply of high-school graduates available for training.
4. The institutions available, public and private, for the training of teachers.
5. The monetary rewards of the teaching service.

All plans for state teacher-training are limited by these factors.

A state program in teacher-training. The problem, then, faced by our States to-day is that of securing, as soon as may be done, a trained teaching force for the schools of the State. This is not particularly difficult, given proper finance, when the cities alone are considered, nor is it especially difficult in the case of the better consolidated schools. It is in the villages and rural districts that the problem of putting a trained teacher into the school is hardest to solve.

To begin with, it must be recognized that some training is better than no training, and if adequate training cannot be provided at once for all, as in most States it cannot, with present finances, for some time to come, then partial training, even though this may be very inadequate, should be required for all who cannot secure the type of instruction regarded as standard. One way of providing this is to adopt the high-school teacher-training class, as has

[1] Two main methods in locating state teacher-training institutions have been followed. The earlier method was for the legislature authorizing their creation to fix their location by legislative act. The later and better method has been to designate commissions or boards to locate the school, after it has been authorized by the legislature. See Humphreys' thesis, Chapter II, for a list of States which have followed the two plans.

been done by half of our States; another is to follow the Indiana plan and organize all teacher-training forces in the State — public and private — for the work, and then require every teacher in service, and every new teacher, to give evidence of some definite amount of professional training as a prerequisite to certification. The amount of training required should be graded to positions and gradually increased,[1] and certificates granted for any type of preliminary and partial training should be quite limited in time and restricted to certain types of schools. Enlarged certification should be contingent on securing more adequate professional preparation in some teacher-training institution. The adoption of either type of preliminary or partial training plan would soon produce a teaching force possessing some professional insight into the problems of the school, and would serve to tide over until teacher-training on an adequate basis could be financed.

The next step in the process, and in many States a parallel step with the one just mentioned, is the provision of an adequate number of state teacher-training institutions, properly located with reference to probable clientele and existing institutions, public and private, and properly financed to enable them to do the work intended, as well as properly controlled by some central state authority — state board of education — to prevent waste in development and unnecessary over-lapping in special lines of work. Graduation from a standard four-year high school should be required for entrance, and a two-year teacher-training course or courses should be offered. The aim should be to provide teachers for the State possessed of standard minimum preparation (full high-school plus two years of normal-school training) as soon as can be done. As rapidly as possible, also, the work of the high-school training classes should be taken over by these state institutions, and such training gradually abandoned. Full use during this preliminary period, as well as in the later development, should be made of the non-state educational agencies which may be enlisted in the teacher-training work, the interest of the State being safeguarded by compelling them to meet the standards maintained by the state institutions.

How long it will take to secure a trained teaching force under

[1] For example, a year's professional training could be outlined, to be given in parts in summer schools — one third each summer. The first third could be made a prerequisite to certification or the renewal of a certificate, and the certificates could be made contingent on securing the remaining two thirds of the training. This matter will be considered in further detail in the following chapter.

such a plan will be determined almost entirely by the financial attractions offered, and the living and working conditions incident to teaching. The cities can increase salaries and soon supply their needs, but if the district system of taxation and administration is to continue, and district trustees are left to fix terms and wages, a trained teaching force for the rural and village schools will hardly come about in a generation. The plan followed by Pennsylvania in the celebrated Edmonds Act of 1921, whereby the State adopted a state salary schedule for all teachers, greatly increased state aid, ordered that only trained teachers would be certificated after six years, and put the fourteen state normal schools at work at the task of preparing them, offers almost the only hope. The problem of providing a trained teaching force for a State is at bottom largely an economic one which the public, rather than the profession, must solve.

Utilizing facilities to the best advantage. In all but the smallest States a number of state teacher-training institutions will be needed. For many reasons a number of smaller schools, properly located over a State, will be better than one or two larger ones, and will serve the State better. How many students each institution should try to care for is as yet an unsettled problem, varying somewhat with population-density and other factors. The numbers should not be too large, however. The work of these different institutions should then be coördinated by the state board of education, rather than left under the control of independent boards of trustees, in order that a general state policy in teacher training may be most effectively and economically carried out. This body, acting on the advice of its commissioner of education, should determine the number of new teachers needed in the various lines of school work; authorize or assign different types of work to be done in the different institutions,[1] with a view to utilizing facilities in the best manner possible; approve of the budget of expenditures for each institution; on recommendation of the commissioner of education, approve of the appointment of the executive head and chief members of the teaching staff for each school; and determine when any institution may be permitted to advance its course to three and four years of work, the conditions under which this may be done, and when and to what extent a full four-year degree course may be offered by any institution. In

[1] See article in *Elementary School Journal* for Sept., 1924 (vol. 25, pp. 40–42) on the specializations effected for the nine state normal schools of Wisconsin.

the Southern States, in addition, there must be a further specialization in the normal schools as between white and colored students, with a much-increased emphasis on vocational work in the schools for teachers of the negro race.[1]

The eventual goal, in our better financed States at least, to which these state teacher-training institutions ought to move, as conditions and finances within the State permit, is four years of well-organized professional preparation of collegiate grade, properly differentiated — after a brief common orientation and training — to prepare for different types of positions in public school work, such as kindergarten, primary, intermediate grades, junior high school, senior high school, special types of classes in public school work, vocational instruction, etc. How many courses any institution should offer should be determined by central state authority, rather than by the institution itself. If additional state teacher-training institutions are needed, the state board of education should determine their location and character, and if more teachers are being trained than are needed by the schools, the board should have power to curtail the supply by increasing requirements.

Accessory elements in any sound state program. No intelligent state policy in teacher-training would be complete which concerned itself alone with the mere preparation of teachers. This is but a part of the general problem. Instead, the authorities in control of teacher-training should also take into account the many collateral problems which condition the training work of the teacher, so as to make the most of possibilities in those whom they train. The problem of finance and an adequate state salary schedule form one of these problems. The improvement of high-school preparation is another. The certification and salary laws should be such as to place a premium on adequate and continued professional preparation, and proper teacher tenure comes in as another phase of the problem. The elimination of the district system, and the provision of close, adequate, and professional school supervision for all teachers in the State is another. The reorganization of rural education is still another problem of large importance for teacher-training.

The development of an adequate state policy in teacher-training, then, means the building up of strong central control and super-

[1] See an interesting article in the *Educational Review* for Dec., 1924 (vol. 68, pp. 254–59), by G. V. Cools, on "Why Negro Education has Failed."

vision of all such training and certification, and also the formulation of an intelligent and forward-looking state plan with reference to all the factors conditioning the work of a teacher after the training has been given. In the chapters which follow we shall consider a number of these training problems in greater detail.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How do you explain the long-continued objection to teacher-training?
2. Show how the Pestalozzian ideas called for a new technique of instruction.
3. How would you explain the rapid decrease in the percentage of men teachers, after the normal-school development really got under way?
4. Can you suggest any effective means for decreasing the rapid turnover of teachers?
5. Show the effect of the single salary schedule in lengthening the period of training for elementary teachers.
6. Explain the large rural usefulness of the graduates of high-school training classes and county normal schools, despite their serious lack of adequate academic or professional preparation.
7. How do you explain the fact that the greatest success of these high-school training classes and county normal schools has been in the district-system States?
8. Would the establishment of high-school teacher-training classes in a strong district-system State tend to make the district system harder to move away from? Why?
9. Outline a constructive program for normal school and teachers' college authorities to follow in improving the conditions surrounding rural education. Show the different elements involved in its solution.
10. When a State is about to locate a new normal school, should its location ever be determined by such considerations as a donation of land, a building, or a grant of money?
11. How should a new normal school be located? Outline a good plan.
12. It has been proposed that the shortage of trained teachers be decreased by offering subsidies to students to attend normal schools. What is your opinion of this proposal?
13. The Carnegie Report on *The Professional Preparation of Teachers* (Missouri study) recommends that one state board of education should have control of all state educational institutions (Montana plan), and that all the normal schools and teachers' colleges be reorganized as "component units in the State's establishment for higher education — the university," the normal schools to be organized "as colleges within the organization of the state university." Discuss this proposal, as compared with the plan outlined in this chapter.
14. Can you add any other important factors that should enter into an intelligent and progressive state policy in teacher-training, not mentioned in the last paragraph of this chapter?
15. A State has used privately endowed institutions to supplement the state teacher-training institutions in securing a trained teaching force. Having accomplished this purpose, and now securing a surplus of teachers, the State proposes to cut off the non-state institutions and confine teacher-preparation exclusively to the state schools. Is this either wise or just? Why? What other plan might be employed?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The plan followed in the training of monitors for the Lancastrian schools.
2. The early New York discussion as to teacher training, and the early work of the New York academies in providing teachers.
3. Teacher-training in the early Massachusetts schools — Hall, Carter, and the first state normal schools.
4. The establishment of the normal school in the United States, and the important contribution of Sheldon at Oswego.
5. Go over the Carnegie Report on the normal schools of Missouri, list the main conditions found, and try to evaluate the different recommendations made. (Chaper XI.)
6. Go over Coffman's study of teacher-training in the high schools of Minnesota, and similarly list conditions found and recommendations made.
7. Read the chapter on teacher-training, in any recent state school survey, or a number of such, and similarly list conditions found and recommendations made.
8. From Coffman's study of high-school training classes in Minnesota, Larsen's study of county training schools in Wisconsin, and the studies of high-school training classes made by Foght and Wright, outline the character of the actual training given, and list the merits and defects of these classes.
9. Study the Indiana plan employed to provide trained teachers for the State, by using existing non-state institutions and requiring all teachers to secure some professional training. Estimate its value compared with the Wisconsin or Minnesota plans of using high-school training classes.
10. From a study of the theses by Humphrey and Hill, estimate the forces that have been most prominent in the location of state normal schools, and the intelligence of state legislative control of these schools.
11. Study the work of some city normal school, in some large city, such as Cleveland or Kansas City, and compare it with a normal school or teachers' college in the same State.
12. From Agnew's study, estimate the forces that have been most prominent in evolving the state teachers' college, and its future needs and development.
13. How teachers of vocational subjects are being trained for their work.
14. Make a study of the theses by Somers and Whitney, and see if you can formulate a workable plan for determining probable teaching success — one that can be used by state teacher-training institutions.
15. The preparation of vocational teachers is certain to be an increasingly important problem. Investigate, for any industrial State, how this is being done, and try to determine how far the normal schools and teachers' colleges of the State can handle the problem as a phase of their work.
16. The possibility of predicting teaching success (see Somers and Whitney), so as to exclude from entrance those not likely to become successful teachers.
17. Get the latest available figures on normal school and teachers college enrollment, teacher tenure, and positions to be filled, and see what changes, if any, are shown in the teacher-training problem.

PROBLEMS

1. Criticize the following one-year training courses, offered in two County Training Schools:

I.

1ST QUARTER	2D QUARTER	3D QUARTER	4TH QUARTER
English	English	English literature	American literature
Library training	Geography	Geography	Geography
Agriculture	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic
Physiology	Drawing	Physical geography	Country life
Methods	Methods	Psychology	School management
Practice teaching	Practice teaching	Practice teaching	Practice teaching

II.

1ST QUARTER	2D QUARTER	3D QUARTER	4TH QUARTER
Language	Reading and literature	History and civics	Library work
Geography	Arithmetic	Physiology	Hygiene
Agriculture	Nature study	Nature study	Agriculture
Arts group	Arts group	Arts group	Arts group
Rural problems	Rural problems	Observation	
Introduction to teaching	Educational psychology	School management	Teaching practice

Criticize each of the above courses from the point of view of its effectiveness in preparing teachers for rural-school teaching.

2. *The New Republic* recently published (Jan. 9, 1924; vol. 37, pp. 163–64) the following figures as to teacher needs for New York State:

Teachers in State (one-half in New York City)	60,000
Average teaching tenure for State	7 years
Average needs for new teachers	8,000
Additional teachers for new population	1,500
Total new teachers needed each year	9,500

To supply this demand, 10,000 high-school graduates must enroll each year in normal schools for training.

Graduates from high schools of State, per year	24,000

Of these 9600 go into commercial work and 4400 go on to college.

With the normal-school course at 3 years now, this calls for 7 years of high-school and normal-school preparation for 7 years of service.

Assuming the figures to be correct, how will New York State ever secure a fully trained teaching force?

3. According to Dean Withers, in an address delivered at West Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1923, that State similarly had (1923) approximately 48,000 teachers, with an average tenure of 7 years. To cover increase in population, approximately 8500 new teachers were called for each year. After 1927 all teachers must have had a four-year high-school and a two-year normal course. To cover losses, at least 9000 high-school graduates must enter the fourteen state and city normal schools each year. The high schools are now graduating 20,000 a year, 6000 of whom take up commercial work. With 9000 needed for teaching, this leaves but 5000 for all other forms of work and for marriage. What is the answer in Pennsylvania?

4. Principal Rockwell, of Buffalo State Normal School, recently gave some further figures with reference to New York State (*Proceedings 59th*

Convocation University of State of New York, 1923, p. 107). Of 30,000 teachers, outside of New York City, approximately one half teach in cities having a superintendent of schools, one fourth are in villages, and one fourth in rural one-room schools. Of the 30,000 teachers, about 10 per cent are new in the cities each year, 16 per cent are new in the villages, and 25 per cent are new in the districts. This calls for approximately 4500 new teachers each year, outside of New York City, and the ten state normal schools are graduating approximately 1600 each year, and have recently advanced to a three-year training course, beyond high-school graduation.

About what chance has a one-room rural school of obtaining a normal graduate? What means would you suggest to improve conditions? What enrollment does this mean in the normal schools? How can New York State obtain a trained teaching force?

5. A Middle-Western State has a total population of approximately 3,000,000, and a total school enrollment of approximately 600,000, a high-school enrollment of 90,000, and employs approximately 15,000 elementary-school teachers and 5000 high-school teachers. Of the teachers employed, 14 per cent of the elementary-school teachers and 10 per cent of the high-school teachers are new each year. The State maintains two state normal schools and two universities. The two normal schools have a combined enrollment, excluding summer instruction, of approximately 3000 students, all high-school graduates, but the two institutions graduate only about 400 teachers a year. Of this number approximately 150 are special or high-school teachers who have followed a four-year course, and the remaining 250 are elementary-school teachers who have followed a two-year course. Almost an equal number (400) of the graduates of the two state universities also teach, mostly in the high schools.

Analyze this situation, state just what is the teacher-training problem in this State, and outline a solution.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE CERTIFICATION OF TEACHERS

Certification an old institution. The certification of those who desire to teach, in its rudimentary beginnings, is almost as old as the school itself. The mediæval Church early began the licensing of priests to teach song and grammar, and early required, in addition to evidence as to competency, an oath of fealty as well. The examination of the candidates for Master of Arts, which was originally the teaching degree, became from the first one of the functions of the mediæval university, and in some form or other this examination has been continued ever since.

In New England the early schoolmaster was required to give evidence to the minister or to a school committee as to his knowledge and the soundness of his faith before he could be given a license to teach, and in German lands, where church-state school systems had their beginnings early in history, certification by the church authorities was for long depended upon. With the evolution of modern state school systems out of the church-state schools, in both Europe and America, some form of authorization to teach was from the first required by the State, and the examination and certification of candidates desiring to enter upon teaching in the state schools has come to be generally recognized as one of the rights and duties of the State. Laws have required that no teacher shall be employed to teach in any school, wholly or in part supported by the proceeds of public taxation, unless such teacher holds a certificate of qualification, issued and signed by proper authority, and the courts have repeatedly upheld and helped to enforce such legislation.

Obviously so costly and so important a work as that of educating the future citizens of a State in the state schools cannot be thrown open, without qualification, to any one who wishes to enter upon it. Just as the State must, from time to time, determine what requirements it deems advisable to enforce as to subjects of instruction, length of school term, minimum tax rates, school attendance, additional items that must be provided, and other matters, so also must the State, from time to time, set the

educational and professional requirements which it must demand from those who expect to teach in the schools which the State has deemed it wise to provide.

To determine whether or not any individual possesses these educational prerequisites for admission to the teaching service, two methods are available. One is to examine the candidate by giving him or her a written or oral examination, or both, the examination to be given either by the laymen of the school committee or by a professional examining body: the other is to accept, in place of an examination, satisfactory evidence as to proper education and professional training, such as normal school or college credits or diplomas, or certificates of qualification issued elsewhere. It is possible, under present conditions, to use the second method exclusively in but a few States, although it is obviously the better method of the two. Consequently, for some time to come, the two methods must exist side by side in most of our States.[1] The status of any State, in the process of evolving a comprehensive system for the training and certification of its teachers, can be determined fairly accurately by studying the character and frequency of the examinations for teachers' certificates in use therein, the account taken of evidences as to training, and the types of certificates issued.

Historical evolution. The power to certificate teachers was first vested in local authorities in practically all of our States. The conditions of an early period made this necessary. The weakness of the central authorities, their lack of clerical assistance, and the difficulties of communication made it necessary to rest the authority to certificate in local hands. From these beginnings there has been a slow but gradual concentration of authority under larger administrative units, and the tendency now is marked to make the State the unit for the certification of all kinds of teachers and school officers.

New York was one of the earliest of the States to establish state certification, and the evolutionary development which has taken or is taking place in many States is well illustrated by the century of progress which took place there before a state system of examina-

[1] California, for example, has for some time been able to dispense with the examination method for high-school certification, and could do so for elementary-school certification also at any time, as very few candidates appear for the examinations, and very few certificates (less than 200 a year, and these largely in a few mountain counties) are issued on examination. (See footnote 1, page 632.) The examinations for elementary-school certificates have been retained entirely as a safety-valve to avoid legislative interference.

tion and certification finally was evolved. Briefly summarized, the steps were as follows:

1795–1812, town commissioners determined qualifications;
1812–1841, town commissioners and three inspectors examined and certificated;
1841–1843, town commissioners and two inspectors examined and certificated;
1843–1847, town superintendent, county superintendent, and state superintendent all authorized to examine and license;
1847–1856, state and town superintendents controlled certification jointly;
1856–1888, county school commissioners (superintendents) examined and licensed, locally, under rules prescribed by state superintendent, and state examined and certificated with state validity;
1888–1894, all questions to be uniform and prepared by the State;
1894, full state control, county acting only as agent;
1899, supervision of all teacher-training classes placed with State.

Many of the older States have passed, in whole or in part, through a somewhat analogous development (see *Source Book*, pp. 589–95 for Indiana), while a few of the newer States began with a centralized state certificating system. Within the past three decades the tendency toward state control has been marked, as is shown in the following table:

Kind of System (Table by Cook)	Number of States having				
	1898	1903	1908	1919	1925
State issues all certificates	3	5	15	26	30
State controlled system, county acts only as agent	1	..	2	7	8
Semi-state system, county examining and certificating on uniform state questions	17	..	18	10	8
State-county system, both issuing certificates	18	..	7	3	1
County issues all certificates	4	4	1	0	0

Local *vs.* state certificating systems. The various systems in use for certificating teachers in the different States, although differing much in minor details, are nevertheless reducible to a few type systems. In Massachusetts we still find the town system of local certification employed. This is a clear survival of the old colonial system, although a general state system, with state-wide validity, parallels the local town system and is gradually replacing it. The town system of certification was once common in all New England, but has been super-

seded by a state system in all except this one State. It is probably only a question of time until it will disappear here also.

The special city teacher's certificates, granted by a number of our larger cities, must also be regarded as a form of local certification. Two types of city certificates are found. One is in lieu of county or state examination or certification, in which a city is permitted to examine and certificate its own teachers; in the other the city first accepts the county or state certificate, and then builds on it by requiring additional evidence as to training or competency. The first is an undesirable type of special city privilege, and the tendency is to do away with it as the general state standards are raised; the second is in the line of increasing standards, and as such is to be encouraged. Where the first form is found the city certification usually exists side by side with the county or state examination and certification. The history of the development of this type shows that it has arisen largely out of a desire to protect the city from the low-standard teachers from outside, and is now retained in part from a spirit of provincialism.

In perhaps a dozen of our largest cities, such as New York or Chicago or St. Louis, there may be good reason for retaining special city certificates, as these cities are as large in size as some States, and the work can be carried on by special examining boards which devote their entire time to the work. In the case of smaller cities, certainly, the provision is of doubtful value. The examination is a waste of time and energy on the part of the local school authorities, it frequently subjects them to undesirable local pressure, its tendency is to limit competition to the home product, and it often results in inbreeding, low wages, and low standards. It is a special form of local privilege which ought to be abolished as soon as state standards can be raised, and the cities ought to come to depend on the regular state (or county) certification — always with the privilege to refuse to employ teachers with the lower grades of certificates, however, and freedom to impose additional tests as to competency. The advantages of doing this are obvious, and the plan ought to be encouraged in legislation, while at the same time leaving the cities free to go beyond the minimum demands set by the certification standards of the State.

In the States outside of New England — a few city certificating systems always excepted — the various systems in use in our States for the certification of teachers are reducible to one of three

type plans. In the first the power to certificate is vested almost entirely with the county educational authorities. In the second, the state and county systems exist side by side, and two forms of certification, the two overlapping in varying degrees, are provided for by the State. In the third, the power to certificate teachers is vested entirely or almost entirely in the state educational authorities, the county superintendent merely performing certain clerical duties in connection with the giving of the examina-

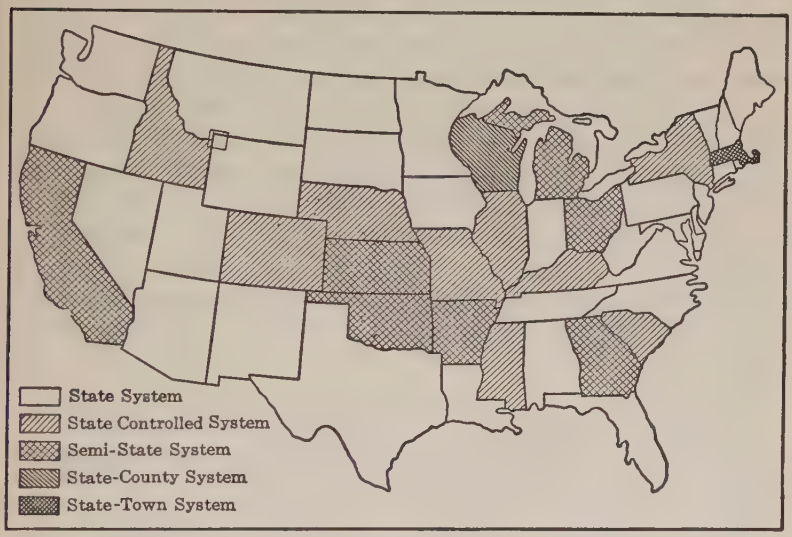

FIG. 92. ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF THE CERTIFICATION OF TEACHERS
(After Cook.)

tions and the transmitting of the papers. The map given above shows the distribution of the three type systems.

The strict county system. In the strict county examination and certification plan the county superintendent, or the county examining board if such a body exists, prepares the examination questions, gives the examination, grades the papers, and issues the certificates to teach to those who pass; and the certificates, when issued, are not valid outside of the county where issued. In the strict county-system States the law even prohibits the endorsing and validating of a certificate from another county in the same State, and often also the acceptance of normal-school diplomas. This strict county plan once used to be quite common in our

States, but it has by now been discarded in favor of a more uniform and a more liberal method of certification. It represented a very limited and a very local view of the nature and purpose of public education, and the standards upon which it was based were usually very uneven and often low. In the evolution of a broader system of certification, and a system of inter-county and interstate recognition of certificates, the strict county plan is only a stage higher [1] than the town system which once prevailed generally in New England. The strict county system has so many disadvantages, from the point of view of a satisfactory plan, that the continuance of its use is defensible only when the standards of the State are so widely divergent and so low that a change to any more liberal system would be certain to lead to even worse results.

With the extension of professional training among teachers and the development of a professional consciousness among them, there comes an increasing demand for the raising of standards, a broadening of the validity of certificates, and the elimination of all unnecessary barriers to the freedom of movement of good teachers within a State. This sets in motion forces which in time break down the strict county system. Among these, the more important are:

1. At first optional, and later compulsory inter-county recognition of at least the higher grades of certificates.
2. Permission to have papers written in one county forwarded to another county for grading and certification.
3. Abolition of the lower grades of county certificates.
4. Uniform examination questions, furnished to all counties by the State, and their use made mandatory.
5. Permission granted generally to recognize certificates from other counties.
6. Permission to forward papers to the state office for grading, and the issuance of a certificate of general state validity.
7. Establishment of a partially parallel state certification plan.

The freedom of movement of poor teachers is best restricted by increased standards for certification, and the abolition of temporary permits and low-grade certificates. The freedom of movement of a good teacher, on the other hand, should not be limited by county barriers, and he should not be subjected to the annoyance of an examination, which he may at any time fail to pass,

[1] Higher not because the area is larger, for the number of teachers involved may be less, but higher because the examination is given by a semi-professional person or board instead of by the laymen of the school committee.

when he desires to cross a county line. After a teacher has had requisite training, and after he has demonstrated his professional ability by actual work in the schoolroom, his freedom of movement within a State ought not to be restricted by county examination demands (*Source Book*, pp. 595–99). Nearly all argument against such freedom is based on the desire to restrict movement on the part of the poor teacher, rather than on the needs of the good teacher. The strict county system also tends to protect weak teachers by shielding them from the competition of the strong.

The overlapping systems. The tendency in legislation has been clearly away from the county system of certification, and toward the erection of a comprehensive state system in its stead. In the States that have not yet passed to a state system we find county and state systems existing side by side and overlapping to a greater or a less degree. In all such States the evolution of a state system of certification may be considered as in process of accomplishment, but not yet complete. In a few States the state system has grown up in somewhat coördinate relations with the local certificating system, but in most States where the two systems exist side by side the State system has been superimposed from above, either:

1. To correct abuses in the local system and to provide for a broader plan for certification than that then in force, or
2. To provide for higher and professional state certificates as distinguished from the county or local certificates, and without superseding the latter.

In the different overlapping systems we find a great variety of certificate forms,[1] and various stages in the evolution of a state system out of the local county systems. In a number of States the two are competitive, and cover the same fields. In some States the county still does most of the examining and certificating of teachers, but uses questions prepared by the State and uniform for all counties. In other States the county acts as a state agent, the State preparing the questions, marking the papers, and prescribing the rules as to examinations and certificates, although the county still issues the certificates as the State directs. This last is the final stage before the State completely takes over the examination and certification system (*Source Book*, pp. 599–608).

[1] Cook (U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin 22, 1921) lists a grand total of 595 types of state and local certificates issued in the forty-eight States, not counting the different varieties of special certificates. Of this number, 475 are issued by the States, and 95 by counties, towns, or city districts. (See Table IV, p. 200.)

The state system. In a rapidly increasing number of States all examination and certification of teachers is being taken over by the state authorities and made a function of the state educational department. The local systems then disappear, and all teachers in the State are required to hold some form of state certificate. Where local examinations continue, the county school authorities merely act as agents of the State in giving the examinations to applicants, and in forwarding the papers to the state office for grading. All certificates are then issued from the state office, either direct to the successful applicants or through the county superintendent of schools, and they are valid anywhere within the State. The evolution of such a complete state system naturally involves a higher standard in teacher-training and salary schedules than is necessary in a State operating under the county system.

The life diploma. In all of our States, some form of higher examination and certificating system has now been organized, under state auspices, for the purpose of granting professional and life certificates to experienced and successful teachers. The town, city, or county certificating systems here continue their local work, while the State grants higher diplomas to those who have served a preliminary apprenticeship on local certificates. The theory underlying this higher state system of certification is that of rewarding successful teaching experience and professional effort by a certificate of a distinctly professional character. In nearly all States where such certificates are granted, they are regarded as of a somewhat higher order than the county certificates. Successful experience in teaching is a prerequisite, this usually being more for a life diploma than for a professional state certificate in States where the two types are granted. On the other hand, in a number of States experience in teaching alone is required for these higher forms, no additional evidence as to academic study or professional growth being required. Sometimes one finds such low standards for life diplomas existing side by side with good standards for general certification.[1] Under an experience-only plan, life diplomas come to be held by all teachers who have taught the required number of months (usually from about forty to sixty). As they are granted to practically every one who lives and holds a position for the required time, and con-

[1] In California, for example, an excellent system of preliminary certification has for long been paralleled by life diplomas being granted on the sole basis of 48 months of teaching and a recommendation from a county board of education — practically never refused — that the experience has been successful.

tinue valid whether the holder teaches or not,[1] they are consequently of little meaning or honor. In States where such conditions exist, radical reform is needed.

All state plans for higher certification should have one main purpose — that of granting certificates of general validity to those teachers whose general education, professional success, and high personal character stamp them as the best members of the teaching profession. To do this is particularly desirable. Those who have proved their capacity as teachers, and who can offer proof as to character, scholarship, and pedagogic insight, ought to be singled out and given professional or life certificates, valid anywhere in the State and for the kind of work they have prepared to do. As long as these persons continue to teach [2] there should be no question as to their further certification, and the largest freedom of movement ought to be allowed them.

In States where these higher professional certificates and diplomas are led up to by a carefully graded system of teaching certificates, each presupposing added knowledge and continued professional growth, there is little to lose and much to gain from the issuance and general recognition of such life certificates and diplomas. On the other hand, if these higher certificates and life diplomas are granted on the basis of mere teaching service, and perhaps a more or less formal recommendation by local authorities, they probably will not in any way distinguish the specially competent, and will warrant but little consideration or recognition from employing authorities. There are a few States where a life diploma is a distinct honor, and its possession marks the holder as one of the most capable and progressive teachers in the State; there are more States where its possession indicates little or nothing, and where discriminating boards of education look with merited suspicion upon an applicant who boasts of the fact that he holds one of these documents.

[1] A life diploma should not be valid for life, if the applicant leaves the teaching profession for more than a certain limited number of years. The man or woman who serves the requisite number of months, obtains a life diploma, and lays it away as a rainy-day safeguard, ought not to be allowed to use it, years afterward, without additional evidence as to study and competency.

[2] The life diploma should be for the professional teacher, the man or woman who has made education a profession and a life-career, and it should not be possible for the non-professional teacher to obtain it. Some of the most troublesome applicants with which boards of education or superintendents have to deal are the holders of life diplomas who have been out of teaching for years, but who, in the press of hard times, want a position in the schools and use influence to secure it. If old low-grade life diplomas stand in the way, their issuance should be stopped and a new state professional diploma or certificate, with higher standards, be substituted for it.

Types of local certificates. In the certificates issued by local authorities for teaching in the elementary school, the number of grades is often too large for the best interests of the schools. Two to four are the numbers most commonly found, but in a few States a still larger number is issued. On the other hand, four States have been able to reduce the number of elementary-school certificates to one, this one made general throughout the State.

The certificates granted by county authorities are usually designated as first grade, second grade, third grade. A temporary or emergency fourth-grade certificate is possible, in a few States, when called for by the trustees of any district in order to secure a teacher for the school. In about half of the States which grant three or more grades of elementary-school certificates, an examination in additional subjects is not required to secure a second-grade instead of a third-grade certificate, and in about a third of the States which grant two or more grades of elementary-school certificates, an examination in additional subjects is not required to secure a first-grade instead of a second-grade certificate. In these States the basis for granting the higher-grade and longer-term certificates is not added preparation, but teaching experience and higher average grades on the written examination. In States which follow such a plan the grading of teachers' certificates is largely meaningless, as there can hardly be said to be a graded system of certification, leading from lower to higher certificates, except where additional evidence as to preparation and professional success is required for each of the higher grades. While the tendencies in legislation during the past decade have been clearly toward the creation of such a graded series of certificates, the systems are as yet but imperfectly worked out except in a relatively small number of States.

Low-grade county credentials. In several States the third- or fourth-grade elementary-school certificate is regarded merely as a trial certificate. As such, in the absence of an adequately trained teaching force, it may for the time serve a fairly useful purpose. Much will depend on the attitude assumed toward it by the certificating authorities. In far too many cases, however, it is a certificate granted to the youngest and weakest members of the teaching force — the immature, the poorly prepared, the untrained, and the misfits of the teaching profession — to enable them to "keep school" for a time in some poor or out-of-the-way district. In some States this lowest-grade certificate is renewable

or issuable to the same person two, three, or four times, in the same county, and in a few States this type of certificate may be granted to those not yet old enough to secure a higher grade.

The general undesirability of these low-grade certificates may be inferred from such limitations, and from the fact that a number of States have recently abandoned the issuance of them. These certificates are defended, almost everywhere, only on the ground that it is necessary to grant them, under the district system of school administration and the low-wage standard that prevails, in order to secure teachers at all for the rural and village schools. The reasons for their continuance are administrative and economic, and not educational. Under a proper educational reorganization of a county, these low-grade certificates and the teachers who hold them would both soon disappear. There will be no shortage of teachers under reasonably high professional standards, once living and teaching conditions are made attractive and a satisfactory yearly salary is paid. It is just these conditions that the district system does not and cannot provide, so that low-grade teachers' certificates, low wages for teachers, immature and poorly prepared teachers, and the district system of school organization and administration all tend to go together.

Another accompaniment of this type of low-grade certificate and district-system conditions is the frequent county examination — often held every month in the year — in order to obtain a supply of teachers for the schools. Often, too, prospective teachers are allowed to take the examination in sections, passing on part of the subjects one month, and repeating in still another month the subjects previously failed on, in the meantime keeping credits earned in storage until all have been finally obtained and the coveted low-grade certificate has been secured. Four times a year is certainly often enough to hold these examinations, if salary schedules make any reasonable standards in teacher-preparation possible in the State, and twice a year would be still better. The examination is at best but an imperfect means of testing the ability of any applicant to teach a school, and in proportion as professional standards for the State are advanced, better salaries made possible, and trained teachers obtained, the examination route ought to be greatly decreased in importance and eventually either reduced to a purely professional test or eliminated entirely.

To one who has not looked into the question, the low standards

still prevailing in many of our States for the beginning certificate are most surprising. California is probably nearest to the general enforcement of the desirable standard of high-school graduation plus two years of professional training for all teachers, although a few teachers, largely in the mountain counties, still enter the service by the county examination back door.[1] Approximately one half of our States now require graduation from a full four-year high school, plus some professional training; approximately one half also require at least graduation from a four-year high school before beginning to teach; and somewhat over one half now require some professional training, although not all of these require high-school graduation as well. In the remaining States no educational or professional prerequisites have yet been put into force, the written examination being the means for entering the service and securing a teaching certificate. The tendency, however, is clearly to increase standards, and to set dates in advance when the increased requirements are to go into effect.

Special forms of certificates. In addition to the graded types of certificates just described, intended primarily for teaching in the elementary school, but in many States still valid for teaching in any grade of school for which trustees may see fit to employ the holder, an increasing number of States have, within the past two decades, erected special forms of certification to cover teaching of various special types. One of the earliest of these special forms was the high-school certificate, first worked out by California, and now found in about two thirds of the States. Another is a certificate for school supervision, probably first developed by Massachusetts, and found so far in a much smaller number of States. Still another special type of more recent origin, but now found in many different forms, is the special certificate for vocational and part-time work.[2] Other forms of special certificates are found in many States, such as certificates to teach in kindergartens, commercial work, special classes for defectives, physical training, domestic science, drawing, music, etc.

[1] During the last year for which the writer has figures, applicants appeared for these examinations, offered semi-annually, in only two thirds of the counties of the State, and only 186 certificates were granted in 39 out of 58 counties. Of the 186 certificates granted, 78 were issued by five mountain counties. The county examination for the elementary-school certificate has all but disappeared in this State.

[2] See a recent article by A. F. Payne, in *School and Society* (Oct. 11, 1924), entitled "New Legislation concerning Vocational Education in New York State," in which the new requirements for vocational guidance certificates are stated. This represents a type of the many new forms of certification which have recently been provided for.

The theory underlying all of these special classes of certificates is that of requiring evidence of special training, in addition to general education, for the handling of the different special lines of work. The need for specialized training for the many different types of teaching is so obvious that we shall take it for granted, and here briefly consider only two main types of specialized certificates, namely, high-school certificates, and supervisory certificates.

The idea underlying high-school certification is that of requiring additional academic and special professional preparation for teaching in the secondary school. The general standard held as desirable here is at least four years of college training, to include education courses and special preparation in some teaching subject or subjects. Such a requirement obviously cannot be enforced by a written examination, although some of the States have attempted to do so. California began (1891) this way, but, after two years of experience, college graduation plus evidence of having had certain work in "pedagogy" was accepted instead of the written examination. Eight years later (1901) the examination for the high-school certificate was abolished, and in 1905 a year of graduate study in a university was added to the requirements for the certificate. In two thirds of the States now granting a special high-school certificate, evidence of college graduation, with the completion of certain work in Education, is now generally accepted for such certification.

The supervisory certificate is an attempt to raise the character of all school supervision by the requirement of a special type of certificate for work as superintendent or principal of schools, or as supervisor of special subjects in the schools. Two types of this form of certificate usually are provided for — one for the successful practitioner, and one for the university-trained worker. Ultimately the practitioner type may be expected to give way to the other. The trained educational leader is the modern social engineer, and to be effective he must possess broader training and be able to see farther than those whose work he directs. The standard for a supervisory certificate should be made high, and it ought to be required of all superintendents, county as well as city. The present legal qualifications for county supervision in the elective States are usually of little value, because the requirements set up (page 214) are of such minor importance.

Certification on credentials. Certification by examination is of

course the oldest method, and still persists for one or more types of certificate in practically all of our States. The tendency, however, is clearly in the direction of minimizing the importance of the written examination, and of increasing the recognition given to evidences of academic and professional preparation made in recognized institutions of learning. The earlier requirement that graduates of the state normal schools must pass the county examinations for teachers' certificates has been all but abandoned, and the tendency to-day is to accept credentials and diplomas, for what they cover, in place of written examinations from applicants for teaching certificates. This trend is clearly shown by the following table, compiled by Cook.

States in which	1898	1903	1911	1919	1925
Professional training is recognized as basis for granting one or more certificates	29	33	42	47	48
Professional subjects included in examination for all certificates	17	40	42	46	48
Some professional training prerequisite for certification	..	..	2	17	27
Graduation from high school required for certification	..	..	1	11	24
Graduation from high school and some professional training required for certification	..	..	1	4	21

This tendency ought by all means to be encouraged in laws relating to certification. In shaping certification requirements, and especially for the more advanced forms of teaching credentials, evidences as to professional training, and particularly diplomas of graduation from normal schools and teachers' colleges, ought to have a distinct premium placed upon them.

Inter-state recognition of credentials. Similarly, the inter-state recognition of the higher grades of diplomas and credentials should also be encouraged, in legislation and in practice, wherever standards within a State can be maintained in so doing. General inter-state reciprocity ought not to be expected, however, except between States which have similar standards. A low-standard State might well accept credentials from a high-standard State without expecting any reciprocity in the matter. Each State must, of course, set its own standards for the certification of its teachers, and these standards naturally vary between States with differing local conditions, finance, and other modifying factors; but, as far as can be done and maintain the standards it sets, there should be recognition of training and of the higher grades of

certificates obtained elsewhere under conditions approximately equivalent to what the State requires of its own teachers. Teachers who have had full standard training — graduation from a four-year high-school course and graduation from a two-year course in a state normal school for elementary-school teaching, and graduation from a four-year standard college course with professional subjects included for high-school teaching — and who have taught successfully during a short trial period, might well have their training recognized for general inter-state movement. Similarly holders of life diplomas, where the life diploma stands as the culmination of a series of graded certificates involving increasing professional preparation and teaching success, might also be given inter-state recognition.

The purpose here is to impede the inter-state movement of good teachers as little as possible, so long as professional standards are maintained. The trained teacher to-day is rapidly becoming national in character, and the problems of the training and certification of teachers are fast taking on national characteristics. The Federal Government cannot well establish normal schools, nor issue teaching certificates valid in the different States, as the state character of public education would preclude this, but the different States can standardize preparation, the higher grades of certification, and salaries, so as to permit large freedom of inter-state movement to all well-trained and capable teachers.

The purpose and function of certification. The purpose of all certification requirements is to insure to the child a properly-prepared teacher on the one hand, and to protect the State against the employment of incompetents and a wasting of the proceeds of taxation for education on the other. Just what is meant by these statements, in the different States, is wholly relative to the general professional standards in force and the economic resources of the people. In a way, the whole problem of what is possible by way of standards goes back to the general scheme of educational organization, taxation for education, and the apportionment plan employed by the State. Even still further back lie the economic resources and the productive capacity of the people, and the surplus they have over living necessities.

Whatever the economic resources of a people may be, however, it is the educational duty of a State to make the best possible use of what it has in the maintenance of its system of public instruc-

tion. The certification of teachers is only one part of a general state problem that includes proper educational organization, a sound taxation system, adequate support for schools, well-worked-out teachers' salary laws, and the right facilities for the training and supervision of new teachers. While a certificating system should be so shaped as to demand as high evidence as to initial preparation as the economic conditions and the educational organization within the State will permit, the entire certificating system, from bottom to top, should be so planned as to offer incentives to better preparation and to continued professional growth.

The education and training of teachers, their examination and certification, the suspension or revocation of certificates for cause, the salary schedules provided, the supervision of instruction, the success teachers attain in their work, and the final retirement and pensioning of the teacher are all parts of one great state problem. The work of the State, as far as legislation is concerned, is so to shape teacher-training facilities, administrative conditions, salary-schedule laws, and all requirements as to the certification of both new and experienced teachers as to develop the most highly professional body of instructors for the schools of the State that is possible with the money at hand. As fast as conditions warrant such action, the requirements for certification should be increased, and whenever increased salary schedules become possible — unless salaries are markedly below what they should be — increased competency should be called for on the part of the teaching force (*Source Book*, pp. 607–12). A proper balance among training, pay, and supply should be maintained by intelligent watchfulness on the part of the State.

Fundamental principles in a state plan. By way of giving somewhat more concrete form to what has so far been said in this chapter, and as a means of indicating a procedure for passing from low to higher standards, the following summary of fundamental principles may be helpful:

1. Increased professional competency should accompany general salary increases, and general salary increases should be so planned as to make increased certification requirements possible.

2. As fast as can be done in any State, the low-grade teacher's certificates should be abolished the number of examinations for certification reduced, and the emphasis shifted from examination tests to evidence of training.

3. In low-standard States, temporary permits and fourth-grade

certificates, issued locally and limited to a district, ought to disappear at the earliest opportunity, and the low-standard third-grade certificate should go also as soon as a supply of teachers can be obtained without it.

4. Graduation from a four-year high school should be required, at the earliest possible date, as a prerequisite for being admitted to any examination for any type of a teacher's certificate, and dates should be fixed after which some evidence as to professional preparation in addition will also be required.

5. Two grades of general elementary-school certificate are enough. The second-grade certificate should be given on examination to high-school graduates, and be granted to graduates of teacher-training classes as a trial certificate; the first-grade elementary certificate should be granted only to teachers who have had standard training and at least two years of approved teaching experience. Both grades of elementary-school certificate should be granted at first for a short period, such as two years, and then be renewable for longer periods, such as five years, on evidence of teaching success and professional growth. In time, when salary conditions and the supply of trained teachers will permit, the second-grade certificate should be abandoned.

6. Legislation should be sought fixing dates after which evidence as to some professional preparation — 6, 12, 18, 24, 36 weeks — will be required of all teachers for both new certificates and renewals of old ones. Ultimately, all first certificates should be on the recommendation of training-school authorities, and all renewals only on clear evidence as to professional study and growth.

7. A differentiation of certificates for different types of teaching is becoming increasingly desirable. Two main grades — elementary-school and high-school — should be provided for at once, and higher standards should be fixed for obtaining the high-school certificate — graduation from a four-year college course and professional study should be the goal — than for the elementary. Further differentiation will in time be desirable, and kindergarten-primary-school, intermediate-school, junior-high-school, and probably junior-college certificates as well will in time be called for.

8. An administration and supervision certificate also should be created. For a time this may well be of two grades, one for the successful practitioner who makes special preparation along the lines of administration and supervision, and the other for the professional student of educational problems. Evidence of some years of successful experience as a teacher should be necessary before either of these certificates may be obtained.

9. Either a general form or a variety of vocational permits and certificates should be provided to cover Smith-Hughes and part-time-instruction teachers. Similarly, special certificates for teachers of a number of special types of classes — defectives, sub-normals, speech defects, adults, etc. — may all be needed.

10. Life diplomas, of all types, should be open only to those who give clear evidence of reasonably long teaching experience, above-

average teaching success, at least standard academic and professional preparation, good character, and additional professional study, and who offer evidence, in the form of credits, diplomas, or specially-prepared theses, of sound thinking as to the problems of their work.

11. Life diplomas ought not to continue in force for more than a limited number of years after the holder turns from educational work to other occupations. After, say, three to five years the certificate should be suspended, and reinstated only on evidence of some further academic and professional study.

12. The certification of teachers for the State should be made a state function, and all local systems of certification should give way to a general state plan, centrally administered.

13. Inter-state recognition of equivalent training should be extended, with a view to making it easy for the successful and properly-trained teacher to cross state lines and engage elsewhere in what is in reality a national service.

14. A yearly registration and validation of all types of teaching certificates, closely connected with the supervisory function, as we shall point out in Chapter XXV, and for the records of the certification and pensioning divisions, should be required of every teacher anywhere in the teaching service, regardless of the type of certificate held.

In the author's *State and County Educational Reorganization* (Osceola Code, Chapter XIII) these ideas have been in large part worked out in the form of an organized certification code, although the standards and requirements set forth there are in some respects lower than a State having a fairly adequate salary schedule would to-day desire to see in force. To this book the reader is referred for a further elaboration of the ideas set forth in this chapter, while in the two chapters which follow a discussion of the appointment, salary, tenure, supervision, and improvement of teachers in service will be presented, as these relate to the general problem of the teaching force of a State.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Point out the disadvantages to a city (aside from the few largest ones) in examining and certificating its own teachers. What advantages not inherent in a good state plan can you see?
2. In a number of States the *School Law* lays down the minimum percentage that a candidate must attain in an examination in each subject, and the minimum general average. What basis is there for such legislation? On what kind of educational conceptions is it based?
3. What stage, in the evolution of a state certificating system, does a State occupy where the county examinations are based on uniform questions prepared by the State, the papers are graded in the county, and the certificate is issued from the state office?
4. Arrange the steps, in proper order, in the evolution from a strict county system to a full state system of certification.

5. Show why a full state system of certification involves higher standards in teacher-training and salary schedules than does a strict county system.
6. In granting the higher forms of certificates and diplomas, should credit for teaching experience be allowed for work done in another State? Why? If so, how much?
7. Should graduates of normal schools and high-school training classes be required to pass the county or state examinations for certification? Why?
8. What are the real reasons for the granting of the fourth-grade or emergency county certificate?
9. State the argument why additional evidence of academic and professional advancement should be demanded when passing from a third-grade certificate to a second, or from a second to a first.
10. Show how the continuance of the district system tends, for economic reasons, to continue low-grade teachers' certificates and low standards in teacher-training.
11. If increased salary and increased competency should go hand in hand, show that the fixing of standards for the certification of teachers is an excellent place for the exercise of the constructive intelligence of those responsible for state educational progress.
12. Do you see any real fundamental reason, aside from the needs of the district system, why teachers for rural schools should be trained and certificated on lower standards than are teachers for town and city schools?
13. Should a normal-school diploma, or any similar credential, ever be in itself a permanent certificate to teach? Why?
14. Show how the creation of really satisfactory professional standards for county superintendents would make their selection by popular vote absurd.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Examine the *School Laws* for any four or five States, and see if "the status of any State, in the process of evolving a comprehensive system for the training and certification of its teachers, can be determined fairly accurately by studying the character and frequency of the examinations for teachers' certificates in use in the State, and the types of certificates issued," as stated on page 622.
2. The legal conditions under which temporary permits, or fourth-grade certificates may be granted, and the relation of the use of these low-grade certificates to teacher-training and the district system of school administration.
3. Tabulate the requirements for a life diploma, as listed by Cook in the digest of state laws, and classify the requirements therefor.
4. Standards for a high-school certificate in States issuing such.
5. Standards for a supervision or administration certificate in States issuing such. (See especially California, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania.)
6. Requirements for county school superintendents in the elective States, compared with the appointive States.
7. In *Osceola*, all applicants for a life diploma must present a prepared thesis, on some topic closely related to their work. Look up this plan, as there set forth, and report on its applicability for general use.
8. Examine the recent certification laws of Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Washington, and enumerate and evaluate the advances made in each.

PROBLEMS

1. A city of some size, located in a State having quite satisfactory standards for certification, decides to institute, in addition, a special city examination for selecting purposes. No one is to be admitted to the examination who has not already obtained standard preparation, and who does not hold a state certificate. The city examination is to be both oral and written, each to count one third, and evidence as to academic and professional preparation and teaching success one third. Devise a general plan for such a supplemental test.
2. Suppose that a number of States have approximately the same standards for normal-school graduation and the certification of trained teachers, but that in one State the salary schedule is much higher than in the others; that it grants liberal inter-state recognition of training; and that a large number of trained teachers tend to gravitate to the higher-salaried State. Would such a State be warranted in erecting any barriers to the incoming of teachers from other States? Why? If so, of what form? Formulate a policy for such cases.
3. Give your critical estimate of the following requirements for a life professional certificate, as devised recently by Rhode Island:

   To be issued to graduates of state normal schools and of colleges who, in addition to receiving a collegiate degree, complete 216 hours of approved professional courses in education (approximately equivalent to 12 semester hours of credit), and who, in addition, earn a minimum of 20 credits from the following list:

   1. *Service credit.* One year, one credit; 3 required; 5 the maximum.
   2. *Summer school.* One credit for each full course; 4 required. (Only courses in education and special subjects taught approved.)
   3. *Educational meetings.* One fifth credit for each one-day institute; 2 required.
   4. *Extension service.* One credit; 4 required. (May be met by summer school attendance.)
   5. *Professional books.* One tenth credit per book; 1 required.
   6. *Educational periodicals.* One fifth credit per year; 1 required.
   7. *Special service.* Research, authorship, distinguished service; adjusted credit.
4. It has been proposed occasionally that the Federal Government standardize teacher-training, and issue a standard certificate of proficiency to teachers in any State who meet a certain high standard in training and teaching success, and that the States be asked to accept this certificate, thus virtually creating a form of national certification. Outline a plan under which this might be done, under the limitations of the Tenth Amendment.
5. Revise the certification plan for *Osceola* (Chapter XIII), with a view to a gradual stiffening of the requirements for the different types of certificates.

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CHAPTER XXIV

APPOINTMENT, TENURE, PAY, AND PENSIONS

I. APPOINTMENT AND TENURE

The unit for employment. Unlike many of the European nations, we in the United States have never developed a state service for either teachers or school officers. The State has concerned itself more or less with the training, certification, pay, and pensioning of teachers, but the employment and dismissal of the teacher after training and certification has, until recently, been left entirely to the unit for administration and finance to handle. This has been a wise course to have pursued. With the rapid change in the character of public education which has taken place in the United States during the past half-century, and particularly the past two decades, it has been hard enough to eliminate teachers no longer competent, and to prevent friends from foisting poorly prepared and unsuccessful teachers upon the school system. Every school officer and school-board member knows the local pressure that comes at the time of the annual school election to secure the employment, through friendship and for personal reasons, of those unfitted for the positions they seek. If we had had a general state service onto which we could have unloaded our friends and relatives and dependents, and from which school boards would have had to choose their teachers, the condition of our schools to-day would be quite different from what they are, and the securing of good teachers would be a far more difficult undertaking than it now is. Under such a plan, too, the interstate migration of teachers, which has been of much value to our schools, would have been largely checked.

While the creation of a state teaching service, such as has existed in the German States and in France, has advantages for a highly centralized State where the intake can be carefully regulated, and where high state standards can be rigidly enforced, the plan would be ruinous to us in our American States under existing conditions. Despite the many defects of our local employment method, it has been better for us than a general state service and state assignment could possibly have been. The faults of the

American plan lie rather in the small unit for employment, the dependence on laymen for the estimation of fitness and competency, and the low standards as to training, certification, and pay which our States have permitted in their laws. Improvement with us in the conditions surrounding the employment and tenure of teachers lies, outside of New England and possibly one or two other single States, in the enlargement of the unit of organization and supervision through the abandonment of the district and township units in favor of a community supervision-unit or the county; in the placing of selection for nomination and dismissal in the hands of professional school officers, instead of the laymen elected to school boards; and in general state legislation that will ensure better training, higher standards for certification, adequate salary schedules, and a sound plan of teacher tenure.

Most of the evils surrounding the employment of teachers with us have been a natural outgrowth of and an inheritance from the town-meeting idea of school control, and the district system of school organization and administration. The little district usually has had but a small school fund with which to work, the school maintained has been for but a short term, the district trustees have been unskilled in the selection of teachers and the conduct of a school, rural neighborhoods are notoriously hard to please and easy to offend, and the laws accordingly have been careful to limit the powers of the district trustees to incur indebtedness or to enter into contractual obligations. The natural result has been rather general legislation forbidding any contract with a teacher extending beyond the end of the fiscal year, and in many States the year's school has been permitted to be divided into two terms and separate contracts allowed for each. As a result the teacher has been regarded by the people of the district as an itinerant laborer, and employed and paid accordingly. As school districts and villages have grown into towns and cities the limitations as to employment have continued, the laws merely providing for town and city organization in certain administrative matters without changing the conditions as to employment and tenure. Consequently every teacher, regardless of quality or length of service, has been automatically out of a position at the close of each fiscal year. The burden of securing reëmployment has rested with the teacher, rather than the burden of dismissal with the school board. The teacher, as the natural result of such a condition, has had less certainty of tenure than

workers in any other form of public service, aside from temporary workmen.[1]

The life-tenure movement. While most school boards in cities have tried to handle the problem of teacher employment and continuance in service as intelligently and humanely as they know how, there have, on the other hand, been enough cases of flagrant and unjustified dismissal to make teachers nervous and distrustful, and to start a somewhat general agitation for more secure tenure. The movement has already been successful in a few cities and in some States.[2]

It has been argued that, since boards of education possess the power to do as they please, and at times act so arbitrarily and unintelligently, the only sure remedy lies in tying their hands by legislative action. The result has been a gradually growing movement on the part of the rank and file of teachers, for the past fifteen years, looking toward general life tenure for all after a short probationary period. For the rise of this movement boards of education are largely to blame, because of their lack of intelligence in handling the problem of teacher employment and their unwillingness to place the responsibility for selection and dismissal with their executive officer. The recent somewhat general pressure on teachers for professional improvement doubtless has added to the agitation for life tenure, due to a desire on the part of the less progressive members of the force to escape by an easy route.

The fundamental argument advanced in favor of more permanent tenure for teachers is that it secures better service for the same cost to the State, the reasoning running somewhat as follows:

1. The efficiency of the public school depends mainly upon the quality of the teachers employed.
2. The quality of the teachers depends, in the long run, upon the attractiveness of the teacher's position.
3. The attractiveness of a public office depends mainly upon two conditions — compensation and security of tenure.

[1] City hall janitors, elevator operators, messengers, office stenographers and clerks, firemen, policemen, electricians, water-works employees, and motormen and conductors on municipal car and bus lines have all had better tenure. While perhaps easier to dismiss for cause, they have none of them been automatically out of employment and subject to reëlection by the city council at the close of each fiscal year. Even the itinerant Methodist minister has been better cared for.

[2] New Jersey, in 1910, was the first State to enact a permanent teacher-tenure law. Massachusetts followed in 1913, for all except Boston; Montana in 1915; New York in 1917; and Maryland (except Baltimore) and California (schools of 8 teachers or more) in 1921. By 1924, four other States (Colorado, Louisiana, Illinois, Oregon) had enacted tenure laws applying only to the larger cities. In only two States (New Jersey and Montana) is the tenure-law state-wide in its application.

4. Hence, other things equal, the more secure the tenure the more attractive the position.

5. Hence, the more secure the tenure of office of the teacher, other conditions being the same, the more efficient the schools.

6. Lack of tenure turns able workers to other callings who would otherwise be drawn to that of teaching, and we are thus left to fill up the ranks with inferior material.

The arguments on the other side usually run about as follows:

1. Full tenure laws do not accomplish the purposes stated, aside from making the position more attractive.

2. Under a permanent-tenure system the schools inevitably become filled with many teachers who are unprogressive and incompetent.

3. The dismissal of those who are no longer efficient is practically impossible.

4. Attempts to do so put the superintendent on trial, and not the teacher.

5. The proper administration of the public schools is made more difficult by life-tenure laws.

6. Indefinite tenure gives all the permanency that any progressive and capable teacher desires.

How life tenure works out in practice. Nearly all the permanent-tenure laws contain a provision that teachers enjoying tenure may still be dismissed, after a public trial, for immorality, insubordination, neglect of duty, unprofessional conduct, or incompetence. The first four causes seldom occur with teachers, and when they do a quiet resignation is usually the solution, while the only serious charge — incompetency — can almost never be proved if the teacher chooses to fight; and when it is attempted it is the accusing officer and not the teacher who is in reality put on trial. Almost any attorney, representing the teacher, can create a bad situation for the board and the superintendent, while the resulting newspaper publicity and the personalities exchanged leave a bad impression with the community. If the board dismisses the teacher, an appeal to the courts almost always results in the reinstatement, with full back salary, of the teacher so dismissed. The result is that school boards and superintendents soon give up the attempt to rid the schools of incompetents, and life tenure for all, regardless of efficiency, becomes a certainty.

That a body of teachers, reasonably efficient at the time a life-tenure law is enacted, will all continue to be capable and efficient instructors fifteen to twenty-five years afterward, any one who has had much to do with teachers or is acquainted with human

nature knows will not be the case. Most teachers, like other people, keep themselves alive best if under the influence of a gentle but constant spur. For some teachers the surest method for producing inefficiency is to take away the incentive to activity, growth, and personal improvement which the opportunity for a periodic review of what they are doing provides. If the purpose is to develop a self-satisfied and an unprogressive teaching force, ultimately to weaken seriously our American public schools, and in time to turn over education, for those who can afford it, into the hands of the private and parochial schools, leaving the public schools to minister to the needs of only the rural and village populations and the poorer and more ignorant classes of our cities, then unlimited life-tenure laws for teachers and principals is one of the surest means that could be devised for so doing. So large and so important a national undertaking as public education, where progress and personal growth are so essential to efficiency, cannot be successfully carried on on a life-tenure basis of employment. Some years ago the National Education Association, in dealing with the question of teacher tenure, adopted a resolution which read as follows:

> We believe that merit and merit alone should determine the employment and retention of teachers, and that after due probation tenure of office should be permanent during efficiency and good behavior, and that promotion should be based on fitness, experience, professional growth, and fidelity to duty.

This resolution states conditions as they should be. Permanent tenure for all efficient teachers there should be, but it should come as a deserved reward for capable and faithful service, and not as a guaranteed legislative right to every one. From the ease with which legislators pass life-tenure laws, at the request of teachers' organizations, one would gain the idea that the schools exist largely to provide positions for teachers. The children in the schools, for whose education the schools exist, often seem not to have been considered in the process.

A state policy as to employment and tenure. That our laws relating to the employment of teachers and teacher tenure need revision there can be little question. That yearly reëmployment is both unsatisfactory and unjust to teachers, and that the effect upon the teaching force and in turn upon the schools is injurious cannot be doubted. The results of full life tenure, on the other hand, are almost certain in time to be even worse. There is no

necessity for our having either, since between the two extremes there is a middle ground which is fair alike to teachers, to the children, and to the public which pays the bills; namely, probationary employment, followed by indeterminate tenure. Indeterminate tenure following a probationary period guarantees the teacher life tenure during efficient service, lays a proper basis for the improvement of teachers while at work and for a general salary and pensioning schedule, and at the same time guarantees the public that a capable and progressive school system can be maintained.

Almack and Lang have stated the essentials of a sound system of teacher tenure, as follows:[1]

1. The minimum education and training acceptable for entrance to the teaching profession is four years of high school and at least two additional years of professional training.
2. On entering service, teachers should pass through a probationary period of two or three years, with an opportunity for trying out under a variety of conditions.
3. Following the probationary period, teachers should be appointed for an indefinite period.
4. As a condition to promotion in salary and continued employment, a reasonable program of study should be carried annually.
5. No teacher should be dismissed without being given an opportunity to remedy the deficiencies with which she is charged. Due notice should be given when dismissal is decided upon, and the reasons should be clearly stated in writing.
6. A hearing should be granted any teacher upon dismissal, if she desires it, and full protection should be provided.
7. The right of appeal to a higher educational authority should never be denied.

Security of tenure so guarded is much to be desired, and should attract to the teaching profession — granted always adequate monetary rewards — many persons of fine ability and character, as well as of special aptitude for teaching, who are now repelled by its vexations, uncertainties, insecurity, and its occasional humiliations. Security as to tenure should also encourage longer and better teaching preparation, and greater care in the selection of teachers[2] would be imposed on school authorities.

[1] Almack and Lang, *Problems of the Teaching Profession*, p. 231.

[2] The underlying principle of the civil service reform, which has of late years been accepted, in thought at least, by the two great political parties, is this: The interests of the public service require that public servants be permitted to count with confidence on security of tenure during efficiency and good behavior. If this principle is sound when applied to a service that is to a great extent clerical, it is for still stronger reasons sound when applied to educational service.

A concrete state tenure plan. Applying these principles, we can construct a sound plan for teacher tenure, as follows:

A new teacher entering the service of a city or a county school district[1] should enter on probationary appointment, for say a five-year term, with credit for service elsewhere, to be determined at the time of entrance, not to exceed three years in amount. At the completion of the probationary period, if satisfactory, the teacher should be elected to indeterminate tenure, after which no yearly election would be called for, as long as the teacher met the general requirements of the State as to yearly validation of certificate (see Chapter XXV), and any special city or county requirements as to professional study and improvement.[2] The teacher would then be given virtual life tenure, as long as she, or he, did not fall under some of the legal causes for dismissal from the service, as provided by general state law.

The causes for dismissal should be of two types, and should be dealt with differently. The first type should include causes requiring immediate attention, such as immorality, insubordination, willful neglect of duty, and probably certain clearly defined cases of unprofessional conduct. For these, on proper proof, the teacher should be subject, at any time, to suspension by the superintendent and dismissal by the board of education, always subject to the appeal provided for hereafter. The other type of cause is incompetency or unfitness for the teaching service. When this is the charge, the teacher should not be brought to trial before the board in an attempt to prove what can seldom be proved, but instead should be transferred back to the probationary class for teachers for the ensuing year. Her work should then be placed under careful observation, and she should be given any needed help. There should be no reduction in salary, and, if the teacher demands it, a change to another school in the city or county school district should be permitted. At the end of the year of

[1] The district system of school administration stands to-day as one of the most serious obstacles to any form of tenure legislation, as the unit for employment is too small to deal with. Certainly few misfortunes that could happen to a little rural school district would be worse than to have to retain for life a teacher the district did not want. The other alternative, and the one California attempted to employ, was to exclude from the law all school districts employing less than eight teachers. Once pass to the county-unit of organization and the tenure matter becomes simple.

[2] Charles Russell, in his excellent study of *Improvement of Teachers in Service*, pp. 126–34, says one year as a novice under close supervision, followed by five to eight years as a journeyman teacher while making further preparation and perfecting teaching technique, before the teacher should pass from annual appointment to indefinite tenure. He advances strong reasons for his position, and there is much to be said for such a plan.

probationary service the teacher should either be restored to indeterminate tenure or be dropped from the service. If necessary to assign her again to probationary status, she or he, should be discharged instead.

As to the validity of the evidence for dismissal under either type of cause, the board of education concerned should be the judge. If dismissed, the teacher should be permitted to appeal the case to the state commissioner of education — or to a state appeal board — for review and final decision, but with no appeal of the case to the courts except when the rights of the teacher in the matter, as defined in the law, have been infringed. The question of competency is an educational and not a legal matter, and it should be decided on educational and not on legal grounds.[1] After a little while, under such a law, boards of education would cease to attempt the dismissal of teachers except for sound reasons; all good teachers would have undisturbed tenure; weak and inefficient teachers would not find the schools a safe haven in which to earn a livelihood; public trials under the guidance of lawyers interested only in establishing a case for their client would be almost entirely eliminated; and the children — for whom the schools exist — would be protected in their right to have as good a teacher as the money available can secure. If the number of appeals to the state commissioner of education came to be large, or if otherwise thought desirable, an appeal board could be created, composed largely of teachers,[2] which could hear and decide all cases coming before it.

In States not providing for some such tenure plan as is outlined above, there should be some legal limitation placed on the action of school trustees and boards of education to compel them

[1] New York State, almost from its earliest history, has so handled all cases on appeal. The legal division of the State Department of Education, acting for the Commissioner of Education, has gone over the evidence submitted and prepared a decision, in conjunction with the State Commissioner, and when approved and issued by him this has been final and has had the effect of law. Attempts to appeal the case to the courts for a review of the proceedings have been denied by the courts, except where it could be shown that the teacher concerned had been denied some legal right.

[2] Suppose an appeal board to be created, by the State Board of Education, to consist of the head of the legal division in the State Department of Education; an assistant commissioner most concerned with the type of case involved, to be designated in each case by the Commissioner of Education; and two school principals or superintendents and three teachers, to be elected by the State Teachers' Association, under rules laid down by the State Board of Education. This board would then look after all cases involving the rights of teachers, and of children as well, much as a State Public Utility Commission decides the right of a community or a patron to service.

to give teachers proper and early notice of non-retention, and to conduct the annual election of teachers before a certain date. The notice of dismissal should state reasons and, if based on incompetency for service, should be preceded by some notice as to the elements of weakness, and a reasonable opportunity be given for improvement. The date for notice, and for the annual election, should never be later than the last day the schools are in session, and in cities not later than June first. The nomination of all teachers and school officers for election, and all recommendations for dismissal, as involving what are clearly expert professional functions, should also be placed by law in the hands of the city and county superintendents of schools. These are desirable limitations for a State to impose on the "hire-and-fire" liberties of school boards composed of laymen.

Tenure of principals and superintendents. Principals, supervisors, and superintendents of schools occupy a somewhat different position from that of classroom teachers, but only superintendents have been regarded in legislation as being in a class by themselves. Probably principals and special supervisors in city and county-unit school systems would best be classed as teachers, in the matter of appointment and tenure, although it should not be legally impossible for a superintendent and a board of education to reclassify these officers so as to place them where they may be of greater usefulness to the school system.

The superintendent of schools, either city or county, occupies a somewhat different position. He is both the organizer and the administrator of the school system of his city or county, exercises or should exercise expert functions, and what he is or is not in professional insight, organizing power, and administrative skill the school system usually plainly shows. On him the board of education must depend for leadership and guidance, and at times he must assume positions clearly in advance of both board and people, trusting to results to prove the wisdom of his stand. At times he must fight for the interests of teachers and children, with his back against the wall. Such an officer needs secure tenure for a long enough period to enable him to formulate and work out policies, but at the same time his work should, from time to time, come up for review and evaluation. This calls for a definite and a reasonably long term, such as four or five years.

State control of appointment and tenure. The interests of the State in the matter of appointment and tenure, as we have worked

out our state systems of public instruction in the United States, are limited but definite ones. The State is not and should not be interested in the selection of teachers of any particular political belief or religious or social points of view, as might be the case in a monarchical State where control of the entry to teaching helps to guarantee the control of the government itself. We have never associated our teaching service with that of the army, the police, or any political party or religious belief. The interest of the State, with us, lies rather in the training, certification, and the character of those who teach, and in protecting those who enter the teaching service from being made victims of social, political, religious, or racial influences in the districts or cities in which they may be employed. To this end the State may very properly regulate training and certification, and may well refuse to sanction the issuance of temporary or low-grade certificates, or the employment of those holding them, as long as teachers with better preparation are available anywhere in the State.

The State may also very properly determine, by general law, the conditions of employment, the probationary period, the methods for determining teaching success, the form of supervision, the degree of permanence in tenure, the methods for removing a teacher once employed, the minimum-salary schedule that must be paid teachers and school officers in different types of schools, and the general form of final retirement and rate of pensioning applicable to them. In legislating on all these matters the point of view should be primarily that of the children for whom the schools have been created and are maintained, and only secondarily that of the teachers employed.

2. THE PAY OF TEACHERS

The pay of teachers. There will always be some communities in every State that will desire to pay teachers liberally and well, and will wish to secure and retain the best teachers available. There will always be other communities desirous of holding teachers' salaries down to a close bargaining basis, that the tax rate may be kept low and money found for other types of community expenditure. While the whole cost of government must of course be considered, and the pay of teachers not be out of proper proportion to the cost for other governmental functions, there is at present little danger from this source. It has always been easier to secure adequate pay for policemen, firemen, city-

hall clerks, and general municipal employees than for teachers, even in the cities, while in the rural districts, except by reason of state action, the pay granted teachers has seldom been more than the districts were forced to pay to secure a teacher at all. Since the outbreak of the World War we have been busily engaged in raising the wages of trainmen, carpenters, plasterers, plumbers, painters, bricklayers, repairers, and the makers of all kinds of supplies, but the pay of the teachers, already low, has not been advanced correspondingly.[1] In the purchase of what we eat and wear and in rent we pay the increased cost, but not for education, as the teachers there help pay the increased cost of producing an output — teaching — which the public enjoys at lower relative cost than it does almost any other thing it buys. This is not because our people believe that the social worth of the teacher is less than that of the plumber or painter, but because teaching has always been on a competitive basis, since the tax rate is always concerned, and because we have, until recently, had no proper standards for computing what teachers' salaries should be.

To remedy such a situation different means may need to be employed in different States. The maintenance of the district system of organization, large dependence on local support, and the retention of the property tax as the chief means for raising school revenues call first of all for educational reorganization, tax reform, and for a shifting of the great burden of school support from the shoulders of the local community to the State. The cost for the maintenance of what is for the common good of all must be in some large measure equalized. Any material increase in state support, however, unless accompanied by laws requiring a better type of school organization, a better trained teacher, a longer term, or a larger salary for teachers would merely allow the different local communities to reduce their expenditures for schools. In the case of some overburdened communities this may be the desirable thing to do, but in most cases a better standard in teacher and term should be insisted upon (*Source Book*, pp. 607–

[1] A recent study published by the Minnesota State Board of Education, entitled *Teacher Shortage and Salaries* (St. Paul, 1920), may be taken as representative of a large number of studies which have been made, in all parts of the United States. This report gave the following comparative data as to yearly income, at that time:

Plumber	$1847	Day laborer	$1107
Mason	1797	Stenographer	989
Barber	1615	High-school teacher	982
Carpenter	1507	Store clerk	945
Teamster	1172	Grade teacher	803
Bookkeeper	1124	Rural teacher	620

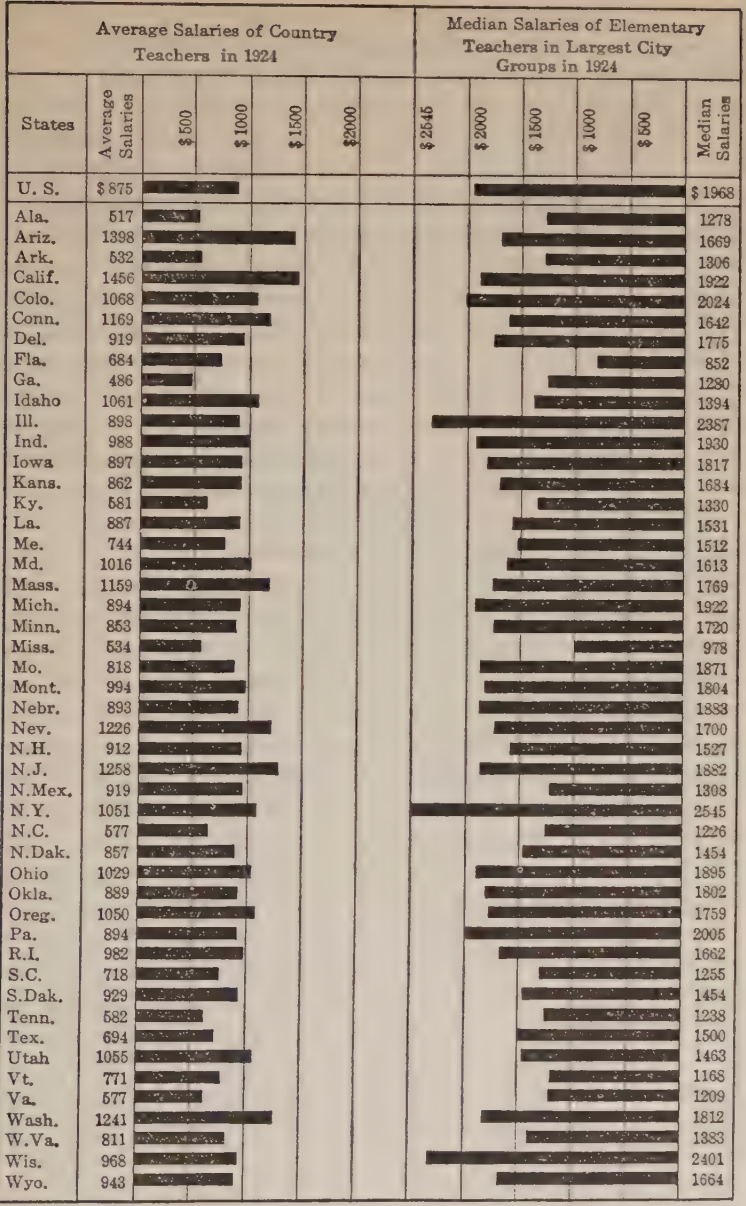

FIG. 93. SALARIES OF RURAL AND CITY TEACHERS COMPARED, BY STATES
(After Summers — U.S. Bureau of Education data.)

12) as the price of larger state support, and a better form of organization than the inefficient and very expensive district unit might well be added to the list of state requirements. As was pointed out in Chapters XVI and XVII, a reform in the taxation and apportionment plans of a State is often fundamental to any real educational reform, and often much also can be done to improve conditions by a wise redrafting of the general state apportionment law. By placing proper premiums on the training of the teacher, the length of term, and the salary paid, as was pointed out in Chapter XVII, much desirable pressure may be applied by the State to its subordinate units. While proper taxation and apportionment plans are fundamental, they are not, however, sufficient to guarantee an adequate teaching wage. As state funds are increased, care must be exercised that communities do not use the increased funds to reduce local school taxation. To this end legislation raising the standards for teaching preparation, or state-regulated salary schedules, or both, are necessary.

State salary schedules. A quarter-century ago a few of our States began to enact what were then known as minimum salary laws. It was enacted, for example, that no teacher should be paid less than a certain sum — as $40, $50, or $60 — per month. Although these laws were framed in the interest of the teacher and the children, they were of little value for the reason that a district has only so much money, and if more had to be paid per month the number of months the school could be maintained was accordingly reduced. The minimum stated also tended to become the maximum, thus defeating the real purpose of the law. From these crude beginnings in a few States we have slowly but gradually advanced toward a general state salary schedule for all teachers. The greatest obstacle here, as in most other efforts to improve and advance education, has been the limitations imposed on action by the district system. If we had only counties and cities as the units to deal with, or even community unions and cities, the whole matter would be much easier to handle, as over the larger area there could be a much better equalization of the burdens of support and, in consequence, a more uniform pay schedule could be provided.

Recognizing the desirability of the State protecting the teacher and guaranteeing at least a living wage, a few States have, within the past decade, enacted an improved type of state-wide salary schedule for teachers, accompanying the schedule with other

legislation requiring advanced teaching preparation after certain dates, and granting materially larger state aid to enable the payment of the salaries ordered. One of the best examples of such legislation is that of Pennsylvania, where the State Salary Schedule, given in Problem 1, page 665, was adopted in 1921. At the same time it was provided that, after September 1, 1927, no person could be employed to teach who was not a graduate of a college or normal school, in addition to a full high-school course, or who gave evidence of having had equivalent training. Summer courses in the normal schools to provide the academic and professional training needed by teachers in service, before the date fixed, were ordered organized. The state appropriation for schools was increased $12,000,000 to cover the new salary needs, the State to pay 50 per cent of the scheduled salaries of teachers in the fourth-class districts, and 25 to 35 per cent in other-class districts. County superintendents were to have the same minimum preparation as teachers, after 1927, with six years' experience in school work, three of which must have been in an administrative capacity, also required.

A salary schedule basis. One of the difficulties that has presented itself everywhere in attempting to fix salary schedules has been the absence of a scientific basis for determining what salaries ought to be paid. A number of different studies of this problem have been made, the findings of which have been well summarized by Almack and Lang.[1] The bases determined upon classify themselves under the following headings:

1. Teaching experience.
2. Amount of training.
3. Teaching load.
4. Teaching results.
5. Ability of the school system to pay.

The authors feel that the following should be added:

6. Cost for living in the community.
7. Cost for necessary professional improvement.
8. An undefined merit factor.

There are also such controversial items to be considered as:

9. Differentials in pay as between men and women.
10. Allowances for dependents, to either sex.
11. Higher pay in the high school, and for special work.

[1] Almack and Lang. *Problems of the Teaching Profession*, chapter XIII.

Leaving the controversial items out of consideration, the authors arrange an illustrative minimum salary schedule (pp. 248–49), for a teacher in her second year, on the basis of the following items:

1.	The subsistence principle	$1200
2.	The training principle	252
3.	The improvement principle	40
4.	The experience principle (2d year)	50
5.	The teaching-load principle	?
6.	The efficiency principle	?
	Total minimum salary	$1542
	plus increments as determined for 5 and 6.	

An estimation of these items, for the different types of communities in the State, would give a result not very different in form from the Pennsylvania salary law mentioned above.

It will be noted here that the yearly increments, in the Pennsylvania salary schedules, continue for four years in the third-class districts, and in general for eight years in the first- and second-class districts. In many of our city salary schedules the yearly increments based on experience stop after four or five or six years, and this represents a somewhat general defect of salary schedules for teachers as at present arranged. Another defect, and one that tends to keep teaching from becoming a professional service, is that the beginning salary is frequently too high and the maximum salary is reached too soon. These conditions tend to attract into teaching many who use it merely as a well-paid temporary employment, thus increasing the turnover in the teaching ranks. The beginning salary need not be high, if the service increments continue for a long time. The first four principles in the Almack and Lang illustrative salary schedule, given above, are all that are needed if the service promises security of tenure during efficiency and a satisfactory living salary after twenty to thirty years of work. In estimating what is a satisfactory salary at forty to fifty years of age it must always be remembered that one's wants increase rather steadily up to around fifty. It would accordingly be desirable to continue service increments for a long period of time, so that the ultimate salary attainable would offer a real attraction to remain a teacher.

Introducing the efficiency principle. It is just here, however, that the efficiency principle should come into play. To grant every one yearly increments, along with relatively permanent tenure, would in time result in many of the poorer teachers of the

State being the best paid. Certain other factors may be made to enter here to help out the situation. One is payment for continuous improvement by further study and travel. Another is a well-graded progressive certification scheme, as was described in the preceding chapter, which would prevent the highest increments going to those not holding the highest grades of teaching certificates. Another is a grading based on actual efficiency, which is always hard to determine. Still another is some form of a rating and promotional system, comparable to that used in colleges and universities, whereby one advances from rank to rank after periodic reconsiderations, based on evidence of professional growth. A college teacher advances from instructor to assistant professor, associate professor, and finally to full professor, with different salary schedules for each rank. Such a plan applied to public school teachers would work out somewhat as follows:

Class	Period of Appointment	Beginning Salary	Yearly Increases	Amount of Increase	Maximum Salary for Class
1. Probationary teachers.....	Annual	$1200	2	$100	$1400
2. Four-year teachers.....	4 years	1500	3	75	1725
3. Seven-year teachers.....	7 years	1800	6	50	2100
4. Permanent teachers.....	Until retired	2150	7	50	2500

Under this plan it would be twenty-one years before a teacher reached the maximum salary obtainable, and it might take even longer. There would also be the possibility of introducing Sabbatical leaves and part-pay for further study or travel at the end of each seven-year period.[1]

Such a salary plan as just given would not be workable with the district system, but, given only city or county-unit school systems to deal with, such a plan — with different initial salaries for different types of communities, to cover differences in costs of living — could be applied in a state-wide salary schedule. This type of salary schedule could also be adapted to what is known as the single-salary-schedule plan, now being used by many cities.

A number of different plans for bringing in the efficiency principle have been tried by our cities, and Maryland, Indiana (see

[1] Many superintendents hold the theory that a teacher, after six to eight years of teaching, reaches her maximum efficiency — unless she breaks her teaching and spends a year in study or travel, or as a visiting teacher in some quite different type of school system. Such a salary schedule offers a good opportunity to provide for such a break.

Osceola Code, pp. 242–51), and a few other States have experimented with the plan of annually rating all teachers, but without much success. It is in the European and British-Empire States that one finds the greatest development of this idea. New Zealand employs a plan of rating for salary purposes which is rather typical of such schemes. There all types of schools are first classified, and the type of teacher that must be employed for each is indicated. Teachers are classified as head teachers and assistant teachers, seven grades of salaries are provided for each, and the teacher begins at the lowest salary for the position and is advanced yearly, based on a success grade. This last is determined as follows:

Item	Maximum Mark	Explanation
1. For service	10	1 mark for each 2 years
2. Certificate held	15	A — Highest — 15 marks B — Next — 12 " C — Next — 9 " D — Next — 6 " E — Lowest — 3 "
3. Skill in teaching *	40	
4. Personality and discipline	15	
5. Organization and management	15	— Maximum 5 for an assistant teacher
6. Making school a social factor	5	— Awarded only for superior service
Total	100	

*For 3, 4, 5, and 6 the grades are allotted on the basis of efficiency in the type of position held, in comparison with teachers of the same group, and on the following basis:

Grade of Work	If Max. 40	If Max. 15	If Max. 5
Excellent	35–40	13–15	5
Good	30–34	10–12	4
Very fair	25–29	8–9	3
Fair	20–24	6–7	2
Weak	15–19	4–5	1
Very weak	10–14	3	0

All teachers and principals are now classified into six groups, A–F, according to the salary group to which they belong, and members of each group must each year obtain a certain minimum quota of marks to obtain a salary advance. Such a rating idea (efficiency principle) is capable of much use locally (city, supervisory-union, county-unit), but general state rating probably with us would lead to very fixed conditions.

3. PENSIONS FOR TEACHERS

As approximately two thirds of our States have by now enacted

some form of pension legislation for teachers, as over one half of the States have made pension benefits available to all teachers; and as over one third of the teachers in the United States are now protected by some type of pension system, the general pensioning of all teachers may be regarded as an almost certain future development in educational legislation.

Stages in the development of the idea. The pensioning of teachers is a movement largely of the past half-century, and its history is to be divided into three periods. The first began in 1869, with the establishment of the first mutual-aid associations in the cities. Voluntary associations, with dances, entertainments, and bazaars to raise money, and with an appeal to philanthropy for endowments, characterized this early period. The second began in 1894, with the securing of the first retirement legislation, and during the next two and a half decades a number of city, county, and state pension systems were instituted, but usually on financial bases so unsound that they could not for long carry on the work proposed. These early systems were commonly based on a flat and uniform rate of pension for all teachers, such as $500 annually, regardless of previous salary or length of service — a thoroughly untenable proposition, and one opposed to the fundamental purpose of a pensioning system.

The third period is the one now obtaining, and dates from the enactment of the compulsory, contributive, and state-wide teachers' pension laws by Massachusetts in 1914, Connecticut and Pennsylvania in 1917, New Jersey in 1919, and Ohio in 1920. In each of these systems the teacher must contribute a definite percentage of the yearly salary (4 to 7 per cent; commonly 5 per cent), and this the State matches with an equal grant. The fund is cared for by the State, each teacher has a separate account, withdrawal and disability allowances are provided for, and a minimum pension at retirement is guaranteed.[1] Provision usually is made, and where possible should be made, for the absorption into the state system of the existing city, town, and county pension systems, as many of these are unsound from a financial point of view, and a real state-wide retirement allowance plan is desirable so that the free interchange of teachers may take place. Some recognition of service in other States also should be and usually is allowed.

[1] See table, page 73, of N.E.A. *Research Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 3 (May, 1924), showing the results of the accumulations over a period of thirty-five years, with guaranteed retirement allowances after 25, 30, and 35 years of service.

Advantages of pension plan. The provision of retirement allowances for teachers is by no means a benevolence. (*Source Book*, pp. 613–20.) In the first place, it must be remembered that the public almost never pays for any service rendered what that service is really worth, and the pension represents an increment to any salary schedule that is likely to secure public approval. A pension then must be regarded as deferred pay which has been earned, and, with the contributive principle incorporated into the plan, which has in part been purchased by the teacher. The advantage of the contributive principle lies in the fact that it forces the beginnings of savings early in life — something for which there is need with nearly all types of public servants. In effect a sound teachers' retirement allowance plan is a form of compulsory insurance, paying an annuity for life instead of a death benefit, and administered and partly financed by the State.

A properly constructed and state-wide teachers' retirement law has other advantages which are of large importance for the school. These may be enumerated as follows:

1. It protects the children in the schools from being taught by teachers of advanced age who are no longer efficient, but whom boards of education have not the heart to drop from the service.
2. It tends to attract capable young people into teaching, because a retirement allowance dignifies the service and removes one of its most discouraging features.
3. It tends to retain the more capable teachers, who are to-day continually leaving the profession to accept other forms of employment in which they can make better provision for their old age.
4. It tends to increase teaching efficiency by removing from the mind of the teachers the thought that they must always be saving to provide for the days when they can no longer teach.
5. It increases public respect for the teacher, and indirectly tends to augment both salary and tenure.
6. The plan actually costs the public little or nothing, and under a properly built salary schedule may really save money for the State, because it decreases teacher turnover, and hence the cost for training new teachers, as well as removes superannuated and high-salaried teachers and replaces them by beginners.
7. It applies to teaching what has been provided for many other forms of the public service, and what is to-day common in industry and business. More than a million employees of the Federal Government have already been provided for in this way, while universities, banks, railroads, and business corporations are adopting the pension idea in yearly increasing numbers.[1]

[1] "The employer, whether a government, a corporation, or an individual, has a direct financial interest in the establishment of some pension system which shall

Principles underlying a teachers' retirement system. From a number of studies of the problem which have been made, something like a general agreement as to the fundamental principles involved in a sound state teachers' retirement system has been arrived at. These may be set forth in the form of the following fourteen points:

1. The system must be built on a sound financial foundation, based on the best actuarial experience, with contractual engagements with each teacher, and with adequate reserves to meet all claims as they become due.[1]
2. The system must be supported by joint contributions on the part of the teacher and the public, and on an approximately equal basis.
3. A pension is a deferred annuity on the life of an individual, payable upon the fulfillment of stated conditions, and the best way of providing for this is through fixed monthly salary deductions and payments extending over the period of employment of the person.
4. The pension should be state-wide in its application and state-administered, and membership in it should be compulsory for all teachers, after possibly the first two or three years of probationary service.[2]
5. The State Board of Education should be made, *ex-officio*, a State Teachers' Annuity Control Board, and all records as to every teacher in the State should be kept by a division of the State Department of Education, although the Retirement Law should very definitely lay down all details as to the conduct of the annuity system, leaving little but administration to either the control board or the department.
6. A separate account should be kept for each teacher, and all payments made and interest earned, by both the teacher's salary de-

enable old or disabled employees to retire under satisfactory conditions. In addition, society demands to-day that the employer assume some part in the moral and social betterment of his employees. The obligation of the employer to coöperate in sustaining a pension system is primarily a financial one, and in the second place, a moral one." (Furst and Kandel, *Pensions for Public School Teachers*, p. 15.)

[1] "In order that an individual participating in a pension system may be assured of his annuity when due, one condition is indispensable: There must be set aside, year by year, the reserve necessary, with its accumulated interest, to provide the annuity at the age agreed upon. On no other condition can the participator obtain a satisfactory contract. The man of thirty who participates in a pension plan, under which he expects an annuity thirty-five or forty years in the future, will take some risk of disappointment in accepting any arrangement less secure than a contractual one." (Furst and Kandel, *Pensions for Public School Teachers*, p. 16.)

[2] It is questionable whether any regularly employed teacher should be exempted from some contribution. Those who teach only two or three years draw relatively high wages, and might be expected to make some contribution, at a lower percentage, to the general pension fund, and without return privilege (7) until after they become regular members and enter into contractual relations with the pension system.

ductions and the public contributions, should be properly credited, as in a savings bank.

7. The right to withdraw what the teacher has paid in, with accumulated interest, on leaving the profession, either by resignation or dismissal, should be incontestable.
8. In case of death while in service and before the retirement age, the teacher's portion, with interest earned, should be payable to the heirs or the estate.
9. In the case of teachers dying after retirement and before having drawn in annuities a sum equal to all they have paid in, with accumulated interest, the remaining sum in the teacher's account shall be paid to the heirs or the estate.
10. All payments made by the State to the account of any teacher leaving teaching, or dying before the retirement age, as well as the surplus in any account at death after retirement, to be transferred to the reserve fund protecting all contracts, for use in paying disability allowances and the annuities of teachers credited for service elsewhere, or who live longer than the calculated expectancy.
11. A definite permanent-disability allowance should be included in the state-wide plan, effective after a definite number of years of service (as 15), the amount to be paid to be what the teacher's payments with accumulated interest will provide, plus a graduated percentage of the teacher's salary from the State.
12. A definite minimum retirement allowance should be guaranteed to all, but a definite relation between salary paid and annuity purchasable, after the minimum has been provided for, should be preserved.
13. Definite retirement annuities should be made available early enough to protect the interests of the schools, such as optional retirement after thirty years of service, and compulsory retirement at the age of sixty, or at latest sixty-five. The ages for retirement now in use in our cities — sixty-five to seventy years — are too old. Disregarding certain remarkable exceptions here and there, the schools do not obtain value received from such teachers. Our schools probably would be better off if all teachers quit service at not later than sixty years of age.
14. The State must be prepared to pledge its faith, in case of errors in actuarial estimates, or in case of any unexpected and unusual strain on resources, to stand behind the plan to the extent of carrying out all contractual obligations as they fall due.

The above principles do not quite tally in all respects with those given in the recent National Education Association Report on *Teachers' Retirement Allowances* (see problem 2, page 665), but the writer believes them to be sound and in accordance with the best thinking on the problem.

Advantages of a comprehensive state plan for teacher control. The many advantages of having a comprehensive state plan to

cover all the important phases of teacher control, aside from employment and supervision, will have by now perhaps become clear. In its larger aspects — that is, training, certification, minimum pay schedules, pensioning, and partial oversight of the work of training in service — the control of the teaching force of a State is a state rather than a local problem. In proportion as standards are raised, pay increased, tenure lengthened, and pensions granted it becomes progressively more and more important that the larger features of control be placed with the State. More and more the teacher enters the service of the State, although employment and supervision remain as distinctly local functions.

As a State evolves a comprehensive and adequate plan for the training, certification, paying, and pensioning of its teachers, there is increasing need for the organization of a comprehensive division in the State Department of Education that will take charge of all records relating to a teacher, from the date of his or her graduation from any teacher-training institution or first certification, and will follow this teacher yearly thereafter until he or she either leaves the teaching service, is retired or pensioned, or dies. The entire record can be kept on one fair-sized card, with another card or folder to record the payments to and from the retirement fund. In the chapter which follows we shall indicate some means for improving the teacher while in service, and how the evidence as to personal effort to keep abreast with the growth of the profession may be secured and recorded and utilized in carrying out pay schedules and certification requirements.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show how an attempt to dismiss a teacher by public trial on charges puts the superintendent rather than the teacher on trial, and is bad for the schools, regardless of the outcome.
2. Show why life tenure, given to one early in life, is likely to be a misfortune from the point of view of growth and efficiency.
3. Show how the adoption of larger units for school administration would help materially in solving the tenure problem for rural teachers.
4. Show how indefinite tenure would tend to cut down the political patronage element in the selection of teachers, and also tend to place their selection in the hands of educational officers.
5. What are the strong and weak points, as you see them, in the state tenure plan outlined in this chapter?
6. Why is appeal to the courts, in case of dismissal, very undesirable?
7. Why, after a teacher has proved his or her efficiency by five years of satisfactory service, is it unsafe to assume that this same person will be an efficient teacher after the lapse of fifteen years?

8. Wages for labor usually respond rather quickly to any marked increase in the cost of living; why do the salaries of teachers usually lag far behind?
9. A good wage scale for teachers is sometimes defended on the ground that it makes a more satisfied teaching body, and tends to prevent the spread of radical ideas among the teachers. Is this a valid argument? Why?
10. If any new requirements added, at the time of the enactment of a new salary or tenure law, are such that many teachers in the State cannot meet them, how should this problem be handled? Illustrate.
11. What are the arguments, on both sides, for the three controversial items (nos. 9–11) listed by Almack and Lang, and given on page 665?
12. Show the advantage of giving salary schedules a range that allows of a long time to reach the maximum.
13. State the advantages or disadvantages, and the desirability or undesirability, of a reconsideration in the case of teachers at the end of three, four, and seven years before permanent appointment, as is shown in the table on page 657.
14. State the arguments to be advanced for and against exempting teachers, during the two to three years of probationary service, from compulsory membership in a state-wide pension plan.
15. In a few cities teachers are given an extra allowance (say $200 a year) for each person, minor or adult, wholly dependent on the teacher for support, up to a maximum of two or three dependents. Can you justify this as a part of a state salary plan? Why?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. On the pasted-in sheet, entitled "Tabular Statement of State Teacher Tenure Laws," to be found in the *Research Bulletin* of the National Education Association entitled *The Problem of Teacher Tenure* (vol. 2, no. 5, Nov., 1924), analyze the different state tenure laws digested there, selecting the points of strength and weakness of each. See in how far each conforms to the principles laid down in this chapter as basic for a sound tenure law.
2. With the pasted-in sheet entitled "Tabular Statement of Teachers' Retirement Systems," to be found in the *Research Bulletin* of the National Education Association, entitled *Teachers' Retirement Allowances* (vol. 2, no. 3, May, 1924), do the same as is asked for under 1, above.
3. Of the different state laws regulating the salaries of teachers, determine which State has the best salary legislation, in the light of the principles stated in this chapter.
4. A number of States have provided for the establishment of state teachers' employment bureaus. Look up several state laws relating to these, and try to estimate their value and usefulness.
5. In investigating the question of teachers' tenure, a committee of the National Education Association listed fifteen causes for dismissal, and took a vote of a large number of teachers and administrators and laymen on each. The result of the vote on each cause, by groups of voters, is tabulated on page 165 of the *Research Bulletin* for November, 1924 (vol. 2, no. 5). What differences and unity of opinion do the votes show?

PROBLEMS

1. The legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1921, adopted the following statewide salary schedule. Study it and formulate your criticism of it.

1st Class Districts (500,000 population, or more)

Position	Initial Minimum	Minimum Increase	For Number of Years	Lowest Maximum
Elementary teacher	$1200	$100	8	$2000
Assistant in high school	1500	100	3	1800
Junior-high-school teacher	1800	125	8	2800
High-school teacher	1800	175	8	3200*
Supervisors	1800	125	8	2800
Elementary-school principal	2100	137.50	8	4200
Junior-high-school and high-school principal	4000	250	4	5000

*For special merit must be advanced further to $3600.

2d Class Districts (30,000 to 500,000 population)

Elementary teacher	$1000	$100	8	$1800
High-school teacher	1400	100	8	2200
Supervisors	1400	100	8	2200
*Elementary-school principal	1600	100	8	2400
*High-school principal	3000	125	8	4000
Superintendent	5000	..	..	..

*Must be given at least half-time free for supervision.

3d Class Districts (5,000 to 30,000 population)

Elementary teacher	$1000	$100	4	$1400
High-school teacher	1200	100	4	1600
Supervisors	1200	100	4	1600
Elementary-school principal	1400	100	4	1800
High-school principal	2000	125	4	2500
Superintendent	3500	..	..	..

4th Class Districts (Less than 5000 population)

Elementary teacher, $100 a month.
High-school teacher, $125 a month.
County superintendent, $2500 to $4000 a year.

2. The National Education Association, in a *Research Bulletin* dealing with the problem of pensions for teachers, entitled *Teachers' Retirement Allowances* (vol. 2, no. 3, issued May, 1924), laid down the following statement of fundamental principles involved in the construction of a sound teachers' retirement law. Compare the principles thus laid down with those given on pages 661–62, and, where there are differences, try to state the arguments for both points of view and determine which one is the better.

Principles Involved in a Sound Retirement System
National Education Association Statement

1. During the beginning years, while beginning teachers have not permanently allied themselves with the profession, participation in the annuity plan should be optional, but after twenty-five years of age it should be made compulsory.

2. Teachers leaving the service before the age of retirement to retain their rights to all money paid in by them, with interest accumulations, this payable on leaving the profession. The deposits made by the State to be withdrawable only as an annuity at retirement age, or as a death benefit.
3. If the teacher dies in service, the entire accumulation in her account to be payable to her heirs or estate.
4. An adequate disability allowance to be provided for every permanently disabled teacher, regardless of the size of the account at the time of permanent disability.
5. The retirement allowance should be such as to enable the teacher to live in reasonable comfort, and the rules for retirement should be such as to retire teachers after their period of satisfactory service is over.
6. Unused portions of teachers' accounts, following death after retirement, to be paid similarly to her heirs or estate.
7. An account to be opened with every teacher by the State Annuity Board, and sums deposited by the teacher or credited to that account by the State to be held in trust for the teacher.
8. Teachers in service, at the time of the enactment of the state-wide law, to be granted all benefits due under any old system then in force.
9. On adoption of a state-wide system, teachers in service should be credited for full period of service to date, funds for this purpose to be provided by the public.
10. The sums deposited by the teacher and the public, during the accumulative period, should be approximately equal, and should be made regularly during the period of service. These sums should be fixed percentages, as stated in the law.

3. Examine the basis for a teachers' salary schedule given in Almack and Lang's *Problems of the Teaching Profession* (pp. 248–49), and apply it in the case of a city where satisfactory board and room costs $60 a month; the training investment was $5000 for elementary teachers, and $7000 for high-school teachers; summer term and other expenses $150; and where the yearly increment for service is $100 a year for six years. Construct a salary schedule for the city, with principals given a load increment of 20 to 25 per cent over teachers.
4. Suppose that a State has 20,000 teachers employed in rural and elementary schools and 5000 teachers in high schools, 8 state normal schools and a state university engaged in preparing teachers, 80 per cent of all teachers having standard training, and a fairly satisfactory pay schedule, and with equal pay to men and women for the same work. Suppose further that statistics show that the average teaching life of those in the elementary and rural schools is 12 years for men and 4 years for women, and in the high schools 20 years for men and 7 years for women. Figure out what argument these figures present for a salary differential in favor of men teachers.
5. Suppose that a State decides that the salaries of the teachers in its schools are too low, and that it plans to add $8,000,000 to the state appropriation for schools for the purpose of raising the salaries of its 20,000 teachers. What other new legislative requirements ought to be added to enable the State to obtain greater values?
6. In the N.E.A. *Research Bulletin* for May, 1924 (vol. 2, no. 3), entitled *Teachers' Retirement Allowances*, the full text of the New York "State Teachers' Retirement Fund for Public School Teachers Act" is given. This may also be found in the *Education Law* for New York State, Secs. 1100–09. Read and analyze this law, and show to what extent it conforms to the fundamental principles laid down in this chapter.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN SERVICE

A continuing problem. The problem of how best to train teachers in service is an old one. It has occupied the attention of educators and legislators since the early days of our educational history. Though the problem is an old one, it has not as yet been fully solved. The need for the improvement of teachers in service still exists, and probably will continue to exist as long as we maintain schools. In the rural and village schools, where the greater percentage of untrained teachers is to be found, the problem is still a pressing one, for these teachers must be trained almost wholly while in service. Even in the cities, where the largest numbers of trained and experienced teachers are employed, the problem is by no means absent.

Although the day of the unprepared teacher, in most of our States, is probably passing, this fact will not relieve us of the problem, as normal school and college graduates will still have to be provided with means for improvement while in service to keep them abreast of educational progress. From the state end the problem is, however, less acute as teachers become better trained, and the burden is shifted in part from the state to the city or county-unit school system employing the teachers. After all that a State can do to train a new teacher, the completion of the process must still take place in the classroom, under competent and helpful supervision. Some one must see that the teacher is applying the principles she has been taught, and that she is improving her technique with a view to becoming, if possible, a master teacher. Practice alone does not make perfect, it is practice guided by skilled supervision that is effective.

What can be done by the State. While the problem of training teachers in service is thus seen to become increasingly local in character, there is still much that the State can do through legislation that will help shape conditions to make the problem easier of solution. In the first place, there should be provided sufficient opportunities for training in the state institutions, and adequate state appropriations for staff and for annual maintenance of these institutions, coupled with salary schedules that will place a pre-

mium on attendance in them. A sound certification law, as was pointed out in Chapter XXIII, can also do much to stimulate in-service training by making this a prerequisite for the higher grades of certificates. Pay schedules also can be so arranged as to offer a reward to the teacher who keeps to the front in professional progress. A form of teacher tenure law such as was described on page 647, could also be made a decided incentive to in-service preparation. Legislation that will create larger administrative units and build up an adequate and professional supervisory system for all the schools of the State, rural and village as well as city, would likewise be of material assistance.

The above represent the more general and yet very fundamental means which a State can adopt to promote training in service. To supplement what can be done through certification requirements, pay schedules, and tenure laws, the chief means which the State can use are teachers' institutes and meetings, controlled courses in professional reading, summer-school classes, correspondence and extension study, and the improvement of school supervision. We shall consider each of these briefly, in order.

The teachers' institute. What has been called the first teachers' institute in America was held at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1839. Probably stimulated by the opening of the first state normal school in Massachusetts, in July of that year, Henry Barnard, then Secretary of the State Board of Education for Connecticut, in October organized a six-weeks' training class at Hartford. This was taught by teachers engaged for the purpose, and observation of instruction was carried on in the schools of the city. Twenty-six young men formed the first class, and the following spring a class for women teachers was similarly organized and conducted. Barnard afterward carried on these demonstration classes in many places in the State, and by 1847 there were as many as sixteen groups in different towns, with some twelve hundred teachers in attendance. New York began a series of two-weeks' institutes in 1843, and Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Ohio in 1845. After this date the spread of the idea was rapid, and by 1860 the teachers' institute had been organized in fifteen Northern and Eastern States. After 1870 the institute idea gained still more in favor, and by 1880 it was a firmly established institution in all our States. From about 1875 to 1900, or possibly 1910, may be said to have been the great day of the teachers' institute. Since then the institute has slowly but

rather steadily declined in importance as a means for training and helping teachers in service.

The main purpose of the institute as originally organized was to impart useful information; to develop teaching power through presenting to the teachers in attendance a knowledge of subject-matter, by showing them how to organize and arrange in logical order the knowledge to be taught; to give them some understanding of mental processes and teaching procedures; and to set forth the essentials of proper school organization and management.[1] Social acquaintance and professional interest were also stimulated. The institute thus served as a short training course for the teachers of a county or city, designed to meet their most immediate needs and to awaken in them a professional spirit. The fundamental principles of education being everywhere the same, it was believed that the teacher should be able to apply to the specific problems of the school what had been presented in these gatherings. There is little doubt but that the institute played a very useful part, during the formative period of our state school development, in giving teachers in service some ideas as to what they might do, and how to do what they did in a better way.

Decline in importance of the institute. The institute, as organized and conducted in the beginning, however, was at best a makeshift as a training school. Its large usefulness has been due to the lack of means for educating teachers in a better way, and to the aversion on the part of teachers to spending their time and money on training even when it could be had. With the coming of a better-trained teaching force, largely since 1900, the old type of county teachers' institute has steadily declined in usefulness and importance, and in some States has in large part been superseded by other forms of teachers' meetings and organizations.

There are many reasons for this decline of the institute (*Source Book*, pp. 621–26). The recent rapid growth of the normal school has in itself done much to make the old type of county institute

[1] "The object and legitimate scope of these meetings must be, not to become a substitute for the patient, thorough, and protracted study, which the mastery of any branch of knowledge requires — nor yet for the practical drilling which a well-conducted normal school can give — but to refresh the recollection of principles already acquired, by rapid reviews, and by new and safe methods of presenting the same — to communicate hints and suggestions, and to aid in self-improvement from wise and experienced instructors — to solve the difficulties and doubts of the inexperienced — and to enkindle through the sympathies of numbers, engaged in the same pursuits, the aspirations of a true professional feeling." (Henry Barnard, in *Fifth Annual Report of Superintendent of Common Schools, Connecticut*, 1850.)

unprofitable. The need for the older academic type of institute instruction has largely disappeared, and with this the institute has changed in character from academic to professional. As little of the latter nature can be accomplished in the three to five days now usually allowed, the professional aspect has in turn given way to the inspirational. The increasing number of teachers, too, has called for a still more general type of program to meet the needs of all, while the opportunity to section the institute and thus engage in specialized instruction is often neglected. The increasing cost for inspirational speakers of a good class, together with the large expenditure of time and money necessitated by institutes, has led to their combination into regional associations, where the crowds are large and the speakers are often brought from great distances. All this has tended to destroy the old-type institute. The failure to present well-planned programs, the lack of good organization and a wise use of time, and the unrelated character of much that is presented have all combined to make the institute of to-day of but little force in modifying schoolroom procedures. The general result is that the county teachers' institutes, and often the city teachers' institutes as well, are to-day too often not functioning as practical agencies for the in-service training of teachers. The general opinion, however, is that we are not ready to abandon either of them, as each can still be made to serve a useful purpose. It is their character that needs changing.

Different purposes of the institute. The institute originally was made to serve three purposes. The first was as a training school for teachers; the second as a meeting for acquainting them with educational policies, and giving directions as to work; and the third was as a teachers' convention with social and professional ends largely in view. The training school purpose, except in States where the great majority of all teachers is still unprepared, has largely passed away. For academic and professional instruction a week is too short, and this feature of the institute is rapidly being superseded by summer-school attendance and by extension courses. Even in States where the professional preparation of the teaching force is still quite low, a required six weeks at summer school would be vastly more useful and effective. At the summer school teachers can be sorted as to preparation, and classes can be organized to meet the special needs of groups.

The second purpose of the institute is one for which it is still useful in city and county-unit school systems, combined there with

demonstrations, section meetings, and inspirational addresses. For this purpose five one-day institutes, scattered throughout the year, are usually more valuable than one five-day meeting. As the five-day institute is too short for academic and professional needs, so it is too long if the inspirational character is to be stressed. The third purpose of the institute can also be well served in these city and county-unit one-day meetings, but still better in the larger voluntary national, state, and district teachers' association meetings now growing so rapidly in numbers and importance.[1]

Improving the institute. The greatest weakness of the institute is to be found in the usual one- to two-week county institutes in the district-system States where the rural and village teachers are largely untrained, and where the professional leadership must come from county superintendents elected from among the body of the people. The short tenure of both teachers and superintendent, the lack of homogeneity of the group in either preparation or needs, and the dearth of professional insight and attitudes, all combine to make this type of institute a difficult undertaking from the standpoint of useful results. There is little hope of making them much worth while except as a means of bringing isolated and lonely teachers together, making them participate in the proceedings and tell their views and experiences, and providing a meeting that is socially profitable. Conducted in this manner, the institute can be used to build up a professional spirit among a group of teachers, even though they are poorly prepared. Instead, too often, the teachers are talked at for a week or more, and the final result is the opposite from what is desired and tends to discourage serious professional preparation. The lack of any unified educational program in the usual county teachers' meeting does much to keep the institute from being effective, and makes of it instead a source of financial waste. Under a proper county-unit system of school organization and administration, with professional supervision supplied and well-planned one-day regional institutes supplementing one- to two-day county gatherings, the work focused on the educational problems of the county with occasional inspirational addresses, the institute for rural and village

[1] It is of interest to note that, with the rise of the institute in New York and Massachusetts, the older voluntary common school conventions and county teachers' associations, which had held short meetings annually or semi-annually, tended to die out. To-day we are reversing the process and building up the state and district teachers' associations, at the expense of the institutes.

teachers is as capable of usefulness and as worthy of continued state support as is the institute in the cities.

In addition to subsidizing the county and city institutes, the State might also give some support to large regional or even state-wide gatherings of teachers, for short sessions, as educational leaders can be brought to these, for both special and inspirational work, to an extent not possible to the county institutes. The two types of gatherings have quite different purposes to serve. Still another type of special institute, which the State might well aid and encourage, is the conference institute (*Osceola Code*, Sec. 220), where high-school principals, superintendents of schools, drawing teachers, music teachers, elementary-school principals, or health supervisors of the State are brought together for conference, from time to time, either as a whole or by regions, and under the call of the State Department of Education, in what may be termed regional or district institutes or conventions.

State supervision of the institute. As a further means for improving the institute, two different plans have been tried by a few of our States. One, followed by New York State, is to place the institutes of the counties under state supervision, with one or more state institute organizers and conductors appointed as directors, and working under the State Educational Department. These organizers help the division (county) school superintendents to plan and conduct their institutes, introduce better subjects and procedures, and try to carry on some unified study and discussion of a type most needed by the teachers of the county. Where the county institute is still largely in the first stage of its development, and where county superintendents are obtained by means of popular election, this plan of providing state supervision of the institute work is capable of much usefulness. Its danger lies in the imposing of ideas and a possible cramping uniformity. Almost everything depends on the type of state director chosen for the work.

The other plan, also employed by a few of our States, is that of licensing institute conductors — no one being permitted to give institute instruction who does not hold a state institute conductor's certificate. This plan is of very doubtful value, for the reason that it does not introduce much better planning of the work than before, and because the certification soon has to be given to almost every person in the State who desires to do institute work and is halfway competent. When this point has been reached

conditions are little if any better than before, and the chief result is likely to be that the employment of institute instructors from outside the State has been made largely impossible.

The teachers' reading circle. The reading-circle idea probably had its origin in a society formed in London, in 1870, "to encourage home study." A similar society was organized in Massachusetts in 1873, and in 1878–79 the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle began its notable career. Many teachers were soon enrolled in it. The idea was first applied to the special needs of teachers by Ohio, where the first teachers' reading circle was organized in 1883, and the first course of reading for teachers was outlined for the year 1883–84. Indiana followed late in 1883, outlining its first course for 1884–85 (*Source Book*, pp. 627–32). The idea soon attracted much attention, and by 1888 it had been adopted and circles formed in twelve States. By 1911 state reading circles were found in thirty-five States, and county circles in two States. A recent (1925) circular issued by the United States Bureau of Education lists thirty-two States as now engaged in the work. The reading circles have been in most cases organized by the teachers themselves, usually under a state reading-circle board appointed by or closely connected with the state teachers' association.

That the reading circle has played an important part in the professional growth of teachers in service needs little argument, as many older professional teachers to-day can testify. Thousands of teachers have been induced by it to read and study carefully selected professional books who probably otherwise never would have read such literature at all. Through good state and county organization, wise selection of books, good topical outlines for study with questions for discussion, and in many States examinations on and credit for the work accomplished, the reading circle has helped many teachers who had not had professional training to become acquainted with and keep abreast of sound educational thought. It is the feeling of the writer, who did his first teaching in a State where membership in one of these organizations was expected, that the important influence which the reading circle has exerted on American education is much more likely to be under rather than overestimated.

One of the difficulties experienced, almost from the first, has been that the teachers in cities usually have taken no active part in the work. This is in part to be explained by the fact that the

great needs have been with the rural and village teachers, and in the selection of books each year these needs have been largely kept in mind. Another explanation is that teachers with training have not infrequently felt that more should not be expected of them, and have tended to object to the study of books intended primarily for the professionally untrained. The remedy lies either in the so-called open lists, under which a number of books are adopted each year from which teachers may select one or two, or in adopting a number of different sets of (say two) books adapted to the needs of different classes of teachers. A successful lawyer, doctor, engineer, chemist, or architect is a lifelong student, and there is little reason why a teacher should not be also. To the writer the idea of asking every teacher in service to read at least one good professional book of a general nature, and one book relating to his or her special field of work each year, and to offer some evidence of having done so, does not seem in the least unreasonable, and a State might well incorporate such a requirement in its general plan for the yearly validation of certificates for teaching, and with no other credit for the work.

Summer-school attendance. Within the past decade there has been somewhat of a falling off of interest in the reading-circle work in many of our States. The increase in the number of trained teachers, the new requirements in many States as to certification which have called for further professional preparation, and the very marked increase in summer-school attendance, all over the United States, are the explanations usually given. If there is to be a choice between reading-circle work and attendance at a summer school of a good type, as a means for imparting a minimum of professional training, of course the latter is very much to be preferred. To the writer there seems little reason why the two forms of training and study may not well be carried on side by side. Good reading-circle work, too, has its values for the trained as well as for the untrained teacher.

The summer schools conducted at Chautauqua (1874) and at Martha's Vineyard (1878) were largely instrumental in revealing the possibilities of summer-school instruction. The universities were the first of the educational institutions to take up the new idea. Harvard was the pioneer, the beginnings there dating back to 1868; Amherst offered work in languages, in 1876; the University of Virginia in chemistry, in 1877; and Ohio Wesleyan began an organized summer school in 1886. The first state uni-

versities to begin such instruction were Wisconsin in 1887, and Indiana in 1890. The opening of the University of Chicago, in 1891, organized on the four-quarter plan and with the summer quarter a distinct feature of its instruction, gave a definite impetus to the movement, especially in the Middle West. By 1900 the summer-session idea had been accepted in all parts of the United States. The normal schools gradually followed, and since the World War normal schools and teachers' colleges generally have provided such instruction, ranging in length from six to twelve weeks. Since the World War, too, the attendance at the different summer schools has greatly exceeded any figures ever before known. In most institutions offering summer-school work the attendance at the summer courses doubled in the seven years between the close of the World War and 1925, while the number of institutions offering such instruction probably also doubled.

In addition to summer-session instruction at the existing universities, colleges, and normal schools, a number of States have provided for the organization of several summer schools for teachers, held at different places in the State, usually from two to four but sometimes six to eight weeks in duration. These are planned primarily to meet the needs of teachers with but little academic and professional preparation. This is the class of teachers whose needs the institute originally was intended to meet, and the courses in academic and professional work given in this type of summer school represent what was originally the chief work of the institute. In these schools lessons are assigned, prepared, and discussed, and demonstration work often is provided. The purpose is to build up teachers in both an academic and a professional way, and to prepare them better for rural teaching and for advanced certification. As a means for ensuring a certain amount of professional study on the part of all teachers in service, a number of States have recently made attendance at this type of summer school compulsory for all low-grade-certificate teachers, and have used this form of summer-school attendance as a substitute for the older type of one-week county teachers' institute. In such States and counties the institute then passes to the second stage of its development, and becomes a teachers' meeting for acquainting them with plans and policies and procedures before the opening of the schools.

Correspondence study and extension courses. As was stated in Chapter XIV, many universities and some normal schools have

organized correspondence-study courses and an extension lecture service, and taking advantage of this type of instruction many teachers in our cities, and somewhat generally over the States, are using these means to advance their knowledge and keep abreast in professional lines by study, under direction and in organized courses, of those subjects in which they have a real interest. This service enables many teachers to broaden their equipment for efficient work, and under it many eventually earn degrees. To earn college credit by these means requires the satisfying of the conditions of a regular college student, so that the work offers serious study opportunities. In Massachusetts (page 374), an Extension Division of the State Department of Education has been organized to render this type of service throughout the State. It is becoming increasingly common for city and county-unit school systems to place a premium on the use of these extension facilities in the form of salary rewards for completed courses. For regular systematic study during the school year, extension work offers, to teachers who need direction in study, excellent opportunities for self improvement while in service.

In a number of our state universities and teachers' colleges there has recently been organized another form of extension service that is proving of some usefulness to teachers, but much more to school systems. This is a bureau of educational research and service, which aims to make itself of use to teachers and school officers in need of help on some special problem, or in carrying through some special experiment. City school systems are rapidly adopting the same idea and organizing city bureaus for local expert service, and a few States have also begun the organization of state bureaus or divisions of research and service.

The improvement of school supervision. At first thought it may not seem that state legislation looking to the improvement of school supervision, and particularly supervision outside our cities, offers much opportunity for the improvement of teachers in service. A little reflection as to the importance of good administrative organization and proper supervisory conditions, however, will show that the opportunities to the State in this direction are very large. Especially are they so in district-system States, where expert supervision for rural and village teachers is almost entirely absent. The improvement of teachers in service in these States, outside of the cities, is almost negligible except as it is found in reading-circle work, summer-school attendance,

and correspondence and extension courses. The latter two are seldom made use of by rural and village teachers.

The best means for providing adequate rural and village supervision is by the institution of some form of the county unit of organization and administration, but where this cannot be done at once the remedy lies in the State requiring the employment of professional rural supervisors, who travel over the county aiding teachers and holding professional meetings with them. The California Law (Problem 4, page 681) offers a good example of what may be done, in a State still retaining the district system, to provide some form of professional supervision and thus improve the work of teachers in service. The money there set aside for supervision can be used for no other purpose, and if not so used does not revert but merely accumulates. The result has been that all the counties have taken up the idea, and to-day a fairly effective form of rural supervision is being built up which is of material value as a means for improving the work of teachers in service. It is not nearly so effective as a good county-unit organization might be made, but it is far better than practically no supervision at all.

Legislation tending to stimulate any of the means described for the improvement of teachers in service is clearly a function and a duty of the State. The teachers' institute service can be revised and bettered, the reading circle for professional study can be directed, summer-school attendance may be stimulated or required, the higher forms of certification and permanence in tenure can be made dependent upon self-improvement, and professional supervision may be instituted by law — all as means for the continued improvement of the teachers in the service of various city and county school systems of the State.

Supervision of the validation of certificates to teach. There is one means not yet considered that the State can quite legitimately employ to ensure some evidence as to continued self-improvement on the part of all teachers, and one that is a desirable exercise of state authority. This is a requirement that all teachers' certificates, of every kind, must be validated for teaching, each year, by county or city superintendents, with the satisfaction of some professional requirement for such validation.

In the State of Osceola (see *Code*, Secs. 166, 215, 216) such a requirement has been set up. There the requirement for the validation of a certificate for teaching is that every teacher must

have read the two reading-circle books adopted for the class of teachers to which he or she belongs, and must evidence this by making a reading-circle grade in a general state examination. Certain classes — superintendents, new teachers, and teachers absent from work the preceding year — are exempted from the requirement, and the exemptions might also include those who produce evidence of credits earned in correspondence work, extension work, and summer-school work.

The purpose of the State in all legislation relating to the improvement of teachers in service is to try to ensure some little betterment each year, on the part of all teachers, as a condition to continuing in the teaching work. The more highly educated and trained the teacher is, and the more special the line of work taught, the less important this improvement in service probably becomes, and certain classes of teachers might be exempted by general rule, or the work for such classes changed somewhat in character, but for the great mass of classroom teachers some professional reading and study each year is most desirable and may well be insisted upon.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. A teacher was graduated from high school and then from normal school, some fifteen years ago, and has been teaching in the elementary schools of one city, where supervision has not been very active, ever since. No complaint has ever been made as to her work. A new superintendent is employed who starts a number of new procedures, and this teacher is finally advised to attend summer schools and do some professional reading to make herself more efficient. She is much offended and hurt and resents the criticism. Explain.
2. Show why a five-day institute is too short for instructional and too long for inspirational purposes.
3. Show why cities, under a city superintendent of schools, and having 50 to 75 or more teachers, should be allowed to hold their own institutes separately, if they choose.
4. Does the plan of holding a rotating type of county institute, as proposed by Reynolds (*Source Book*, pp. 621–26) appeal to you as desirable? What defects in the old-type county institute would it cure, and what new ones would be inherent in it?
5. Show the value of reading-circle books, even with trained and competent teachers, in keeping them in line with sound educational thought.
6. What meanings and significance do you see in the recent marked increase in attendance at all kinds of summer-school instruction?
7. It is often claimed that a person does more and better work in correspondence and extension courses of study than in regular classroom work. What elements in the correspondence and extension work might tend to make this the case?
8. If reading-circle work is required of all teachers for the validation of certificates to teach, each year, would it be wise to exempt from this re-

quirement teachers who had attended summer school or earned credits in correspondence or extension work during the year? Why? Should the credits earned include at least one professional course? Why?

9. Should high-school teachers be obliged to meet the same kind of requirements as elementary-school teachers, in the matter of professional improvement? Why?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. Collect a number of county-institute programs, and evaluate them from the point of view of their usefulness for each of the three main purposes of the institute described on page 672. Show how you would improve the programs.
2. Read carefully the *School Law* provisions as to teachers' institutes in three strong district-system States, and evaluate their provisions.
3. Do the same for three county-unit States.
4. If in a State having an organized state reading circle, list the books adopted over the past eight to ten years, and try to determine what, if any, plan is evident from the list. Also find out, if possible, what proportion of the teachers were enrolled for the work, and estimate the general effect of what was done.
5. Go over the legislation relating to short summer-school courses, organized under the general direction of the State, and intended for the better preparation of elementary-school teachers, and classify and state the purposes, control, and probable effectiveness of these laws. Obtain any statistics available in printed reports as to attendance, cost, etc. Is this plan as good as depending on state normal schools for this service?
6. What the Massachusetts Extension Division in the State Department of Education is doing to aid teachers in service.

PROBLEMS

1. Assume that you are a county superintendent of schools, in a district-system State, with a large rural and village corps of quite average ability and training. The county-seat city holds its institute separately. Make any assumption you desire as to conditions, and then construct a program for a three-day institute that you consider will be useful and effective with your teachers.
2. Assume that you have been appointed a teachers' institute conductor, in any strong district-system State that you care to choose. Map out a program that will tend to unify and improve the institute work and not at the same time hamper initiative and individuality on the part of the county superintendents.
3. Draw up two lists of reading-circle books for adoption, the first after the Osceola plan (Sec. 209), and the other by providing some one book of such a general and useful character that all teachers ought to read it, with six or eight other books of a diversified character from which a teacher is to select one. Which plan seems the better one to follow, as a result of your experience in drawing up the two lists?
4. In an effort to secure professional supervision for the rural and village schools of the counties, the California Law provides that, in making the annual apportionment of school funds to the districts, the county superintendent of schools shall set aside $1400 "for each 500 pupils or major

fraction thereof in average daily attendance, in the aggregate, in those school districts of the county . . . in each of which there were less than 300 pupils in average daily attendance . . . for the preceding year," which shall constitute a supervision fund for supervisory work in the county.

In one average-size county there were 72 school districts having one teacher, which averaged 17 children in average daily attendance each; 4 districts having two teachers and averaging 48 children each; and two villages having 127 and 216 children in average daily attendance respectively.

What would be the supervision quota in this county, and what could be done with it in providing supervision for the rural and village schools?

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DIVISION VII
THE OVERSIGHT OF THE STATE

CHAPTER XXVI

THE STATE AND THE CHILD

In the six parts of this volume which have so far been considered we have dealt with six important aspects of education in the States, namely, the relation of the Federal Government thereto, the administrative organization for the state school systems, the scope of the public school system provided, how the school system may be financed, the State's interest in the material environment and equipment of the school, and the State's relation to the teacher. There now remains but one more important phase to consider, the general oversight of the State as it relates to child life and to extra-state efforts of an educational nature. This section will accordingly deal with the place and work of the State in the care and protection of the child and the education of special classes, the relations of State and Church in education, and the position and usefulness of various non-state educational agencies. These topics will form the subject-matter for the three chapters which constitute the last main division of this volume.

I. THE COMPULSION TO ATTEND

The idea of compulsory attendance. A natural corollary of the compulsory taxation of every man's property to help maintain a general state system of public instruction is the compulsion that every child shall attend the school and partake of the instruction thus provided. Since the State has taxed all its citizens to provide what has been felt to be for the common good of all, the right of the State to require that all children be sent to school can hardly be questioned. Yet the struggle to secure compulsory attendance laws in our States has been a long and often a very bitter one; the gains have been made slowly and only step by step; and the battle is by no means ended. Legislation to require school attendance has been assailed as monarchical in its origin and history, as interfering with the liberties of parents, as arrogating new powers to government, as interfering with business and the right of contract, and as un-American and unadapted to our free institutions.

As a matter of fact, both Massachusetts and Connecticut had compulsory education laws before any European country had

enacted such. As for the liberties of parents, the presence of over three million white illiterates ten years of age or over in our total population in 1920, forty per cent of whom were native-born, stands as striking testimony as to the results of parental liberty in a matter of such fundamental importance to the State. As to interfering with business, that has been the claim ever since child-welfare legislation first began. As to arrogating a new power to government, so do all quarantine and police measures necessary for the public safety. Every nuisance calls for abatement, and the protection of society from the consequences of ignorance is a fundamental necessity of a modern civilized State. Still more, compulsion to attend school is no more un-American than are many hygienic regulations which we regard as necessary for our protection. The rights of the State and of the taxpayer are paramount.

The uneven development of legislation. Legislation requiring attendance at school has been of slow growth in the United States. While Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies early enacted compulsory attendance laws,[1] and imposed fines on towns and parents failing to observe their requirements as to school attendance, these laws died out in the eighteenth century, and in the middle of the nineteenth the struggles to establish compulsory attendance had to be begun all over again. The first State to enact a compulsory attendance law was Massachusetts, in 1852, followed by New York in 1853, Vermont in 1867, New Hampshire, Michigan, and Washington Territory in 1871, and Connecticut and New Mexico Territory in 1872. By 1880 sixteen States and Territories, by 1890 twenty-six States, and by 1900 thirty-one States had enacted some form of a compulsory education law.[2] With the enactment of a law by Mississippi, in 1918, every State had finally become committed to the policy of requiring children between certain ages to attend school for some part of their lives, and for a part or all of the school term. Sixty-six years elapsed before what Massachusetts began in 1852 was accepted as a principle of action by the people of all our States. The problem has now passed from that of securing initial legislation to that of revising and extending and strengthening existing laws.

[1] Massachusetts legislation goes back to 1647, and Connecticut to 1650. See article by Perrin.

[2] For a list of States and dates, see page 10 of Bulletin 2, 1914, United States Bureau of Education, or pages 514–15 of *Biennial Survey of Education*, 1916–18, volume I.

The history of compulsory-attendance legislation in the States has been much the same everywhere. At first the laws were optional in character, and not infrequently required acceptance by vote of the cities or counties concerned before becoming effective. Later the law was made state-wide in application, but the compulsory period each year was short (ten to twelve weeks) and the age limits low (nine to twelve years). After this the struggle came to extend the time, often little by little, to include the entire period during which the schools are in session; to extend the age limits downward to eight and seven and upward to fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen; to make the law apply to children attending private and parochial schools as well as public schools, and to require coöperation from such schools in the enforcement of the law; to secure proper information as to the ages of children as a basis for enforcement; to require the appointment of attendance officers and the establishment of parental schools for the proper handling of cases; to institute some state supervision of local enforcement; and to connect school-attendance enforcement with the child-labor legislation of the State through a system of working permits and State inspection of mills, stores, and factories. As a consequence the development of compulsory-attendance legislation has been very uneven in our States, and attendance laws in almost all the stages of legislative evolution may still be found. On the one hand we have such States as Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Michigan, and Ohio, where good laws exist and the enforcement is relatively strict, and on the other hand such States as Alabama and Mississippi, where both the law and its enforcement are still weak.

The school census. When the enforcement of compulsory attendance begins, even though the attendance required is for only a fraction of the school term and for limited ages, the need for an accurate school census at once becomes apparent. The longer the period of attendance required, the greater the need for an accurate census. However, this is something for which few of our cities and almost none of our States have as yet made provision.

The school census with us had its beginning almost entirely as a means for determining the number of children of school age [1] in each school district, for the purpose of the apportionment of school funds to the district. That is, the school census was first taken for fiscal and statistical, and not at all for school-attendance

[1] See page 456, and footnote 2, page 458.

purposes. What was asked for was the number of children between certain school-money apportionment-ages, as 7–14, 6–18, or 5–21, with an occasional segregation into groups such as 5–8, 8–14, and 14–18. For census-basis apportionment purposes (see Chapter XVII) this type of school census answered very well, but for compulsory-attendance purposes it is of almost no value.

What is now needed is an accurate school census that gives certain definite data relating to every child of school-attendance age. It should include the following facts:

1. Name of child (surname first).
2. Sex of child.
3. Month, day, and year of birth, from which the number of years old, at last birthday, may be calculated. The authority upon which the age is taken (word of parent; birth certificate; baptismal certificate; passport; etc.) shall also be recorded.[1]
4. Country of birth.
5. Name of parent (father or mother), guardian, or other person standing in parental relation.
6. Abode, including school-attendance district, post-office address, and, if in cities, street and number.
7. Physical condition (good; deaf; dumb; blind; crippled).
8. Mental condition (good; otherwise).
9. School attending (public; private; parochial).
10. Position in school (grade).
11. Reason, if not attending school
12. If employed, where and how.
13. Vaccination certificate record.

This type of record should be taken on cards, and a duplicate card system used, one set being in a central office, and the other distributed in the schools (public, private, or parochial) where the child is in attendance. A school census taken on large sheets or in a book is of little value for attendance purposes; what is needed is a card system, so that the cards can be sorted, shifted, corrected, and changed as necessary. The card system, too, should be uniform for the whole State.

Such a school census may be taken as needed, and should be subject to additions and corrections at any time. After having been once taken in full, it can be kept up to date in large part by some daily attention to the matter on the part of teachers, principals, attendance officers, and police,[2] through the reporting

[1] This information will often prove very useful later on in handling the granting of working permits and settling cases of exemption from the provisions of the law.

[2] If it were the duty of the police and moving vans to report all cases of changes in residence to the central office, it would be of great advantage in keeping a school census accurate and in enforcing compulsory attendance.

of new families in the district, changes in residence, or families moving away. Private and parochial schools, as a condition precedent to tax exemption (see Chapter XXVII), should be required to coöperate fully in keeping the school census accurate and in the enforcement of compulsory-attendance laws. Whenever a pupil leaves one school to attend another, anywhere in the State, whether the school is public, private, or parochial, a duplicate census card should accompany his transfer card and school record.[1] All new children entering any school of any kind, who present no school-census records, should have cards made out for them and duplicates transmitted at once to the central attendance office. When new families move into the district, the attendance officer should visit the home and make out cards for all children of school age, or near school age. The card census should be checked from time to time by districts, and a new partial or complete census taken for any attendance district, or for a city or county as a whole, whenever in the judgment of the law-enforcing authorities there is need for a complete recount. Once such a census is established generally in a State, and especially in a county-unit State, it would in a short time be possible to accustom teachers, school officers, and the city police and moving-van concerns to the necessary action to keep it up to date and accurate, so that a complete recount would not be necessary very often, outside of the larger cities, and even there only in the poorer and most crowded quarters. On the basis of such an accurate census of children of school age not only could compulsory-attendance and child-labor laws be enforced, but block maps could be prepared, changes in population could be anticipated, and school-building plans could be intelligently made and carried out. Such data, properly summarized and reported to the State Department, would be of much use in visualizing educational conditions and growth and needs, and in enabling it to organize a better educational program for the State.

School attendance limits and exemptions. The tendency in

[1] Children are lost when transferring to and from private schools if there is not the closest coöperation between the public and the private and parochial schools. Receiving a transfer from any one to attend any other type of school, he may never appear and thus escape the compulsory attendance law unless the school attendance department is notified of the giving of the transfer. This defect can be remedied only when the same reports are required from all private and parochial schools as from public schools. A legal requirement that the register in private and parochial schools must be kept on state forms and be open to inspection, which a few States now require, while good in itself, is not enough.

school-attendance legislation in this country is clearly toward requiring attendance for the entire time the public schools are in session (not including summer sessions) on the part of all children between seven and eight and fifteen to sixteen years of age, with attendance at a part-time school for those over fourteen and under sixteen when properly employed. That is, required attendance covers the elementary-school period and the continuation-school ages up to sixteen. The National Child Labor Committee has recommended that attendance be required up to eighteen years of age,[1] except for those children between the minimum exemption age and eighteen who are regularly and lawfully employed, and a few of our States[2] have already taken this step.

While the tendency is clearly to require attendance to sixteen, certain exemptions and exceptions are commonly allowed. Assuming the compulsory ages to extend from seven to sixteen, which would represent the outside limits in use in most States, the following conditions and exceptions would generally be regarded as fair and proper:

1. Children who will be seven years old within two months of the time for opening a new term of school to be expected to begin attendance with the opening of the term.

2. Children who are physically unfit or mentally incapacitated for attendance to be excused, on the filing of a statement to that effect, signed by a competent physician or an officer of the school department.

3. Children who are deaf, dumb, blind, or feeble-minded, for the instruction of whom no special provision has been made, also to be excused. For mental defectives, work is often better than school.[3]

4. Children under eight (or nine) who live more than two miles from school, and children over nine who live more than three miles, measured by the nearest traveled road, and for whom no transportation has been provided.

5. Children over fourteen and under sixteen who have completed the eighth grade of school,[4] if properly and regularly employed.

6. Children who have spent eight years in school and have completed at least the sixth grade, upon whose labor the attendance officer

[1] See footnote 2, page 364, for the recent Massachusetts proposal for half-time schooling from 16 to 18 for all not in full-time day schools.

[2] See, for example, the California or New York part-time attendance laws.

[3] See especially two articles in *Mental Hygiene*, volume 5, for April, 1921: Bigelow, E. B. "Experiment to Determine the Possibilities of Subnormal Girls in Factory Work," pages 302–20; and Gesell, A. "Vocational Probation for Subnormal Youth," pages 321–61. Both articles point out that among subnormals employment frequently affords better facilities for maximum development than does education.

[4] With the general introduction of the junior high school, with its prevocational work, this should be changed to the ninth grade.

is convinced that an aged or infirm parent, or other person standing in parental relation, is dependent for support, and who is adjudged strong enough to engage in the form of labor for which a working permit is requested.

7. Children who are being properly instructed by a private tutor, or at home by a competent person, in the subjects taught in the public schools to pupils of such age and advancement, or satisfactory equivalents, and who produce satisfactory evidence to that effect.

8. Children temporarily prevented from attendance by reason of quarantine, sickness, unusual storm, or other unusual and acceptable causes.

9. Occasional absences, not exceeding one day a school month, upon satisfactory excuse.

Attendance at any private or parochial school, which meets the state requirements laid down for such, and which properly cooperates with the public schools in all matters relating to attendance, to be accepted in place of public-school attendance, provided the term is at least as long each year as the public school of the district; that the schools are in session for as many hours each day as are required for children of like age in the public schools; and with no greater amount of holidays or vacations deducted than are allowed for the public schools.

The enforcement of compulsory-attendance laws. Laws requiring the attendance of children at school will not enforce themselves, and the State can place no dependence on the filing of complaints against offenders by neighbors or teachers. This is not their affair. The police, too, have plenty of other things to do, and still more, the handling of compulsory attendance through the police or deputy sheriffs is not desirable. What is needed for proper enforcement of an attendance law is the appointment of compulsory-attendance officers, connected with the school department and under its direction. For a city or a county-unit school system, or the two working in combination, this is easy; for the district-system States there is no way of handling compulsory attendance for the rural districts and the villages except through the appointment of a county attendance-officer, or reliance on constables or deputy sheriffs. The general attendance law should require the appointment of school-attendance officers; if it is left optional, often no such officers will be appointed. Even where their appointment is required, the law may not be enforced unless the State Department of Education, or the State Department of Labor, is given authority to remove the officers appointed and to appoint others in their stead, if necessary to secure the enforcement of the compulsory-attendance and child-labor laws.

Each city, or county, or the two combined, needs an attendance-officer and a bureau or division of compulsory attendance as a part of its school-department organization. To this officer or bureau all schools — public, private, and parochial — should report regularly, and the attendance laws should be enforced by the public school attendance-officer with equal effectiveness for all three types of schools. Schools of all types should be required to use a common form of register, census cards, and report forms, and all should report regularly to the attendance department of the district. The attendance-officer must investigate all cases reported, either in person or through teachers, nurses, visiting teachers, or other means, and must attempt to secure compliance with the provisions of the law. In case of failure he must file complaint in the proper court and prosecute the case. He, and his deputies, must have power to administer oaths, file complaints, issue summons, and serve legal processes to enforce the school-attendance law. They must also have power to arrest without warrant, during school hours, any child within or apparently within the compulsory-attendance ages, not previously exempted from attendance, found away from home, or who has been reported to him by the school authorities as absent without excuse, and deliver such child either to the school or the home. Peace officers should have similar powers, and should be expected to cooperate in the enforcement of the law, even though enforcement is not their chief business. The law should state the conditions under which a child absenting himself from school may be declared an habitual truant or school offender, and the procedure for committing such child to a parental school with a view to his reformation. All such proceedings should be simple, informal, and expeditious, and without court fees. The work of the courts should be to coöperate with the school authorities in enforcing the provisions of the law; to prevent the law being violated by the school authorities; to enforce compliance with the law on the part of those in parental relation to the child; and to impose and collect fines for failure to observe the requirements of the law.

The parental-home school. Properly to enforce discipline in school and the compulsion to attend, teachers, principals, and attendance-officers must have behind them some special type of classes or schools for handling both the incipient and the more stubborn cases that occur. Without these adjuncts the enforcement of compulsory attendance brings into the classroom many

children who gain little of value from the school and who often become a nuisance. The result is an increase in corporal punishment and retardation, and a failure, from the point of view of citizenship, of the schools to attain the ends for which they really stand. Without such special classes and schools, expulsion is all that is left for those who cannot be brought under control.

The first of these desirable special means is the disciplinary class. This type of class is needed as a place where those who are breaking from ordinary classroom control can be handled. The second type of special school is the city or county parental school, where habitual truants and confirmed school offenders may be placed for remedial treatment. The handling of all disciplinary cases, too, will be easier if the laws of the State do not forbid the use of corporal punishment. While its use should naturally be quite limited, the prohibition of its use by school authorities, as a few of our cities have rather foolishly done, takes from the hands of the teacher and principal the one means that certain types of boys most fear. This prohibition actually encourages lawlessness and insubordination.

Every large city should be required to maintain a parental-home school, and the smaller cities and counties either should be expected to maintain such a school jointly, or there should be a number of such schools established at different points in the State to which pupils may be sent. Under a county-unit system of school organization and administration joint city and county action, either for one county or for two or more contiguous counties, is easily possible. In Massachusetts the county truant school has long been well developed for this purpose (*Source Book*, pp. 640–45). As a part of the law for the formation of these schools, the State Board of Education should be given power to attach stranded counties or cities to existing organizations, so as to provide generally for all children in need of such special school facilities.

This type of school should be both a home and a school, to which habitual offenders may be committed on indefinite sentences; should be of elementary-school character, with possibly some junior-high-school work, and with a variety of prevocational and vocational work adapted to the needs of this type of pupil. These schools are best located outside a city, where agricultural instruction may be included, but a room or rooms in a city public school building may be made to serve the purpose to some extent.

Commitment to these schools should be by quite simple legal procedure, and parents able to do so should be required to pay a portion or all of the cost of maintenance. The purpose of the commitment being the reformation of the pupil, the school authorities should be allowed, at any time, to parole the pupil and permit him or her to return to the regular school class on condition of good behavior, such child remaining under the general supervision of the attendance department of the district for the remainder of the school year.

Poor-relief and school-attendance. In the enforcement of the compulsory-attendance laws in any State, officers will find cases in which an aged or infirm parent, or other person standing in parental relation to the child, is, to some important degree, dependent upon the labor of the child for the means of support. While much fraud may be practiced here, and every case requires careful investigation by deputies, school nurses, visiting teachers, or special charity workers, to be sure of the facts, many cases of real need will nevertheless be found in the cities among the foreign-born and the very poor.

The State is thus faced with the alternative of looking after the needs of the parent or of the child. If the parent is to be favored, the child will go without needed education; if the child is given the preference, the parent will be left in dire need for support. Between the two situations there ought to be but one choice; although in most of our States the working permit is as yet given to the child, if age-limits will at all permit, and the parent rather than the child is cared for (*Source Book*, pp. 630–38).

Within the past fifteen years some of our States have begun to cope with this phase of the problem of compulsory school-attendance by enacting legislation to protect the right of the child to his chance for an education by providing that, in cases of real need, the working permit shall be refused the child and he shall be sent to school until the full required attendance has been completed. When this is done, in States having mothers' pension laws, the parent is cared for under such provisions, but elsewhere an allowance, or rather a credit, is made to the parent from the poor-relief funds of the county, at least equivalent in amount to what the child could have earned at labor.[1] The attendance-officer may

[1] In Switzerland, for over forty years, each child who is the support of a widowed mother has been granted a scholarship at school, which carries a stipend equivalent to what he could earn at labor, and this is paid by the State, on evidence at each pay-day of attendance at school since the last payment.

also, after investigation as to need, order shoes and clothing for the child from the poor-relief funds, if necessary to enable the child to attend school. The need of the parent is thus recognized, without the future citizen of the State being compelled to forego his birthright.[1]

Useful adjuncts in enforcement. In addition to the compulsory-attendance officer, two very useful assistants in the carrying into effect of a compulsory-attendance law are the school nurse and the visiting teacher, both of whom are relatively recent additions to our school systems. The school nurse dates from 1902, and the visiting teacher from 1906–07. Beginning first in the cities, most of our States have since provided for the appointment of school nurses, and a few States have also made legal provision for the appointment of the visiting or home teacher.[2]

The visiting teacher, who stands in an intermediate position between the classroom teacher on the one hand and the social worker on the other, is capable of very large usefulness in our cities in assisting in the enforcement of the compulsory-attendance laws. In county-unit school systems and smaller cities and villages, the school nurse can give somewhat the same type of assistance. Children irregular in attendance, children falling behind in their work, cases of probable home neglect or underfeeding, and cases involving moral delinquency or requiring serious discipline may alike be referred to the visiting teacher or nurse for investigation and report. The visiting teacher or nurse thus comes into close contact and often intimate relations with the home, and is able to secure a type of coöperation denied to the attendance-officer. Each irregular or difficult case becomes a special case for individual study and adjustment, and the causes underlying the trouble are ascertained and, so far as possible, removed.

2. CHILD LABOR AND THE SCHOOL

Child labor and the school. Closely connected with the enforcement of compulsory attendance is the problem of child labor, and that of the issuance of working permits to children allowing

[1] See article on "Family Allowance System as a Protector of Children," by Paul H. Douglass, in September, 1925, issue of *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.*

[2] See article by R. F. Gray on "The Home Teacher in California," in *School and Society*, vol. 12, pp. 330–34 (Oct. 16, 1920), describing the operation of the California law of 1915 providing for the visiting teacher. See also bulletin by Gleim, describing development in the States.

them to engage in certain kinds of labor for certain limited periods. While child-labor legislation began before compulsory-education legislation got under way,[1] and has somewhat paralleled it in its development, effective compulsory-education legislation has tended to outrun effective child-labor legislation. One finds to-day some form of child-labor legislation as well as some form of compulsory-attendance legislation in all the States, but the stringency of the laws varies greatly, as do the means provided for their enforcement. While a number of States now have reasonably satisfactory compulsory-attendance laws, in all respects except perhaps effective means for their enforcement, a smaller number of States have as yet enacted satisfactory child-labor laws.[2] One reason for this condition is that compulsory-attendance legislation has been largely a resultant of educational effort, has dealt with the relations of home and school and the child, and usually has not met with serious opposition in its enforcement. Child-labor legislation, on the other hand, has tried to regulate the employment of children in industry, has had to face the opposition of manufacturing and mining and amusement interests, and has drawn its chief support from organized labor and humanitarian sources.

There is, however, a clearly marked tendency to-day to study the question carefully,[3] to enact good state laws regulating the labor of youths of school age, to provide stringent penalties for their violation, to create state inspectors to visit places of employment to see that the laws are obeyed, and to connect the issuance of all work-permits closely with the enforcement of compulsory attendance in the school. The state laws of New York and Ohio form good examples of our best child-labor legislation, while the attendance laws and the factory-inspection laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut furnish fine types of combined child-labor, school-attendance, and factory-inspection regulation.

[1] The first child-labor law was that enacted by the English Parliament in 1802, and the first laws in the United States were those of Rhode Island in 1840 and Massachusetts in 1842.

[2] By 1924, 9 States had no law prohibiting all children under 14 from working in factories and stores; 23 States with a 14-year minimum-age limit had weakened their laws with exceptions; 14 States permitted children to go to work without evidence of a common-school education; 19 States did not make physical fitness a condition of employment; and 11 States allowed excessive hours of employment.

[3] By the beginning of 1924, 29 States and the District of Columbia had, at some time during the preceding twelve years, created official commissions for the study and revision of child-welfare laws. Among the more successful of the state commissions were those of Minnesota, North Dakota, and Virginia.

What a good child-labor law should include. In addition to providing for full-time and part-time school attendance, a state law regulating child labor should cover approximately the following points:

1. Children under 14 not to be employed in factories, mills, mercantile establishments, business offices, telephone or telegraph offices, restaurants, hotels, bowling alleys, theatres, barber shops, laundries, shoe-polishing establishments, in selling papers, or in the transmission of messages or merchandise.
2. Children between 14 and 16 not to be employed in any of the above without a working permit issued by the school, kept on file, and returned to the school authorities when the child leaves the permitted employment.
3. Physical examination may be required in the case of any child 14 to 16 at work, and this is best conducted by a physician in the employment of the Department of Labor, which would best have charge of the enforcement of laws relating to employment.
4. A list of prohibited employments for children under 16, chiefly those about machinery, certain poisonous operations, elevator operation, mining, bottling, rag-picking, and for females those which involve constant standing.
5. No child under 16 to be employed more than 8 hours a day, six days a week, or after five in the afternoon or before eight in the morning in a factory or mercantile establishment, with wider limits for agricultural and fruit employments in summer.
6. Regulation of hours for males and females over 16 and under 18 in certain kinds of labor.
7. Prohibiting the training, or exhibition, or employment of children under 16 for gymnastic work, rope-walking, singing, dancing, acting, posing, begging, or any indecent or immoral or dangerous form of work.
8. Illiterate minors over 16 and under 18 must attend evening school until they attain sixth-grade proficiency, unless feeble-minded.
9. Requirement of working permits, to be issued by the school authorities, stating name and age and sex of child, name and residence of parent, height and weight of child, color of eyes and hair, school record, and labor to be engaged in, together with a written request from employer, parental consent, and physician's certificate. This permit to be issued by the attendance deputy, on recommendation of the school attended; to be limited in time; and to be kept open to inspection by the employer.
10. Special provision relating to home work and helping parents, when not in conflict with spirit of above regulations.

The enforcement of such a law is best accomplished by state labor-inspectors. All places of employment of minors should be open to their visitation, working permits should always be at hand, and lists of minors employed should be kept posted.

The demand for national regulation. The rising consciousness of the evils of unregulated child labor in an industrial society first found expression in laws enacted by the States, but by 1906 the issue had become prominent enough for federal child-labor legislation to be proposed in a bill introduced into both houses of Congress "to prevent the employment of children in factories and mines," and another "to prohibit the employment of children in the manufacture or production of articles intended for inter-state commerce." No action was taken by Congress until 1916, when the first federal child-labor law was enacted. This attempted to regulate child labor under the inter-state commerce clause, by prohibiting to inter-state commerce articles manufactured by the labor of those under fourteen years of age in any mill, workshop, factory, manufacturing establishment, or cannery, or those under sixteen employed for more than eight hours a day, forty-eight hours a week, or at night, and prohibiting entirely the labor of those under sixteen in mine or quarry.[1] The United States Supreme Court declared this law unconstitutional[2] in 1918, and in 1919 Congress enacted a similar law, under the taxing power of Congress, placing a tax on such products passing in inter-state commerce. In 1922 the Supreme Court declared this law also unconstitutional.[3]

Finally, early in 1924, in an attempt to regulate child labor as it exists in the States, Congress proposed to the States an amendment (20th) to the Federal Constitution which read as follows:

> Sec. 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under the age of eighteen.
>
> Sec. 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress.

Though this amendment passed the House by a vote of 297 to 69, and the Senate 61 to 23, it so far has not been approved by the necessary thirty-six States.

This proposed amendment has met with vigorous opposition,[4]

[1] This would, after all, have reached but a small percentage. Of the 1,060,858 children between ten and fifteen employed gainfully in the United States, according to the Census of 1920, 647,309 were employed in agriculture, leaving only about 400,000 otherwise employed. Probably not over 150,000 were employed in the production of goods entering into inter-state commerce.

[2] See *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 7, pp. 171–77 (July, 1918) for digest of decision.

[3] See *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 14, pp. 1255–57 (June, 1922) for digest of decision.

[4] "So far the principal opposition to the amendment has come from the National Manufacturers' Association, the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, the

and whether it will be ratified within the seven years allowed remains to be seen.[1] The opposition largely rests on such arguments [2] as the following:

1. The progress the States have made in regulating child labor has been marked since 1912, and they should be allowed to work out the problem in their own way.
2. Passing laws will not abolish the evil; sentiment must be built up in the States. This the Federal Government cannot do by legislation.
3. Child-labor legislation will be ineffective without adequate compulsory-education legislation, and this in turn without good schools and teachers, and these the States must provide.
4. That Congress should enact a model code for the District of Columbia, and then stop there.
5. That this is another example of the interference with the rights of the States to regulate their own conduct.
6. That the permission to regulate the labor of youth to eighteen is likely to be abused by Congress at the behest of organized uplifters.

Beneath all these arguments is the still more fundamental opposition to federal regulation of industry and the extension of federal authority in the States, the child-labor amendment being only a minor factor in the struggle. Many of those opposing the amendment also probably hope thereby to stop, or at least to check, many of the present-day movements for child-welfare laws and the improvement of education in the States, which, once fully undertaken, are certain to call for millions in new expenditures. They do not want to see the principle involved in the cooperative work of the Department of Agriculture extended to human-welfare work or to public education. Something of this same alignment of interests and forces has been in evidence ever since the movement for education and human welfare began, early in the nineteenth century.

A vast movement slowly taking form. One who gives any serious study to the related problems of compulsory school attendance and child labor can hardly fail to see that these are only the beginnings of a great movement, under way in Europe as well as in

Southern Textile Bulletin, the Sentinels of the Republic, the Women's Constitutional League of Maryland, and the Anti-Suffrage Association." (Editorial, *New York Times*, 1924.)

[1] As an example of the opposition, with an answer, see an article entitled "Dr. Pritchett, Dr. Butler, and Child Labor," by J. W. Crabtree, in *School and Society*, vol. 20, pp. 581–85. (Nov. 8, 1924.)

[2] See two articles in *School and Society* stating objections. One is by A. W. Forbes, in the issue of February 21, 1925 (vol. 21, pp. 230–33), and one from the *New York World* in the issue of December 13, 1924 (vol. 20, pp. 753–55).

the United States, looking to an improvement of the conditions surrounding human living, and especially those concerning child life. The movement is recent, and as yet not under full headway. Factory laws, compulsory-attendance laws, and child-labor laws represent but the beginnings. Mothers'-pension laws, the establishment of juvenile courts, laws protecting women and girls, cigarette-sale laws, poolroom laws, obscene-literature laws, juvenile-delinquency laws, and the creation of children's code and child-welfare commissions in the States are other expressions of the same welfare movement on the part of the States. The creation of the Child Welfare Experimental Station at the University of Iowa (page 548), to do for babies and children what has for long been done for hogs and corn, is still another expression of the rising popular interest in child-welfare problems. The creation of the Children's Bureau (page 102) and the Women's Bureau (page 104) in the Federal Department of Labor, and the enactment of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act (page 59) are expressions of the same idea on the part of the Federal Government. The recent marked attention to the whole pre-school period of child life,[1] as expressed in nurseries, nursery schools, clinics of many kinds, provisions for handicapped children, pre-school hygiene, health centers, pre-parental education, and the work of the visiting nurse and the visiting teacher are other expressions — as yet largely voluntary in character — of a rising interest in child and adult welfare on the part of a thinking minority of our people.

By the time the next generation is in control of government we may expect to see strong child-welfare divisions in connection with our State Departments of Education, or State Departments of Health, and the Federal Government giving some such attention to the study of child and adult-welfare problems as it now gives to the study of those related to the office, the factory, the mine, and the farm. The more one considers the problems of compulsory school-attendance the closer are seen to be its relations to home conditions, pre-school care, child labor, mothers' pensions, factory and tenement laws, and the question of health. The immediate problem of the school is attendance, but society must face the many problems lying back of this one.

[1] For a more detailed statement, of deep interest to the school administrator and legislator, see a very interesting and informing book by Professor Arnold Gesell, entitled *The Pre-School Child.* 264 DD., Boston, 1923.

3. THE EDUCATION OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Meaning of this. Closely connected with the enforcement of compulsory attendance is the problem of the education of various types of physically and mentally handicapped children. By this is meant, in particular, the deaf, dumb, blind, epileptic, and feeble-minded who cannot, by reason of their handicaps, fit into the work of the regular school. It may also be made to include a number of other types of special classes, such as speech-defect classes, open-air classes, classes for crippled children, over-age classes, non-English-speaking classes, or development classes, as well as special classes or institutions for the more commonly recognized types of handicaps enumerated in the preceding sentence.

Since the education of the deaf, dumb, blind, epileptic, and feeble-minded was for long doubted as feasible, the beginnings of the work are relatively recent.[1] In most cases it began privately, and later was slowly assumed by our States as a proper charge on society. Up to 1850 only a few States had made any move toward the education of their defective and handicapped children, but to-day the education of these forms a part of the educational program in most States. The change in attitude toward the problem has come about as a part of the changed attitude of society toward many questions involving human and social welfare. We now see that it is better for society and the State, and often cheaper as well, that such children should be cared for properly and educated, as far as can be done, for self-respect, self-support, and some form of social usefulness. With the recognition of this fact our States have enacted laws permitting or requiring their cities to organize special classes, and have themselves established state institutions to care for those who cannot otherwise be provided for.

The education of the deaf and dumb. The first schools for the instruction of the deaf by the manual or sign language were opened at Edinburgh in 1760, Paris in 1771, and Hartford, Connecticut, in 1817. In 1819 Massachusetts appropriated money to pay for the education of twenty pupils in the school at Hartford, and New Hampshire and Vermont soon adopted the same policy. In 1823 Kentucky established the first state school for the educa-

[1] For a brief historical sketch of the development of special instruction for handicapped children, see the author's *Public Education in the United States*, pp. 385–93, or Chapter I of Wallin's *Education of Handicapped Children*.

tion of the deaf, and Ohio followed in 1827. By 1900 there were 56 state schools of the residential type for the education of the deaf, and by 1924 there were 69 state schools, enrolling approximately 11,000 children. All States had at least one school excepting Delaware, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Nevada, and Wyoming, each of which provided for their deaf in the institutions of near-by States. There were also 19 private or denominational schools, enrolling approximately 700 children.

In 1867 Massachusetts established the first institution to give instruction by the oral instead of the manual method of teaching the deaf, originated by the Germans and first described in this country by Horace Mann. In 1869 the first city day-school for the instruction of deaf children was organized in Boston. This new method, although at first vigorously opposed, has slowly made headway until now it is generally used with all normal-minded deaf in all city day-classes and state residential institutions.

Within the last twenty-five years many of our States have permitted the organization of city day-classes for the oral instruction of deaf children, and have amended their apportionment laws to give state aid for such maintenance. Within the past ten to fifteen years there has also been a marked tendency to place the oversight of the state residential institutions under the State Department of Education, and to eliminate politics from the appointment of superintendents and teachers, thus making of these institutions real educational establishments for the training of the deaf and dumb of the State. The advantage of having city classes is that the normal-minded child can be taken in hand earlier (by three years of age) and can live at home with parents. The advantages of the state institution lie in better industrial training, more careful attention to physical needs, regular hours, better regulated diet, athletics and play, and often better care, but children cannot be sent to such a place to advantage until they are about ten or twelve years of age.

Education of the blind. The education of the blind began in France in 1784, and in England in 1791. The first American institutions were opened privately in Boston and New York in 1832, and in Philadelphia in 1833. The first book for the blind was printed in Paris, in 1786. By 1924 there were 73 state schools for the blind, with approximately 5000 enrolled,[1] in forty-one of

[1] A few of these were combined schools for the blind and the deaf and dumb.

the forty-eight States, while the remaining seven States provided for their blind in neighboring institutions. In 1900 Chicago opened the first public school class for the instruction of the blind, and in 1913 Roxbury, Massachusetts, and Cleveland, Ohio, opened the first public school classes for the conservation of the vision of partially sighted children. By 1924 there were approximately 180 such classes in the public school systems of the United States, with Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Wisconsin as leaders in their establishment. The World War, with the subsequent effort to reëducate the war-blinded, did much to awaken a new interest in the education of the blind and those of defective vision, and to cause the placing of all this work, as done by the State, similarly under the general direction of the State Department of Education.

Education of the feeble-minded. Before the nineteenth century the feeble-minded and idiotic were the jokes of society, and no one thought of being able to do anything for them. The first school for their training was opened in Salzburg, Austria, in 1816, but it closed in 1835. The real beginning of their training was made in France, in 1837, when Edouard Seguin began his lifelong study of this type of defectives. By 1845, three or four institutions for the study and treatment of idiots and the feeble-minded had been opened in Switzerland and England, and in 1848 a class for idiots was established at the Blind Asylum in Boston. In 1851 Massachusetts established the first state school for idiotic and feeble-minded youth to be created in the United States, New York following in the same year, and Ohio in 1857. By 1875 seven state and two private institutions for this purpose had been established in this country, but it was not until after 1900 that the movement for the care of these unfortunates really got under way. The recent development of intelligence testing has revealed the nature and vast extent of the problem, and the earlier idea that feeble-mindedness is susceptible of cure has been given up. As a result forty States had, by 1924, established 51 state institutions, there were 30 private institutions engaged in the work, and constantly increasing numbers of city day schools[1] were being established to deal with all grades of mental defectiveness in youth.

[1] The first city school class to train children of low-grade intelligence was established in 1867 in Germany, while the first of such classes in this country probably were those established by Providence, Rhode Island, in 1896, Chicago in 1898, and Boston in 1899.

With our new knowledge as to the nature and extent of idiocy, epilepsy, and feeble-mindedness,[1] our States have, within the past fifteen years, given entirely new attention to the custodial care and education of such children. Of all countries England, in its Mental Deficiency Act of 1913, has developed perhaps the most comprehensive system of guardianship and custody of idiots, feeble-minded, and moral imbeciles. All children certificated as mentally defective by the school authorities there must be reported to the authorities charged with the carrying out of the Act. In the United States, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Ohio have been among the leaders in dealing with the problem of feeble-mindedness. Large institutions have been created and equipped, custodial departments for the low-grade have been established, farm and industrial colonies have been organized, the trainable child has been provided with vocational opportunities, medical examination and treatment have become prominent, research departments for the study and classification of pupils have been added, and a few States have established separate colonies for the care of epileptics.

Created originally as schools and as a part of the common school system, there has recently been a marked change in the character of our American institutions for the feeble-minded. Since the development of the Binet-Simon scale for the measurement of intelligence, with the resulting grading of mental defectives, the tendency has been to provide special city classes for the training of those with higher grades of intelligence, and for the State to take charge of the custodial cases. Still more, the tendency has been to enact laws making the commitment and retention in colonies of the lower grades of mental defectives mandatory, and to provide for their sterilization. Those who are likely to become a social menace the State should take in hand.

On the other hand, the higher grades should be trained locally and cared for by their parents, as long as they do not become juvenile delinquents of such a type as to call for institutional care. The State should, therefore, in its laws and apportionment plans, encourage the formation locally of special classes in the public schools for the education and training of mentally defective, delinquent, incorrigible, and backward children. The enforcement of compulsory-attendance laws, the studies of individ-

[1] See especially Terman's *The Intelligence of School Children*, and *The Measurement of Intelligence*, chaps. v and vi.

ual differences, and the desirability of eliminating cases of marked retardation and thus producing more homogeneous grouping in schools, call alike for the establishment of a number of types of special classes in city and in combined city and county-unit school systems. A number of States have made the provision of such classes mandatory, and in Wyoming [1] — a sparsely settled State — the State Board of Education has been charged with the duty of seeing that such provision is made when the local public school cannot give the needed training.

A state program for the work. The handling, care, and education of all classes of handicapped children is thus seen to be primarily an educational problem, and a phase of the oversight and care of its children by the State. A square deal in the matter of educational advantages would call for the education of all according to abilities and possibilities, while from an economic and social point of view the education of as many handicapped children as possible for self-dependence, and the custodial care and sterilization of the unfit, are also very desirable. The largest part of the problem lies with those of low mentality, partly because so little can be done for many of them, and partly because of their very great numbers.

A recent investigation made by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene reported 900,000 mentally deficient children who were "getting little or no benefit from the ordinary course of instruction in the public schools of the country." For these the Committee held that the States were as yet doing little "in providing the facilities for special-class instruction sorely needed by these children." The Committee found that fourteen States had as yet (1925) no laws on the subject, and that less than 50,000 mentally deficient children were being cared for. The recommendations of the Committee were better diagnosis, provision of special classes, supervision, and the placing of the whole subject of the education and training of handicapped children under the general care and oversight of the State Department of Education, that a proper state program [2] may be carried out.

[1] See note in *School and Society* for July 25, 1925 (vol. 22, pp. 109–13), on "Special Education in Wyoming," giving law and describing work of the State Department of Education.

[2] See "A Program for the State Care of the Feeble-Minded and Epileptic," by J. E. W. Wallin, in *School and Society*, vol. 4, pp. 723–31 (Nov. 11, 1916). See also the same author's *The Education of Handicapped Children*, chap. 12, for an excellent statement of the ultimate aims of the work.

The provisions of the *Osceola Code*, which follow, tend clearly in this direction.

ART. 3. STATE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT. Sec. 12. Divisions of the Department.

11. *Special-class-education division.* This division shall study the forms of education provided for the blind, the deaf and dumb, the feeble-minded and the mentally defective, the truant and the incorrigible, and the dependent; shall supervise the instruction of such in the penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions of this State; shall examine and approve, for any state-aid grants, all classes of such children in the public day and evening schools of the State; and shall study the forms of instruction provided, and the administration of such instruction, with a view to suggesting improvements in both.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show how the changes to the factory system and the growth of manufacturing cities have made compulsory education more of a necessity.
2. Show how a state apportionment law can be made to place a premium on the enforcement of compulsory attendance.
3. Would the class of children brought into the school by the first real enforcement of compulsory education be a more difficult class than would be found after ten to twelve years of enforcement? Why?
4. Would one be warranted in saying that the character of the compulsory school-attendance law in any State is an index to the popular interest in child protection? Why?
5. Some of the States entitle their compulsory education law "An Act to Enforce the Educational Rights of Children." Show that this is a better title than "Compulsory School-Attendance Law."
6. It has been proposed to enforce general compulsory education by enacting state laws requiring the possession of a school certificate as a prerequisite to any form of employment. Does this plan seem to you sound? Why?
7. State the argument, based on new industrial and social conditions, for requiring the attendance at school of unemployed children up to eighteen. Would you apply the part-time law to married girls? Why?
8. What changes in educational organization and in the subject-matter of instruction would be necessary if all unemployed youths up to eighteen were to be required to attend school?
9. Show how a general law prohibiting corporal punishment puts an extra strain on the school, and is a temptation to certain types of youth to be troublesome.
10. May one be in favor of protecting children from injurious labor, even by strong national legislation, and at the same time be unwilling to take labor, even for gain, out of the lives of pupils? Illustrate.
11. Can labor and education be classed as opposites? Can they be coördinated? How?
12. The following appeared recently as a news item in the daily press:

"Illinois has a child-labor law. Twelve firms were arraigned in court in one day for violation. The lowest fine, five dollars, was laid against each offender by the judge trying the case. Immediately following the child cases, in the same court, a man was

fined fifteen dollars, the limit, for having on sale a bottle of ginger ale with an illegal label. Is it three times as great a crime to trifle with a bottle of ginger ale as with the health and development of children?"

Such occurrences are not unusual. Explain why they take place.

13. Explain the recent great interest in the care of handicapped children and mental defectives, after the age-long neglect of these classes.
14. Indicate the educational and financial consequences of accepting the idea that all children are entitled to as good an education as their powers permit and their needs require.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The development of compulsory education, with special reference to enforcement and tendencies, in the United States.
2. Make an analysis of the attendance and child-labor laws in three or four States where the law is weak and enforcement lax, and show what these States actually provide and still need to do.
3. Evaluate the school-census, compulsory-attendance, and child-labor laws in your own State.
4. The nature and work of the county truant schools of Massachusetts.
5. The general status of child-labor legislation in the different States.
6. The child-labor and factory-inspection laws of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.
7. Read the arguments advanced in the magazines and in the hearings before Congress, *pro* and *con*, and analyze the nature of the opposition to the National Child Labor Amendment.
8. The wisdom of increasing the compulsory-age limits beyond fifteen or sixteen, the effect on different classes of children, and the value of regulated labor.
9. The work of a number of the state child welfare commissions.
10. Costs for the education of different classes of handicapped children.
11. The Commonwealth Fund Program for the Prevention of Delinquency.
12. The work of the Juvenile Court.
13. Examine and evaluate chapter XVI of the *Osceola Code*, relating to the School Census (Art. 39), Compulsory Attendance (Art. 40), and Child Labor (Art. 41).
14. Examine and evaluate the Massachusetts laws relating to school attendance, truancy, and the labor of children. *Source Book*, pp. 638–50; *Massachusetts School Law;* or Bulletin 2, 1914, U.S. Bureau of Education, pp. 121–30.
15. Examine and evaluate the Ohio laws relating to compulsory attendance and child labor. *Ohio School Law;* or Bulletin 2, 1914, U.S. Bureau of Education, pp. 111–20.
16. Evaluate the proposed twenty-four-hour Home School, as proposed by Nelles for California.

PROBLEMS

1. Design a card census-data record-form, such as might be used generally throughout a State.
2. Design a working-permit form, such as might be used generally to permit a youth between fourteen and sixteen to labor.
3. Statistics for a certain city school system show that for all children in

the city, between the ages stated, the following percentages were enrolled in the public, private, and parochial schools of the city:

Under 8 years of age	84 per cent
From 8 to 10 years	94
" 10 to 12 "	96
" 12 to 13 "	89
" 13 to 14 "	82
" 14 to 15 "	66
" 15 to 16 "	60
" 16 to 17 "	43
" 17 to 18 "	42

Chart the data in the form of a curve, and deduce therefrom the general character of the state law relating to compulsory attendance, and the means provided for enforcing the law, assuming that conditions in this city are about average for the State.

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CHAPTER XXVII

PRIVATE AND DENOMINATIONAL EFFORT

I. THE PRIVATE AND THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL

Public education not exclusive. Despite occasional agitation here and there for state control of all educational effort, and occasional attempts to take over control of all school facilities below the collegiate grade, such as the recent proposed amendment to the Michigan constitution,[1] and the Oregon initiative law,[2] the American people have so far not been led to believe that such oversight or control is either necessary or desirable. Instead they have been accustomed to regard both private and parochial education as "not inherently harmful" but rather as "useful and meritorious." In general, our people have felt that the friendly competition of private and parochial schools, of all grades, was not in itself objectionable, and if the schools provided by non-state means are better than the schools provided by the State such competition is likely to be for the good of the public schools.[3]

[1] In 1920 an amendment to the Michigan constitution was proposed providing for the abolition of all private education. This was voted down, after which the legislature provided for state inspection of all non-state schools. In 1924, claiming that the law was ineffective, a similar constitutional amendment was again proposed. Though approximately 200,000 more voted on the question in 1924 than in 1920, the distribution was approximately the same, namely, 36 per cent for and 64 per cent against.

[2] At the general election of November 7, 1922, the people of Oregon adopted an initiative bill which provided that, after September, 1926, all private and parochial schools in the State should give way to public schools. The vote on the measure was 219,191 out of approximately 345,000 registered voters, 115,506 votes being cast for the law and 103,635 against it. A test case on the law was taken into the Oregon courts by the Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, conducting parochial schools, and the Hill Academy, a private school. The case was finally carried to the United States Supreme Court, which in 1925 declared the law unconstitutional on the ground that it "interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control."

Continuing, the Court further held:

> As often heretofore pointed out, rights guaranteed by the constitution may not be abridged by legislation which has no reasonable relation to some purpose within the competency of the State.
>
> The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this union repose excluded any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only.
>
> The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.

[3] The danger lies in too large development of the private school, leading to the desertion of the public school by the children of the social and political and professional leaders. This happens nearly always because of the poor quality of the public

Accordingly parents have everywhere been permitted by our States to choose the school — public, private, or parochial — to which they desire to send their children. While the schools and educational institutions supported by the public are free to all, they have with us never been considered as constituting an exclusive educational system.

Especially in the field of secondary and higher education and in the training of teachers have we profited largely in the past by the coöperation and competition of private and endowed secondary schools, normal schools, colleges, and universities. These have often set new standards for work, done many things in advance of what the state schools could attempt, paved the way for future state action in many lines, and in addition have educated many for the service of the State from their own resources and without cost to the State. We are not likely to overestimate the great contributions made to our educational and national development by the many private normal schools and church colleges of the middle and late nineteenth-century period, before our state universities really got under way, or in later times by such truly national institutions as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Johns Hopkins, Carnegie Institute, Tulane, Chicago, and Stanford.

There is in America no deep-seated antipathy to either private or parochial educational effort, although there is some distrust concerning the real aim and purpose of the parochial-school interests. The secularization of education with us came about naturally with our growth and development as a Nation, and from no hostility to the Church or to religion. In a country containing the representatives of so many religious faiths, it was largely an unavoidable result of the process of creating a common school system for state ends — a system that should be equally open to all. Religious tolerance and a consideration of the rights of minorities were more prominent than any hostility to religious faith in the movement which gradually took place in this Nation. If one denomination were aided, then in justice all would have to be aided, and with so many religious organizations demanding a share in the school funds then being created, the question naturally became a public issue. After careful consideration by our

schools maintained, and the effect is to make it still harder to finance public education in any adequate way. In such a situation the public schools are likely to be starved and slowly but surely pushed to the wall.

people the matter was settled, between about 1840 and 1880, by the adoption of amendments to our different state constitutions [1] which forbade the division or the diversion of the funds from the state schools, for which they had been created. A common constitutional provision reads about as follows:

Neither the general assembly nor any county, city, or other public corporation shall ever make any appropriation from any public fund,[2] or grant any public land in aid of any sectarian or denominational school or college, to any educational institution not under the control of the officers of the public school system of the State; no sectarian or denominational doctrine shall be taught, or instruction therein permitted, in any public school or educational institution of the State; nor shall any religious test or religious qualification ever be required of any person, either as a teacher or a student, as a condition of admission to or continuance in any public school or educational institution of this State.

What the State might demand. On the other hand, our States have not as yet exercised their legitimate rights of supervision of private and parochial effort, or enforced the necessary coöperation in carrying out the state purpose, and attempts to do so have often been bitterly opposed by the religious interests. For fear of causing trouble, many of our States have permitted a type of competition from private and religious schools, and a neglect of state interests in school administration, unwarranted by any ideas of either just treatment of non-state schools or the proper safeguarding of the State's welfare. Not only have such schools not been required to coöperate with the state schools in the enforcement of the school laws of the State, but they have even been allowed to be established and to offer instruction without any records or statistics as to their existence or work being reported. If for no other purpose than to know what and how many private and denominational schools exist, how many children they enroll and have in attendance, and how many teachers and of what type they employ, some statistical returns are desirable. Without such statistics any accurate estimate as to the educational work

[1] Beginning with Rhode Island in 1842, New Jersey in 1844, and Michigan in 1850, every old State put a prohibitory clause in its state constitution by 1879, except Florida (1885) and Delaware (1897), while every new State, beginning with Wisconsin in 1848, included a clause in its state constitution at the time of admission except West Virginia, which put it in by amendment in 1872. In 1875 President Grant proposed to Congress an amendment to the Federal Constitution to the same effect.

[2] A few States have rather wisely inserted here the words "except for purposes of inspection or examination." Some day such a provision may prove very useful.

done in the State is not possible. In large part this negligent attitude on the part of the State toward private and denominational effort has been due to the fact that the problem of relationships has never been seriously considered by our people.

That the State could require all private and denominational schools, and particularly those of elementary and secondary grade, to secure a state permit as a condition to opening for instruction; to follow a state course of study; to provide sanitary conditions equal to state standards; to submit to state inspection; and all their teachers to hold state certificates — probably could not be seriously questioned in the courts. That the State also could find a means for requiring all schools to be taught in the English language, despite the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, probably likewise may be accepted as assured. Whether such complete supervisory control is at present needed is quite another question.

Legitimate state demands. The legitimate requirements of the State as they relate to non-state effort may be stated as instruction in the English language, and in the subjects of study required by law for the public schools; the employment of teachers and the provision of instruction at least as good as that in schools maintained by the State, for the same class of children, in the same community; a school American in spirit, teaching the elements of good citizenship and the history and nature of our political institutions; and full coöperation with the public schools in the matter of statistical returns and the enforcement of the school-census, compulsory-attendance, and child-labor laws. In return for such coöperation the State may well — and should — extend to the teachers in such private and parochial schools the option of free attendance at all public teacher-training institutions and public-school institutes, or other means provided by the State for the training of teachers before and in service; state certification, if desired; full support by the public-school authorities in the enforcement of attendance at such schools; accrediting of the school, after inspection, for the work done; and exemption from taxation on buildings and grounds necessary for instructional purposes to all schools not conducted for profit. Such an arrangement provides a proper basis for coöperative effort, and gives a reasonable *quid pro quo* for the educational advantages offered and received. For schools refusing coöperation a series of fines for failure to observe the laws relating to state

schools could be instituted that would tend to make coöperation both desirable and profitable.

To attempt to standardize everything after one pattern should not be the purpose of the State. This has so far been a marked weakness of centralized school administration in our American States, while the encouragement of individual initiative has not been a marked feature of state school control. Yet out of freedom to exercise initiative nearly all our educational progress has come. If private or parochial schools can give their children something that the state schools do not give — after teaching the school subjects enumerated in the law, and providing a school English in language and American in spirit — and which the authorities in charge of such schools think advantageous to the children (*Source Book*, pp. 679–92), they should be permitted to do so. The interests of the State have been conserved when the requirements of the State have been met, and in so far as private and parochial means are willing to perform — from their own resources — a service demanded by the State for its children, the State should be thankful that they are willing and able to do so, and should extend to them any reasonable coöperation in their work. In the field of college and university training, where individuality in teaching is always at a premium and where costs are always high, it is particularly important that we should avail ourselves of private and denominational resources to educate youth, to train teachers, to educate for the professions, and to prepare public servants for the many undertakings of our democratic States.

State requirements for a license. That the State ought to know what non-state schools and colleges are at work within its borders, and to expect some form of statistical returns from each school, seems reasonable and desirable. For all incorporated institutions the articles of incorporation serve as first notification, and statistical returns may naturally be made to follow as a condition to the continuance of corporate life. For all non-state schools of any type offering instruction within the compulsory school ages, including the part-time-instruction ages, a license to offer such instruction might well be required by the State, the granting of this is to be under the control of the State Department of Education. To obtain such a license the laws of the State might very properly require [1]

[1] Michigan and Nebraska have recently instituted such requirements relative to non-state schools. See *School Laws* of these States.

1. That all records and reports required by State or county educational authorities shall be made.
2. That the statutory school subjects shall be taught.
3. That the language of instruction shall be the English language, although instruction in any modern or ancient language may be offered as a subject to study.
4. That the term provided shall be as long as that required for the public schools of the same grade in the same district, and in no case less than the minimum allowed by law.
5. That the teachers to be employed shall be as well educated and trained, though not necessarily in the same manner, as is required by general law of public school teachers for the same grade or classification of school.
6. That the school shall coöperate satisfactorily with the public school in the matter of the enforcement of the school-census, compulsory-attendance, and child-labor laws; and shall keep all records as to attendance in accordance with the State regulations and on the regular State Register (to be furnished free by the State), and shall make such records open to inspection by attendance officers on request.
7. That the school shall be open to inspection by state (or city or county) authorities for approval as being approximately equal in sanitary arrangements, equipment for instruction, and in quality of work done, though not necessarily the same in kind or amount, to the public schools of the district in which it is located.

Such simple and legitimate requirements as the above should not represent any prying into the affairs of any private or parochial educational institution.[1] On the whole, through the many contacts thus provided for, they should lead to better mutual understandings and support of what each is doing, while the state supervision and approval would eliminate much of the agitation that springs up from time to time for the abolition of all non-state schools. The records and reports required should cover enrollment, attendance, term, subjects taught, number and education of teachers, and a few similar matters of general information necessary to the statistical knowledge of the State's school problem, but need not concern finances unless tax exemption is asked for. With the religious instruction the State is not concerned, and no approval should be made or refused on the basis of any religious teaching offered in the school. Schools once approved as above may later be disapproved for failure to comply

[1] See *Elementary School Journal*, vol. 25, pp. 565–67 (April, 1925), for a description of a plan of state inspection and approval of Lutheran elementary schools as worked out in Missouri.

with the provisions of the law, and any school neglecting or refusing to coöperate in matters of school attendance should be subject to fine for each offense, and to suspension of license for continued offense. The whole interest of the State under provision 7, above, is that schools approved for attendance should be approximately as good as those maintained by the State in the same city or county school district.

Exemption from taxation in return. All private and parochial schools of any regular type, as well as technical institutions and free libraries and museums, do a work that the State would be called upon to do, at least in part, if these non-state institutions were not at work on the problem. Since they accordingly relieve the State and the locality of an important financial burden, it is quite proper that they be allowed some return for what they do. A share in the school money they cannot have, for the constitutions of our States forbid this, even though it were not considered wrong in principle,[1] but they might be relieved of the local (and state, if such is levied) property tax on so much of their property as is necessary for instruction, provided they prove, to the satisfaction of the State Department of Education, that they offer a proper grade of instruction or service, resources and needs considered, in what they attempt to do, and that they are not conducted for profit.

A somewhat detailed financial statement will now be necessary, and an inspection of the buildings and equipment and grounds may be needed. If the application is approved, the State Department of Education should recommend the school or institution to the State Board of Education for exemption from all state, county, and local taxation — local improvement assessments excepted — on its permanent endowment funds and so much of its buildings, equipment, and grounds as are actually used in and necessary for instruction and management. If the State Board of Education approves the recommendation, it should certify to the county and city assessors where the school, college, institute, technical institution, university, or free public library or museum, not under public control and not conducted for profit, is located.

[1] We do not exempt any citizen from helping to pay for the maintenance of a health department because he employs a private physician, the fire department because he lives in a fire-proof house, the park department because he has ample private grounds about his house, or the city or county library because he buys his own books. There is no difference between these and the school department, except that the charge is a little larger and the organized pressure for the exemption more active and determined.

Such institution should thereafter be exempt from such taxation, unless the exemption be later revoked for cause by the state board of education.

To enable it to carry out properly these provisions, the state board of education should be given power to formulate and promulgate general rules and regulations for the classification of schools, colleges, institutes, technical institutions, universities, libraries, museums, and other types of teaching institutions within the State.

2. THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

The Bible in the schools. Originally the Bible was universally read in the schools, and in the earlier days some religious instruction also was given. After the rise of the religious question, following the coming of so many Irish Catholics after 1840, with the resulting amendment of the state constitution in nearly all our States to prohibit sectarian instruction or religious tests in the schools maintained by the public, our courts became far more strict in the matter, and some very sweeping decisions against Bible-reading in the schools have been rendered, especially in the Western States. On the other hand, some favorable decisions have been handed down on essentially the same question. Two Supreme Court decisions, illustrating different points of view, may be cited as showing how the courts have varied in their interpretation of constitutional provisions. On one side we have:

> The constitution [of Illinois] forbids giving sectarian instruction in public schools. The provision prohibiting the use of public school funds in aid of any sectarian purpose is a prohibition of the giving of sectarian instruction in the public schools. The reading of the Bible in the public schools constitutes the giving of sectarian instruction within the meaning of the constitution. (People *ex rel.* Ring *et al. vs.* Board of Education, 245 Illinois, 334.)

Representing a contrary point of view is the following decision:

> The point where the courts may rightfully interfere to prevent the use of the Bible in a public school is where legitimate use has degenerated into abuse, where a teacher employed to give secular instruction has violated the constitution by becoming a sectarian propagandist.
>
> Whether it is prudent or politic to permit Bible-reading in the public schools is a question for the school authorities, but whether the practice of Bible reading has taken the form of sectarian instruction is a question for the courts to determine upon evidence. Each alleged violation must be established by competent proof. (State *ex rel.* Freeman *vs.* Scheve *et al.*, 65 Nebraska, 877.)

The tendency of courts and legislatures, until recently, has been toward an increasing strictness of interpretation, and in the process some earlier favorable decisions have been reversed, and earlier favorable laws have been repealed. As a result, legal provisions requiring the reading of the Bible without comment in the

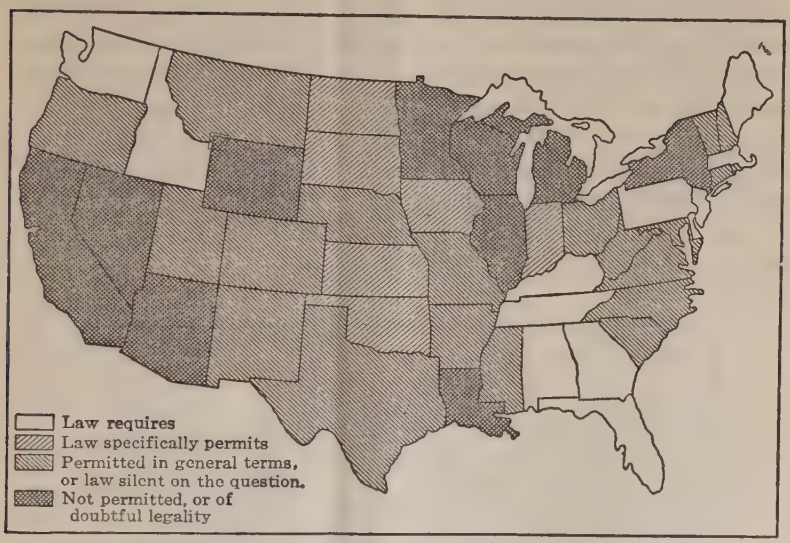
Law requires
Law specifically permits
Permitted in general terms, or law silent on the question.
Not permitted, or of doubtful legality

FIG. 94. STATE LAWS RELATING TO BIBLE-READING IN THE SCHOOLS
(From data by Hood.)

school have been repealed in all but twelve States,[1] though six other States specifically permit such reading if desired locally. On the other hand, ten States in their laws specifically prohibit the reading of the Bible in school, while in the remaining States the law is silent on the question. In the States where the law is silent on the subject, it may be presumed that the Bible is read frequently or not at all, as local demands or conditions require.

As the private and parochial schools are free to incorporate religious instruction into their curricula to any extent they see fit, the question of providing some form of religious training for the children of those parents who patronize the public schools in non-permissive States has from time to time and in different places become a public issue, and a number of different proposals by way of handling the problem have been made.

[1] The number requiring was seven, for many years, but since 1923, five States — Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Kentucky, and Maine — have enacted new laws requiring Bible reading in the schools.

Exemption from school attendance. One form which the demand has taken is that the children of parents desiring the instruction in religion be excused from attendance at the public schools, for certain periods each week, to enable them to attend the churches and there receive such teaching. The Catholic, Lutheran, Mormon, and Jewish churches, in their parochial schools and the synagogue, have all been able to provide such instruction for the children of their faiths, but the children of other churches have had no such facilities, aside from their poorly attended and very ineffective Sunday Schools. As a consequence, while the children mentioned above are satisfactorily provided with religious training, millions of other children are to-day growing up with almost no knowledge of the Bible and no training in the principles of the Christian religion.

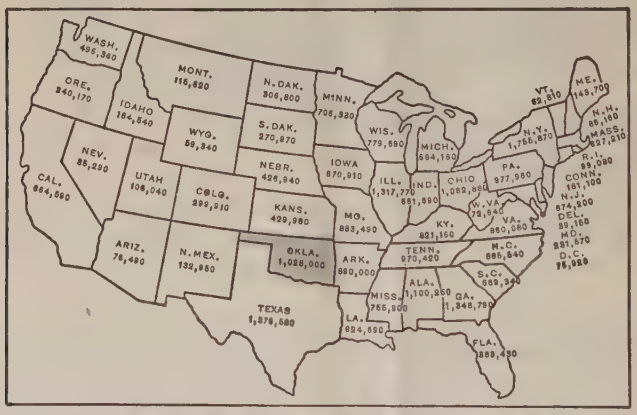

FIG. 95. SPIRITUAL ILLITERACY IN THE UNITED STATES

A map prepared as a result of a survey by the Interchurch World Movement of North America, and reproduced by permission. The map shows the distribution of 27,000,000 children and youth (under 25 years), nominally Protestant, who were not enrolled in Sunday School (1920) and who received no formal or systematic religious training.

As practically all attempts to introduce a modified form of religious instruction into the public schools for the benefit of these children have been found to be impossible, a demand has come — rather strongly in recent years, and supported by many denominations — that the public schools permit those children whose parents so desire to attend week-day schools, to be set up by the churches for religious instruction. This would be very easy to

provide for were the churches content to use before-school or after-school time, as is done in England,[1] but when this is proposed many parents admit that they cannot force their children to attend such extra-school-hour instruction. The natural result has been a request for dismissal during school hours, and an attempt to amend the compulsory-attendance law to make such dismissal possible legally. Not being able to compel their children to attend the religious instruction provided by their churches, the parents have sought to use the State's compulsory machinery to force them to it.

A quite typical recent case was the attempted revision of the compulsory-attendance law in California, in 1925, by the following proposed legislation.

The people of the State of California do enact as follows:

Section 1. A new section is hereby added to an act entitled "An act to enforce the educational rights of children, and providing penalties for the violation of this act," approved March 24, 1903, as amended, to be numbered one a, and to read as follows:

Section 1a. The board of education of any city, or city and county, or the board of trustees of any school district shall, upon the written request of parents or guardians, excuse his or her child for sixty to one hundred and eighty minutes in any week to permit such child to attend a week-day school giving instruction in religion. Said child may be excused at any hour of the day designated by the said school authorities, provided that such child so excused shall be held accountable for all work prescribed for his class in the public school.

This was such a clear case of sectarian invasion of the public schools that the bill failed of passage, as have similar bills in other States, but it is thoroughly representative of what is proposed and desired.

The meaning of such proposals. Such attempts to use school time for sectarian purposes are contrary to the spirit of the American public school, and to the separation of Church and State in this country. In practice such excusing of children would cause difficulty in the administration of the public school,

[1] In England, which has always been a strong religious State, there are non-sectarian public schools and denominational schools. In the former it is discretionary with the teacher to give or not to give neutral "Bible lessons," or general moral instruction. In denominational schools religious instruction may be given only during the first period in the morning or the last in the afternoon, and a "conscience clause" permits of the exemption of all children whose parents so request. The school time is thus preserved for school instruction. The same is true of Catholic Belgium. In Holland the public schools provide room, but the churches must provide the instruction.

and probably would in time engender much sectarian rivalry and eventually bitterness, involving school officers, teachers, pupils, and parents. Such attempted legislation is a clear confession of weakness on the part of both the home and the Church, in trying to force the school to do what the parents cannot accomplish. The complete separation of Church and State in matters of education, and the non-sectarian character of the American public school, are much too important principles of our American life, in view of our great diversity of peoples and creeds, to permit of their being broken down. The moment the public school system assumes even indirect responsibility for the sectarian instruction of the child — and it is sectarian instruction that is meant and intended — the first step toward the listing of the children by denominations, the denominational analysis of the population, the introduction of denominational questions into school elections and school affairs, and a movement for the division of the school fund among the churches has been taken.

There is only one safe course for those who would preserve the public school as a common heritage of all the people and the bulwark of a free and united citizenship — to resist any attempt to link up the public school system with denominational instruction. On a question that has and still does cause so much bitterness and hatred as difference in religious belief, the school of a people in a nationality so mixed as is ours must forever remain aloof. Commons well stated the problem for us when he wrote:[1]

> More intense than any other source of discord is religious belief. Religious differences in America are not so much theological as racial in character. The Judaism of the Jew, the Protestantism of the British and colonial American, the Lutheranism of the German, the Roman Catholicism of the Irish, Latin, and Slav, and the Greek Catholicism of other Slavs and the Greek, all testify to the history and psychology of races. Far-sighted were our fathers who separated Church and State! Were the people taxed to support religion, every election would be a contest of races. All other questions would be subordinate, and democracy impossible. . . . Religious freedom is more than a private right — it is an American necessity.

On the other hand, all that the different churches can do to teach the children of their faiths the fundamental principles of religion, as they see them, the school will be glad to have them do. If the different churches could organize their religious instruction

[1] From John R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, page 186. Reprinted by permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers. Copyright 1920.

in any thoroughly adequate manner, so as to present a united front, the school might be led, as will be pointed out later, to assign them one definite time for the work, but until this point is reached the school can hardly be expected to play favorites among the churches, and they must accordingly be asked to use before- and after-school time for their work. There is enough time outside of school hours which they can use for their purposes, and all Sunday is theirs, untouched by public school or public life.

Other variations of the idea. One variation of the plan sometimes proposed is that we adopt the method followed in Holland, and to some extent in England and a few other countries, where the school provides rooms, heat, janitor service, etc., to all denominations equally for after- (or before-) school religious instruction, but that the churches provide the teachers and be responsible for the work. Any denomination requesting would then be provided with a suitable room or rooms in which a representative of this denomination could give religious instruction to the children of such of its members as so desired. The period would be turned over wholly to the churches, the public school teachers not participating in any way in the instruction. While some objections can be raised to this plan, and the churches doubtless could give the instruction under much better conditions in their own edifices, it is a less objectionable plan than that of excusing pupils from school attendance. In our state colleges and universities much this type of coöperative service is given equally to all religious denominations (*Source Book*, pp. 693–96) and to associations which are educational and religious in character (*Source Book*, pp. 696–99). In the case of public schools organized on the Gary plan it would be possible to arrange for religious instruction in almost any period during the day, but for the ordinary type of school the religious-instruction period would have to come at the beginning or at the close of the school hours.

The proposal that the public school teachers be segregated (and employed must also follow) on the basis of religious faiths (*Source Book*, pp. 686); that from 9 A.M. to 3 P.M. they be state teachers and under the superintendent of schools, and teach the state course of study; and then after 3 P.M. these same teachers become religious teachers by denominations and under the control of the Church, although tried in a few places, is too dangerous in its possibilities for consideration by us as a possible plan. This is nothing more or less than the old plan of Imperial Germany, where

there were but three main faiths, except that it is not proposed here that the religious instruction be *required* of all. Such an arrangement would be a serious sectarian invasion of the public school. Equally dangerous is the attempt, made here and there in Eastern cities where many foreign-born are located, to designate what are in fact parochial schools as public schools, under contract, and thus pay them public money for school maintenance. All such attempts have usually been stopped promptly by injunction proceedings, or by appeal to the State educational authorities.

The Federal Council of Churches plan. A more intelligent proposal than any of the above, and one warranting serious consideration, is that advanced by the "Special Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ[1] to Consider Ways and Means to Promote Week-Day Instruction in Religion" (*Source Book*, pp. 692–93). Their proposal is that the public schools be closed for one afternoon each week (such as Wednesday for two hours), and that the different churches use this time to provide religious instruction at their own edifices for their children. This request would mean, if the school week is not extended in other ways,[2] that approximately eight per cent of the school time would be given over to religious instruction. It is argued that the importance of such instruction in the lives of the young is well worth this percentage of the school time. Under this plan the churches would take their children to their own buildings and be wholly responsible for the instruction; the school would coöperate only by providing the time.

As an experiment, the New York City Board of Education, a few years ago, agreed to comply with this request, and set aside Wednesday afternoon for the purpose. The result was such a complete failure of the plan where tried that the school wisely returned to the five-day school week. A badly divided Protestantism found itself "shamefully unprepared and utterly unequal to the task," according to *The Reformed Church Messenger* (1920). The Roman Catholics had their priests and their teaching organizations, and the Jews their rabbinical schools, but the Protestants

[1] Said to represent thirty-t[illegible] nominations, having 16,000,000 members in the United States.

[2] In German schools, where [illegible] day dismissal was common, schools were held on Saturday morning to compe[illegible] r loss of time. Such a substitute, if attempted with us, probably would meet [illegible]ns, *Race* [illegible]rious objections from teachers and parents alike.

had no trained religious teachers, and even found it difficult to secure any teachers at all. Similar results would probably face any other large city attempting such an experiment. The trouble lies in the Protestant denominations, which lack unity of purpose; they spend their energies on providing music and sermons and socials and in catering to adult needs, and the religious instruction of the young occupies a very subsidiary place in their programs.[1] As a result they are losing the youth of the land from membership because the religious training of youth has been so largely neglected.

There is every probability that, if the Protestant churches were as well organized to give religious instruction as are the Catholic and Lutheran and Mormon and Jewish organizations, and as anxious for the opportunity, it would not be difficult to arrange with school authorities for one afternoon a week for the work.[2] The Christian needs of this Nation call for some such instruction to be added to what the public school can do for children, and there is some reason to think, from the study now being given to the subject,[3] that in time the Protestant churches may be able to unite in organizing for the work. There is no possibility of forcing religious instruction into the public schools. If it is to be given, the churches themselves must do the work by providing teachers and an overhead organization capable of real service. Such a plan will cost money, but unless their present distribution of religious

[1] A writer in *The Lutheran* in 1920, said: "Only about one-half of the 53,000,000 children in the United States are to-day enrolled in religious schools of any creed. Among the Protestants the proportion is only two out of five. In 1916 the reported enrollment in Protestant Sunday Schools was 21,888,521; in 1920 it had shrunk to 15,617,060. And the problem becomes more acute in that this dwindling proportion of children of Protestant extraction has its privileges further restricted and curtailed in a reduction to the lowest possible minimum of hours of instruction. Jewish children receive every year 335 hours of religious instruction, or one hour a day for eleven months of the year. Catholic children receive 200 hours a year, or four hours a week. Protestant children, who receive any instruction at all, average one-half hour a week, or 24 hours a year."

[2] A recent important decision by the New York State Appellate Court, 3rd Department, under date of January 5, 1927, confirmed as constitutional the New York law authorizing the religious instruction of public school pupils one hour weekly on public school time. The point at issue was the constitutionality of the law in view of the constitutional separation of Church and State.

[3] Among the most hopeful evidences of a new interest in the problem of religious training have been the establishment of a number of professorships of religious education in our universities; the general revival of attention to moral and religious education, as evidenced by the numerous non-denominational conferences recently held; the recent successful establishment of week-day religious instruction in a number of cities; and the maintenance in the past few years of thousands of vacation church schools. During the summer of 1925 these last gave religious instruction to over half a million Protestant children. See an interesting note on the work being done in *The Elementary School Journal*, vol. 25, pp. 407–09. (Feb., 1925.)

expenditures[1] is soon changed, the Protestant churches will before long lack members to carry on their work at all. Training classes for teachers in both subject-matter and the technique of teaching, expert school organization and supervision, and close coöperation with the public school will be called for, and the direction of church effort must be changed in large part. Writing on this question Dr. Edward M. Poteat recently well said:[2]

> The churches must reorganize their work and become schools of religion. At present they are for the most part, with only here and there an exception, preaching stations, and their aim is the cultivation of personal piety in their members. They must become schools, organized to teach from the kindergarten to old age, and as such community centers gathering the whole community and all ages into a greatly elaborated plant every afternoon and evening with a curriculum of study and recreation centered in religion. When our churches become schools of Christianity, adequately officered and financed for the greatly enlarged and intensified ministry, we shall begin to put the salt of religion into our society which, without it, may rot before our eyes.

Selected readings from the Bible. There are many who, while agreeing that the school must keep itself free from denominational controversies, contend that, until some common agreement can be arrived at and adequate provision made for religious instruction, some reading in the school of non-controversial parts of the Bible might be permitted, for the good effect it would have on the pupils and the historical knowledge they could gain thereby. They argue, very properly, that this is a Christian Nation; that our common law is based on the principles of the Christian faith; that every public officer takes an oath of office in which he recognizes a Supreme Being; that in our laws we prohibit blasphemy, the interference with worship, and try to protect the Sabbath as a day of rest and Christian observance. They also say that the early history of our race is in the Bible, that the book is a literary masterpiece with which it would be well for all young people to come in some contact, and that it is possible to select a large amount of non-controversial and non-sectarian material

[1] Statistics published recently showed that for twenty Protestant denominations, representing thirteen million people, the expenditure for Sunday Schools and Young People's Boards averaged only 5.3 cents per member. The typical city church was found to spend $1.46 for music and $1.07 for janitor service to every 48 cents spent for its Sunday School.

[2] Quoted in an article "Protestant Neglect of the Child"; in *The Literary Digest* for August 14, 1920.

that could be made the basis of reading, without comment if desired, in the public schools.

There is force in this argument, but in reply it may be said that a number of such collections have been made and published, but their use in any way in the public schools has always met with practically insuperable objections. In spite of many earnest efforts during the past third of a century, and the publication of good books of this type, very little has been accomplished in this direction. The courts have been careful to protect the rights of the objector, conscientious and otherwise, and but twelve States, all Eastern or Southern, except two recently added, any longer require the reading of the Bible in the schools, and but six others specifically permit of its being read. The situation naturally offers large opportunities to the private and parochial school to feature the study of the Bible, either with sectarian or literary ends in view. In fact, some of the most determined opposition to the use of any form of Bible-reading in the schools, even though clearly non-denominational and non-controversial selections are used, has come from the representatives of the denomination which most stoutly maintains and believes in the parochial-school system. They even acknowledge that their objections would be just as emphatic if their own particular version of the Bible were used in the public schools.[1] Adoption of the religious school into the state school-system with them is the price of consent to anything savoring of religious instruction in the public schools. Unless they can make inroads on the public school money, for sectarian ends, they are not at all interested in seeing religious instruction given.

In such an *impasse* there is but one course that the public school in a Nation such as ours can pursue. The school has its work to do, and measured in moral and religious values what the public school does for its children is by no means inconsiderable, but it must leave sectarian instruction to the home and the churches. If the church doubts the efficacy of the moral and civic training

[1] On this point *School and Society* (vol. 17, p. 716) quotes Bishop Garland, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as having said: "For one, I believe that the Roman Catholic Church is quite right in proclaiming that there must be a religious foundation for all education, but the time has come when, to be consistent, the leaders of that church must act on the principle it proclaims, and give its public support to an effort that will insure some moral and religious training in the public schools. No great church can afford to stand on the principle of the necessity of a religious basis for education, and then by its influence and its vote deprive others of the same privilege and rights."

given in our schools and demands religious instruction (*Source Book*, p. 683), the school in return, in the light of the experience with Imperial Germany in the World War — a nation that for long required religious instruction of all — may well doubt the efficacy of the sectarian religious instruction which the churches would give. At all costs the unity of the American public school system must be preserved; its funds must be kept safe from division among the different religious denominations and sects now in existence among us;[1] and the chaos and inefficiency that would result in our school work from sectarian strife must be prevented. Any attempt to return to the conditions of an earlier period in our educational and religious history, or to any European type of church-and-state union, cannot be tolerated in America. The solution must be found in a forward march in religion; not in any backward movement for the school.

The proposal to divide the funds. Leaders in the Catholic Church have long stood for another solution of the problem of religious instruction. This they propose to bring about through a division of the funds raised for educational purposes among those who maintain schools, and without reference to religious instruction. Unmindful of the long and bitter battle which our people once fought out to eliminate sectarianism from the public school,[2] and ignoring the constitutional amendments the people in our States have adopted prohibiting such a division or diversion, prominent leaders in the Church from time to time propose a reconsideration of the question by means of what is termed a "compromise." In one of their proposals, which is representative of many that have been advanced, they suggest that the schools remain as they are; that no compensation whatever be made for religious instruction; that the Church does not want this, as they have seen what has happened in other countries where the clergy are the "hirelings" of the State; that the State should examine the education provided in the Catholic parochial schools, and, if they furnish the secular education the State re-

[1] A recent issue of the *World's Almanac* lists 49 different religious denominations and 171 different sects as being established in the United States.

[2] All the older States had to face this issue. Horace Mann, in Massachusetts, bore the brunt of the fight there, and in the author's *Readings in the History of Education*, pp. 575–76, an important part of one of his replies to an attack by a churchman is given. In the same volume, pages 576–79, are reproduced two very interesting documents relating to the fight in Michigan, one a petition to the legislature by the Catholics for a division of the school fund, and a counter petition by the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Michigan. These three documents state, in brief form, the gist of the whole issue.

quires, then the State should pay for it; and that Catholics do not ask for "anybody else's money," but only for their own. It is contended that such a plan works reasonably well in Quebec and Manitoba, and that it could be made to work with us.

If the problem involved only the Catholic Church, such a solution would be easy, and possibly could be arranged. But with 49 different denominations and 171 different sects in the United States, each of which could properly claim equal privileges, and many of which would, the end of our public school system would be in sight as soon as such an arrangement with any one church was inaugurated. It is with no spirit of hostility to the Catholic Church as an institution that one is forced to say that such a proposal strikes at the very life of our public schools; the reply would be the same were the proposal made by Jew or Protestant. Those who drafted our Federal Constitution considered carefully the diversity of religious faiths among us, and decided against religious tests and religious preferences in any form. The American people faced the religious-school issue later, considered it fully and carefully, and everywhere decided against sectarian instruction in any way supported by the State.

Though the question of a division of the public school funds may from time to time reappear, the matter in its larger aspects may be regarded as settled in the United States. Our people mean to keep the public school system — the one great common constructive and integrating force in our national life — united and free from denominational interference and denominational strife. They know only too well that, once the process of division is begun, the end of our public school system is only a question of time. The almost inestimable boon of religious liberty, which the framers of our Constitution guaranteed to us, and our free, common, non-denominational public school systems, which have been built up on this fundamental basis, cannot be sacrificed to meet the financial or sectarian exigencies of any church or creed. The problem of religious instruction is one for the churches to settle in their own way. Once the churches — or even the Protestant churches alone — are able to unite on any comprehensive and adequate plan, and can satisfy the public school authorities that they are able and willing to undertake the work on something like public school standards, the school probably will be willing to coöperate to the extent of assigning a common and a definite time

for what they do. The school cannot, however, play favorites among the churches, nor can it allow its organization and work to be broken into to satisfy the demands of a few. The schools and the churches each have their proper work to do, and each must do it in its own best way.

Credit for Bible study. There is one other plan for providing some instruction in the history and teachings of the Bible, although it is not applicable to the elementary-school age, which has been tried in a few States with some apparent success, and which merits consideration here since it is capable of application to all religious faiths alike. This scheme would allow credit toward graduation from a public high school for approved Bible study, done under proper direction and following a state syllabus. Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Oregon, and Virginia offer perhaps the best examples we now have of the working of such a plan to provide a means whereby public school pupils may acquire, as a part of their general education, some knowledge of Biblical literature, history, and philosophy. The work is open to young people of all religious faiths and of no religious faith alike, and no pupil is under any compulsion whatever to take the work.

Under this plan, as best carried out, the State Department of Education approves two or three courses in Bible study, covering the Old and the New Testament, and issues a syllabus to be followed. The work may be done in Sunday Schools, Young Men's or Young Women's Christian Associations, week-day church schools, private schools offering such instruction, or in general groups under competent instructors who can be "trusted to rise above sectarian bias." Twice each year the State Board of Education provides a general state-wide examination covering the work of the courses, to which any pupil may be admitted, irrespective of religious faith. To all who pass the examination a credit is issued, which all public high schools may accept and count toward the graduation requirements of the pupil.

The Bible is a great literary as well as religious masterpiece, which it would be well for any young person to read and study carefully, regardless of the religious belief or prejudice of the pupil's parents or religious advisers. In so far as the school can encourage such study along selected lines and under proper direction, without itself participating in the instruction, it is wise to do so. If such work is to be allowed and credited, however, outlining of the work and general supervision over the granting of credit for

it should be under state direction and control, as only under such control can genuine religious knowledge and training be emphasized and sectarian instruction be minimized.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How do you interpret the meaning and significance of the Michigan and Oregon initiative laws?
2. What advantages and objections, from the private or parochial school point of view, would there be to state inspection and approval?
3. Show the danger of state standardization as applied to non-state effort.
4. Would you add to or omit from the list of legitimate state demands, given on page 714? If so, what?
5. Of all the plans proposed for week-day religious instruction, which appeals to you as most practicable and most in harmony with American traditions?
6. Show how, on the basis of the statement from Commons (page 722), any attempt to link up religious instruction with the public school would be disastrous.
7. Show why we, in America, cannot well follow plans for religious instruction which seem to work well in European lands.
8. What would be the results on teacher training and employment of the plan to segregate teachers by religions, for religious instruction after the close of the school day?
9. If the Federal Council of Churches' plan were to be tried in a city, show the advantages, financial and instructional, of unified organization over individual church action.

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The work of the church colleges in providing collegiate instruction:
   (*a*) Before the state universities flourished.
   (*b*) To-day.
2. Plans of coöperation between church or private schools for inspection and approval, similar to the one described for Lutheran schools in Missouri. (*Elementary School Journal*, vol. 25, pp. 565–67.) (April, 1925.)
3. State-reporting requirements for private and parochial schools.
4. State plans for credit for Bible study.
5. The summer vacation religious schools conducted by the churches.
6. The work of the Mormon Church in supervising the recreational and religious life of their young people, especially during the summer vacation.
7. Work of the week-day religious schools, where in operation.

PROBLEMS

1. Discuss the *Osceola Code*, Chapter 17, Article 44, as it relates to control of and freedom from taxation for non-state schools.
2. Devise a state report-form for private and parochial schools, not asking for tax exemption.
3. Devise the further form needed for those applying for tax exemption.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

OTHER NON-STATE EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

A theory as to endowments. From the long period of the Middle Ages to well within modern times, charity of all kinds remained closely associated with the Church. Charity and Christian virtue meant practically the same thing, and the work which charity did was not questioned. The idea that it was more blessed to give than to receive dominated all thinking, and a gift of land or money to the Church removed the gift from criticism. Whether it served any real need of society was not important; if the Church received it, the gift was consecrated. Under the dominance of this conception the Church during the ages amassed vast resources in land and wealth, and became so powerful that it tended to shape legislation and to control the State.

In 1757, in an article on "Foundations," published in the *Encyclopédie*, a great work then being issued by a group of notable French writers, Turgot first raised serious question as to the purposes and uses of gifts, and first enunciated the principle that the State has a right to change old foundations to adapt them better to modern needs. His reasoning was so logical and so much in accord with the reactionary spirit of his time that he changed giving, in the minds of thoughtful people, from a charity to a matter of intelligence. Adam Smith enunciated the same views in his *Wealth of Nations*, published in England in 1776, but John Stuart Mill, in 1833, took issue with both and set forth the theory now generally accepted, that foundations for educational and charitable purposes not only should be permitted and encouraged, but that, over a reasonable period of time, the exact wishes of the donor should be strictly adhered to.

Other writers have since contributed to the discussion, with the result that we have completely reshaped the old conception of giving. To-day we demand an intelligent purpose behind the gift, and that the gift be in the direction of social progress. We also to-day consider that endowments of all kinds are to some degree public property, since they are dedicated to some form of public service. As a natural consequence of these ideas, we now

require that trusts and foundations of all kinds — charitable, religious, educational — be incorporated and make some kind of report as to their work and finances to the State.

I. THE OLD-TYPE ENDOWMENTS

Endowments for education. When we began our national life, we had the tradition of a long series of small but continued gifts to our colonial colleges, aided frequently by donations or support from the governments of at least some of the Colonies, and the idea of state interest in the maintenance of colleges, even though largely for religious ends, was well established. By 1800 fifteen new colleges had been added to the nine established during the colonial period, two of which marked the beginnings of future state universities, and by 1825 the foundations of eight of our modern state universities had been laid. The Federal Government also had begun, with Ohio in 1802 (page 21), the policy of giving land endowments for future state universities in all the new States.

The period up to our Civil War was with us the great period of the denominational college. The Dartmouth College Case,[1] decided by the United States Supreme Court in 1819, guaranteed the perpetuity of endowments, and the churches now turned to the founding of schools and colleges with a will. Between 1820 and 1880 was the period of great denominational effort. By 1860, of 246 colleges then existing, but 17 were state universities. Speaking generally, higher education in the United States before 1870 was provided very largely by the tuitional colleges of the different religious denominations, rather than by the State. Especially in such new lines as the education of women, and in medical education and libraries, has private effort been prominent, while denominational effort has been largely responsible for the development of theological education. After about 1870 the state universities, due in part to a rising demand for state-controlled colleges and in part to the great taxing resources which the State has had at its command, began a development and an expansion that has continued ever since.

[1] The legislature of New Hampshire, in 1816, attempted to take over Dartmouth College and make of it a state university. The attempt was resisted, and the case carried to the United States Supreme Court. This Court, in 1819, decided for the college on the ground that the charter of a college was a contract between the State and the college, the inviolability of which was guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

During this early creative period in our national development we may be said to have decided definitely that state and private and denominational effort may all work side by side in the field of higher education to the advantage of the State. We have never conceived the work of the State here, as elsewhere in education, to be exclusive in nature, though the State cannot be expected to hold back the development of its own institutions for fear of injuring existing non-state effort. To present a fair field to private and denominational effort our States generally have exempted the endowments, buildings, equipment, and necessary grounds from local and often from state taxation, and most of the States have enacted a general incorporation law under which any one can found and endow a school, college, university, technical institution, art gallery, library, or museum, and take out a charter for it, but an annual report to the State as to finances and work is usually required.

General result of our state policy. The general result of the policy of encouragement which our States have followed has been that there has been built up in this country a vast fund devoted to the endowment of schools, colleges, and universities, of many different kinds and with many different ends in view, as well as libraries, art galleries, museums, and other forms of undertaking more or less educational in nature. In no country in the world has so much money been given to the promotion of learning, either relatively or actually, as in the United States. A recent tabulation of all public gifts of $5000 or over, made in the United States since 1893, shows that 43 per cent has gone for educational purposes. Of the remainder, 37 per cent has gone to charity, 9 per cent for religious purposes, an equal amount for museums and art galleries, and 2 per cent for libraries. The support of the old colonial colleges, as well as the many denominational and privately endowed institutions, has come entirely from gifts and tuition fees; yet many of these show large gains in permanent endowment and in buildings and grounds.[1] The work of the various church

[1] Two illustrations will serve here. Oberlin, in Ohio, began in 1833 with practically nothing, and up to the close of the Civil War the same condition continued. By 1908 the permanent endowment was approximately $350,000, of which 51 per cent had come as direct gifts, 24 per cent as bequests, and 25 per cent as the result of solicitations. By 1923 the total endowment was $2,934,254, with an equal valuation in property.

Carleton College, in Minnesota, began in 1867 with $20,000 subscribed by the citizens of Northfield, and $10,000 received from the Congregational churches of the State. By 1915 the endowment funds were nearly one million dollars, and to-day exceed a million and a half, with nearly three million dollars' worth of property.

boards, too, such as the Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal,[1] and Evangelical Lutheran Church Boards, are contributing much to the strengthening of the denominational colleges by helping to increase the endowments of the more important institutions, closing up weaker ones or reducing them to junior-college status, and in general taking a scientific attitude toward the problems of college maintenance and instruction. Though the State, with the rapid growth of state universities and state technical schools, is each year assuming a relatively larger proportion of the cost for higher education, endowments and gifts from non-state sources still bear the larger part of the burden for the maintenance of higher education in the United States.[2] Tuition fees bear to-day only about the same proportion of the total cost that they did fifty years ago.

As a further result of the American policy of encouraging non-state effort, we have witnessed, during the past two thirds of a century, the creation of a number of privately endowed colleges and universities, often the creation of a single individual, which have proved to be very important additions to our higher educational facilities. As illustrations may be mentioned the founding of Vassar College by Matthew Vassar, in 1861 (opened 1865); Ezra Cornell's gift (page 45) to help create Cornell University, in 1865; Henry Durant's founding of Wellesley College, in 1870 (opened 1875); Johns Hopkins' establishment of a university in Baltimore, in 1867 (opened in 1876); the founding of Tulane University in New Orleans, in 1884, by Paul Tulane; the gift of Leland and Jane Stanford to create Stanford University in California, in 1887 (opened in 1891); the founding of the University of Chicago in 1890 (opened in 1891), by John D. Rockefeller; the building up (since 1896) and endowment of the Carnegie Library and Institute of Pittsburgh, by Andrew Carnegie; and the recent (1925) transformation of Trinity College, in North Carolina, into the well-endowed Duke University, with a medical school of the first rank provided for, by James B. Duke. To these nine in-

[1] For example, the last published report of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church shows educational institutions maintained in all States except Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming. There were in all 44 colleges and universities, 32 institutions of secondary grade, 10 theological seminaries for white students, and 9 colleges, 7 secondary schools, and 3 professional schools maintained in the Southern States for negroes.

[2] The statistics for the last year as yet available, as published by the United States Bureau of Education, show that the total income of all higher institutions under the control of the public was $129,190,955, as against $193,344,349 for privately endowed and supported colleges and universities. Private resources thus carried 60 per cent of the total cost for higher education in the United States.

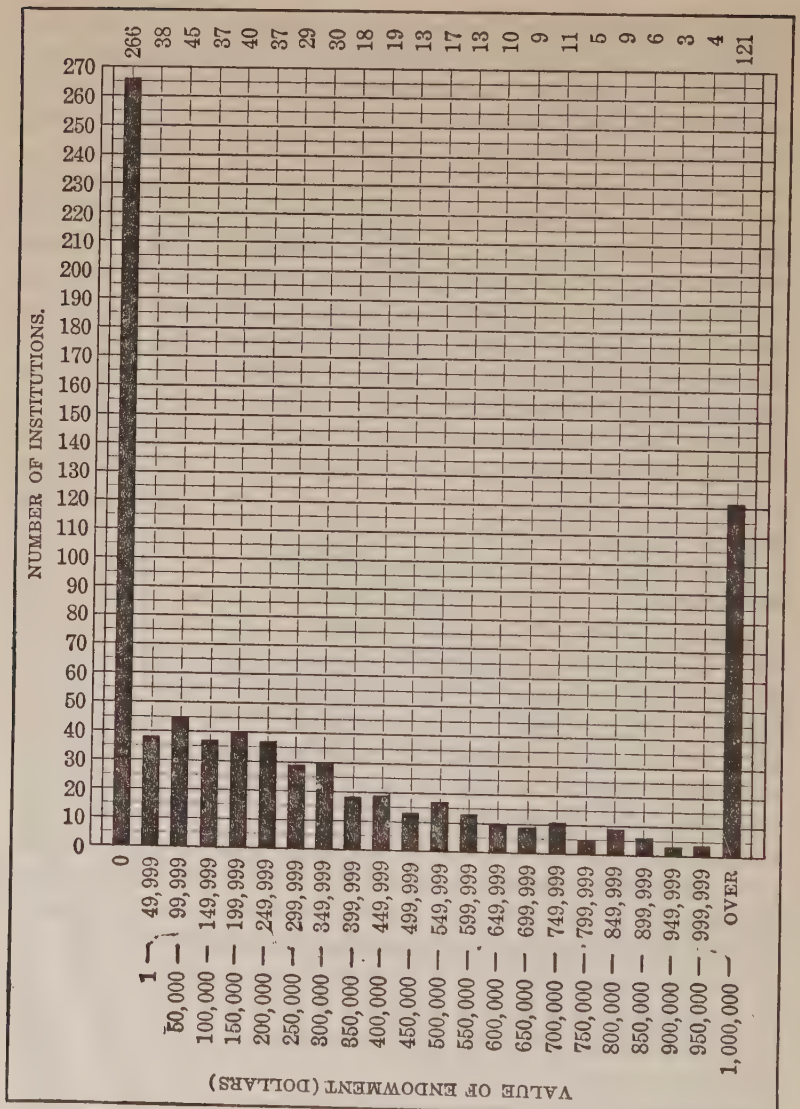

FIG. 96. COLLEGE ENDOWMENTS, DISTRIBUTED BY AMOUNTS

stitutions the original founders alone gave a total of approximately $175,000,000. Many other colleges and universities, which have been founded or greatly aided by individuals within recent times, might be added to this list.

The result of our American policy of encouragement of non-state effort can be traced in many other ways and directions that are of large educational significance, though not always strictly educational in name or character. A few typical institutions only will be mentioned by way of indicating what private effort has been able to do under the benevolent encouragement of the State.

Among library endowments should be mentioned the Astor and Tilden Foundations in New York City, now a part of the public library there; the John Crearar and the Newberry libraries in Chicago; the large and very precious collections of books and pictures in the Huntington Library and Art Museum at San Marino, near Los Angeles, California; and the numerous public libraries all over the United States that owe their origin to an original grant of funds from Andrew Carnegie. Among museums owing their existence to private means should be mentioned the American Museum of Natural History, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, the Field Museum in Chicago, and the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington. Of endowed schools, mostly technical in character and secondary in grade, hundreds are found all over the United States. One of the most noteworthy of these is the Hershey Industrial School for Orphans, at Hershey, Pennsylvania, to which Mr. Hershey has given approximately $60,000,000. An earlier school of this same type is the so-called Girard College, at Philadelphia, founded by Stephen Girard. Many of these institutions were pioneers in the work they were founded to do. They showed the public school a new field of activity, and some of these foundations have since been absorbed into the public school system. Of privately-endowed institutions for medical research, and not including many hospitals in our cities, should be mentioned the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, the China Medical Board, the International Health Board, and the Edward L. Trudeau Foundation for research and teaching relating to tuberculosis. The Mellon Institute of Industrial Research, connected with the University of Pittsburgh, and the National Research Council of Washington, are examples of establishments for the promotion of scientific investigations and research. The World Peace Foundation made by Edward Ginn, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, are two great semi-educational endowments of more than ordinary importance that owe their existence to the well-thought-out benevolence of two men. The Woodrow Wilson Foundation

of $1,000,000, to reward annually "the living individual who has rendered," within a specified period, "unselfish public service of enduring value," is another type of establishment for the furtherance of peace and coöperation among mankind. The Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund of Chicago is a type of a number of more or less local foundations for educational and child-welfare work in our cities. Beginning in 1914 with the Cleveland Foundation, a series of community trusts (51 by 1924) have been created in many of our American cities, to which any one can leave wealth, the income from which is to be employed for educational or charitable purposes.

Effect on other institutions. A study of the results of the American policy as to the encouragement of endowments for educational purposes is interesting and instructive. Though President Buchanan vetoed the original Land Grant College Act, in 1859 (page 42), because the establishment of such colleges "will injuriously interfere with existing colleges in the different States," many of which "are poor and sustain themselves with difficulty" (*Source Book*, pp. 84–86), the results have been quite different from what he expected. While some of the denominational institutions, without resources and without any real need for their continuance, did die out, many others have been stimulated to new life and new friends have come forth to add to their endowment and to perpetuate their earlier pioneer work. In a similar way, when the large individual foundations for new universities began, there was some fear among the existing institutions — both denominational and state — that the establishment of these new institutions with what then seemed their vast wealth might seriously cripple the existing schools. Instead, no single influence has done more to stimulate the growth of the state universities than has the establishment and development of these new privately-endowed universities.

Another interesting result has been that, almost as soon as the founder's hand was withdrawn from the institution he had created, the public has adopted these new colleges and universities and transformed them into semi-public foundations. One may truthfully say that we have to-day in America almost no such thing as a private college or university, aside from those of the teaching orders of the Catholic Church. In commenting on this phase of the development of higher education in the United States, Sears well says:[1]

[1] Sears, J. B. *Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education*, p. 80.

All our evidence goes to show that these powerful financial corporations, planted in the midst of small colleges and accepted in some quarters with misgivings, have not only kept faith with earlier social, religious, and educational aims, but, in the readjustment of those aims to our rapidly expanding age, they have shown capacity proportionate to their great financial power, and what was to some a doubtful experiment has proved to be a success.

Vassar and Wellesley have been accepted by the public as national institutions for the collegiate education of women; Cornell has been transformed into a semi-state institution through the location in connection therewith of the land grant college for New York State; Tulane has rendered large service in the South; Johns Hopkins, Carnegie Institute, Chicago, and Stanford have each become national in character and service. Each, in its own way, has set new standards in teaching and research and service, and each has made an important contribution to the thinking and training of many who have and will become leaders in our national life. The new Duke University, similarly, promises to be of enormous importance for education in the South. The wealth that was diverted from fast living, ostentatious display, the sensual satisfactions of individuals, and the spoiling of children and relatives, and carefully saved and ultimately devoted to the public welfare in the form of endowments, represents great national gains for which we as a people may be truly thankful. So deeply has this conception of the use of wealth entered into the thinking of our American people that when a rich man dies, and leaves all or nearly all his wealth to his family or relatives, the public feels — and often says — that he has made poor use of the funds which his ability and the protection of the State enabled him to accumulate during his lifetime.

2. THE NEW "FOUNDATIONS"

Besides endowments for colleges and universities, a new type of educational trust — or as it is usually termed, "foundation" — has been developed in the United States in relatively recent years. The purpose of these foundations is not so much education in itself, as the supplementing and assisting of institutions and agencies engaged in educational work. These foundations have so much wealth that has been given for educational development, and are rendering such an important service, that a consideration of non-state effort would not be complete without at least a

brief summary of the more noteworthy of these new creations which are educational in purpose. We shall accordingly describe in a few words what seem to be the two dozen most important, classifying them first into groups on the basis of purpose and work, and later summarizing them in the order of their establishment.

New endowments for education in the South. The beginning of our foundation establishment was to aid education in the South, following its prostration at the close of the Civil War. In fact the only two of the twenty-four foundations described, dating earlier than 1890, were created specifically for this purpose.

1. *The Peabody Fund.* In 1867, George Peabody, a citizen of Massachusetts, but at that time a resident in London, established a trust fund of $3,000,000 for the promotion of education in the Southern States, which became known as the "Peabody Education Fund." This trust is usually considered as having been the first of our great educational foundations.[1] The conditions of the trust were so liberal and so elastic that the trustees were able to use it in many different ways to awaken the people of the Southern States to the need for educational advantages that they had not before possessed. School systems in towns and cities were established, and aided until the people could themselves support them; state supervision was provided, until the States could assume it; promising teachers were given grants for study; and in particular the professional training of teachers for the South was begun by the creation of a normal school at Nashville, Tennessee. After thirty years the trustees were permitted to change the nature of the trust, and in 1913 the bulk of the fund remaining ($1,500,000) was given to the endowment of the George Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville, thus creating out of the earlier normal school a teachers' college for the South of the first rank. Of the remainder, $350,000 was given to the John F. Slater Fund, and the balance was distributed for specific purposes to thirteen state universities and one normal school. During the forty-six years of its existence the fund gave away from income $3,650,556 for the advancement of education in the South.

2. *The Slater Fund.* In 1882, John F. Slater, a cotton and woolen goods manufacturer of Connecticut and Rhode Island, created a somewhat similar flexible trust to which he gave $1,000,000, "for the uplifting of the lately emancipated people of the Southern States and their posterity, by conferring on them the

[1] See Ayres, L. P. *Seven Great Foundations.*

blessings of Christian education." This was the second of our great foundations, and became known as the "John F. Slater Fund." The income from this fund has been used mainly for the support of normal schools and industrial education for the negro race, either as grants for partial support of special schools, for the salary of industrial and training teachers in such schools, or for aid to teachers in training. The county training schools for negro teachers, of which there were 156 at last report, are perhaps the most significant feature of the present-day work of this foundation.

3. *The Anna T. Jeanes Fund.* In 1908, Miss Anna T. Jeanes, a resident of Philadelphia, dying, left $1,000,000 to Swarthmore College on condition that the institution permanently abandon intercollegiate football, but with a proviso to the bequest that if the college did not accept the grant on these terms the fund was to be constituted a trust, the income from which was to be used for improving negro rural education. The college refused the grant on the terms laid down in the will, and the trust was accordingly created. The income has so far been used to provide specially trained teachers to introduce and supervise rural education in the South, working under the direction of the county superintendents; to do extension work among the negro schools, and introduce the simple home industries into their work; and to provide county agents to create a sentiment for improved homes and schools and sanitation. During the last year for which reports are available, the fund helped to maintain 302 such supervisory teachers and agents in the Southern States.

4. *The Phelps-Stokes Fund.* In 1911 the Phelps-Stokes Fund was incorporated. Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes, dying in 1909, left a residuary bequest of $1,000,000 to create a fund, the interest of which was to be used "for tenement house improvement, the education of negroes, both in Africa and the United States, North American Indians, and needy and deserving white students, through industrial schools, the founding of scholarships, and the erection or endowment of school buildings or chapels." The bequest was quite general, and the main activities so far of the directing board have been a study of negro education in the South;[1] the establishment of fellowships for the study of the sociology of the negro at the Universities of Georgia and Virginia;

[1] Published by the United States Bureau of Education, as *Bulletins* 38 and 39, 1916.

the establishment of a traveling foundation at Peabody College for the study of the needs of the negro race; an educational survey of West Coast and Equatorial Africa;[1] and grants of aid to various schools, colleges, and movements in the interests of the negro and better race relations.

5. The Julius Rosenwald Fund. In 1915, Julius Rosenwald, a citizen of Chicago, created the Julius Rosenwald Fund for aiding negro education in the rural districts of the South. During the ten years up to 1925, working in coöperation with fourteen Southern States, this fund aided in the building of 3212 rural schools for negroes, at a cost to the fund of $2,445,000. To this same purpose the negroes themselves gave $2,906,000, whites gave $633,000, and the States supplied $7,779,000, making a total of $13,763,000, of which this fund supplied 17.5 per cent. The schools erected had a teacher capacity of 6240, a pupil capacity of 280,800, and all had to be of standard approved construction with reference to site, lighting, ventilation, and sanitation. The fund works through the state departments of education, and the buildings become public property. A condition of aid is that the negroes themselves must raise an amount at least equal to the grant made, either in money or donated labor.

There are other funds for the aid of education in the South, but the five just described represent the more important ones, and are examples of a new type of philanthropic interest in a new form of the educational problem. We here find endowed foundations working in close coöperation with the state governments and the local school authorities in the solution of the educational problems of the State.

The various Rockefeller endowments. A number of very important foundations owe their origin to the philanthropic interest of Mr. John D. Rockefeller.

1. The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. In 1901, Mr. John D. Rockefeller created the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York City "to conduct, assist, and encourage investigations in the sciences and arts of hygiene, medicine and surgery, and allied subjects; in the nature and causes of disease and the methods of its prevention and treatment; and to make knowledge relating to these various subjects available for the

[1] *Education in Africa*, 1921. A study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa, by the African Educational Commission, under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the missionary societies of North America and Europe.

protection of the health of the public and the improved treatment of diseases and injury." The Institute has been generously endowed by Mr. Rockefeller by gifts, which from time to time have provided for its growing needs. The Institute has done notable research work in the special field of medicine.

2. The General Education Board. In 1903 Mr. Rockefeller obtained an incorporating Act from Congress for a new foundation, The General Education Board, the purpose of which was "to promote education within the United States of America, without distinction of race, sex, or creed." To this Board Mr. Rockefeller has, from time to time, given money and enlarged powers, so that the Board now has very wide latitude in the use of the funds. Mr. Rockefeller's gifts to this foundation, up to 1920, had amounted to $123,000,000. Of this amount $50,000,000 was given at the close of 1919 to be used in increasing the endowments of colleges and universities to enable them to increase the salaries of their teachers. From its foundation in 1902 to July 1, 1924, the General Education Board had given away $116,727,895. Of this amount $59,313,858 was given to colleges and other institutions for the education of whites, $6,902,814 for instruction for negroes,[1] and $1,910,394 for miscellaneous educational purposes. Recently the Board has been permitted to make gifts from the principal, as well as from the income of the fund, and larger yearly grants have been made.[2]

3. The Rockefeller Foundation. In 1910, Mr. Rockefeller desired to create a new foundation for social-service work, and applied to Congress for an incorporating act. Congress became suspicious, conducted investigations and held hearings, but took no action. Unable to obtain any assurances of being able to secure a satisfactory charter from Congress, Mr. Rockefeller went

[1] In 1905, Miss Anna T. Jeanes gave $200,000 "for the assistance of the negro rural school in the South," to be added to this Fund and used for this specific purpose.

[2] A great variety of educational objects have been added. Many colleges and universities have had their endowment funds increased, the grants usually being made on condition that the college raise six or seven dollars for each three or four received from the fund. Professors of secondary education and state agents for secondary education have been provided for the South, to help build up the secondary school system there; an important experimental school is maintained in New York City (the Lincoln School); and county training schools for teachers have been studied and aided. In addition, grants have been made for such diverse purposes as aid to the Slater Fund, the American Classical League, educational conferences, state educational surveys (see list, p. 304), a few city school surveys, studies of medical education, negro rural schools, rural school agents, county-unit demonstrations, improvement of accounting systems in educational institutions, educational investigations, farm-demonstration work, boys' and girls' club work, etc.

to the State of New York and incorporated there, in 1914, The Rockefeller Foundation "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world," and to deal with human-welfare problems "in accordance with the principles and methods most approved in each generation." To this foundation he has given approximately $170,000,000, and both the income and principal are available for distribution. This foundation has devoted its efforts to the carrying out of large comprehensive programs whose aims are:

(*a*) To eradicate certain causes of human ill, and to build up positive programs for bettering conditions; and

(*b*) To make demonstrations in various fields and to inaugurate helpful work, responsibility for which may later be assumed by that portion of the public most interested.

Public-health work and medical education have been the chief lines of activity of this foundation, and as subsidiary boards it has organized and financed The International Health Board, for the promotion of public sanitation and the spread of knowledge of scientific medicine; The China Medical Board, for the development of medical education and hygiene in China; and a Division of Medical Education, for the survey of health conditions and the promotion of medical education in other lands.[1]

4. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. Finally, on Thanksgiving Day, 1920, Mr. Rockefeller created the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, in memory of his wife, "the particular objects of which are the application to charitable purposes of the income, and, if the Corporation so decided, the principal of such property as the Corporation may from time to time possess," and with specific consideration to activities looking toward the improvement of the condition of women and children. To this foundation Mr. Rockefeller has made various gifts which, by 1921, totaled $63,763,357.

These four foundations made by Mr. Rockefeller represent organized and directed intelligence applied to the difficult art of

[1] There is hardly a country in the world that the work of this foundation has not at some time touched. In the aiding of medical schools and hospitals and the reorganization of medical education in many lands; the training of doctors and nurses all over the world through fellowships for study; the creation of a great School of Hygiene and Public Health at Johns Hopkins University; other important aid for health and medical education at Harvard, Columbia, and Iowa; the campaign to eradicate malaria and hookworm disease; the attempts to stamp out yellow fever and the plague; the war-time tuberculosis work in France; the war-time emergency relief for European children; the medical surveys of many countries — these represent but a few of the varied activities of the foundation since its creation.

giving. There is a directing board for each foundation, with an able executive staff organized much as a business or university corporation might be organized. Lines of work to be aided are clearly defined, appeals are examined carefully, and grants are made with discretion. The Institute for Medical Research devotes itself to investigations in the field of medicine; The General Education Board has given its energies and funds chiefly to assisting deserving colleges, whose friends and alumni believe in them enough to help in their endowment; The Rockefeller Foundation has found its chief usefulness in the promotion of public health; and The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial stresses the promotion of the welfare of women and children. Medicine, education, public health, and human welfare have been Mr. Rockefeller's great interests. To these four foundations he had given, up to the close of 1921, approximately $375,000,000. The income from this sum, and some of the principal, has been scattered all over the world, and to-day shows itself in increased human vitality, a lowered death rate, the relief of suffering in hospitals, enlarged income from endowments in hundreds of colleges, the creation of new-type medical schools, and the promotion of education in our Southern States — to mention only the larger items and the more important lines of work. Combined, they represent the greatest individual gifts the world has ever known. In addition his son, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has also done notable work in giving on his own behalf, the Bureau of Social Hygiene, established in 1913, being one of his noteworthy endowments.

The Andrew Carnegie endowments. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, a Scotch-American, who had made his money in the steel business about Pittsburgh, frequently stated that for a man to die rich was a disgrace, and that he felt he owed it to society to give back to it, for worthy purposes, the wealth that opportunity had enabled him to accumulate under the protection of its laws. For long Mr. Carnegie had given liberally to the establishment of public libraries in all parts of the United States;[1] as a means for furthering the education and enjoyment of the people he had given some four thousand pipe organs to as many churches; and in 1896 he had established the Carnegie Library and the Carnegie

[1] By 1910 he had given over $54,000,000 to over 2000 libraries in all parts of the United States, and in Canada, the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and certain other British possessions.

Institute [1] at Pittsburgh, which he later liberally endowed; he had established Hero Funds in a number of lands to reward conspicuous acts of heroism; and he had given quite a sum for the better endowment of the Scottish universities. In addition to these, he later created four other endowments of large significance and importance.

1. The Carnegie Institution of Washington. In 1902, at the time of the agitation for a George Washington Memorial University at Washington (page 74), Mr. Carnegie was induced to give $10,000,000, later increased to $22,000,000, to found the Carnegie Institution of Washington, "to encourage, in the broadest and most liberal manner, investigation, research, and discovery, and the application of knowledge to the improvement of mankind." Mr. Carnegie's instrument of gift provided for research, for increasing the facilities for higher education, increasing the efficiency of the existing universities, helping students coming to Washington for study, and publication of the results of investigation, but, under the power given the trustees to modify the conditions and purposes, the Institution has since been shaped into a great scientific research foundation — one of the greatest in the world — doing a type of work closely akin to that of the Smithsonian Institution (page 90), but following a much more costly program.[2] This foundation was chartered by Act of Congress, and is a truly national institution.

2. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. In 1906, Mr. Carnegie, convinced as he said in the deed of trust "that the least rewarded of all the professions is that of the teacher in our higher educational institutions," and that the consequences of this are harmful to the cause of education, created The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, under the laws of New York, to provide a system of retiring allowances for professors in accepted colleges and universities in the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland. For this purpose he gave $10,000,000, and later, when it was decided to admit the state universities to the benefits, he added $5,000,000 more. He also gave the foundation $1,250,000 for educational investi-

[1] The more important departments of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh are the technical schools, a museum, a department of fine arts, a music hall, and a library school. To this institution he gave, during his lifetime, approximately $30,000,000.

[2] This has included geo-physics, astro-physics, magnetic research, solar research, biological research, eugenics research, and other somewhat similar and costly lines.

gations. After ten years under the original plan, when it became evident that, with the very rapid growth of the universities, the fund was entirely inadequate for the purpose intended, the plan was changed by the trustees, as was permitted under the grant, into an insurance-at-cost organization for the benefit of college teachers, now known as "The Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association of America." The original foundation continues as a supervisory organization, and also conducts a division of educational investigations. This latter has made careful studies of legal, medical, dental, and teacher-training education, as well as a number of other studies of importance.

3. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In 1910, Mr. Carnegie gave $10,000,000 to create the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the income to be used to advance the cause of world peace. As a basis for further work, this foundation has made careful studies as to the causes for warfare.

4. The Carnegie Corporation of New York. In 1911, Mr. Carnegie, desiring to create a corporation to which he could leave the bulk of his remaining fortune, organized The Carnegie Corporation of New York. To this he gave $125,000,000, which sum has since been increased to approximately $134,000,000. The income was to be used "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States, by aiding technical schools, institutions of higher learning, libraries, scientific research, hero funds, useful publications, and by such other agencies as shall from time to time be found appropriate thereto." The work carried on for many years by Mr. Carnegie as an individual in aiding educational institutions and making grants for educational purposes was now turned over to this new foundation to continue. In all, Mr. Carnegie gave to his various charities and foundations somewhere near $300,000,000 during his lifetime.

Other important educational foundations. Five foundations will be listed under this group, as follows:

1. Baron de Hirsch Fund. This foundation was the third of the twenty-four to be established, having been organized by the Baron and Baroness de Hirsch in 1890, and incorporated under the New York membership corporation law in 1891, with a gift for endowment of $2,400,000, subsequently increased to about $4,000,000. The purpose was to aid in the Americanization and assimilation of immigrants (chiefly Polish Jews); to teach them to

become good and self-supporting citizens; and to prevent, by all proper means, their congregating in large cities. The income has been expended in scholarships and subsidies for agricultural instruction of secondary grade, in place of an Institute of Applied Agriculture formerly maintained; in aiding Jewish agriculturalists to locate on land; in maintaining the Baron de Hirsch Trade School in New York City, which offers free instruction to Jewish young men in a number of trades; and immigration port work at New York and Baltimore. The fund has recently concentrated more on trade and agricultural instruction, giving up some of its pioneer charitable work as local communities and the State have assumed such activities.[1]

2. *The Russell Sage Foundation.* In 1907, Mrs. Russell Sage, of New York City, gave $10,000,000, and later by her will $5,000,000 more, to establish The Russell Sage Foundation, in memory of her husband, for "the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States," through "research, publication, education, and the establishment and maintenance of charitable and benevolent activities, agencies, and institutions." The foundation has been organized on the department basis, with divisions for charity organizations, child helping, education, industrial studies, library, recreation, remedial loans, statistics, and surveys and exhibits.

3. *The World Peace Foundation.* In 1909 Mr. Edward Ginn, a publisher of Boston, gave $1,000,000 to create the World Peace Foundation, the income to be used for the education of the people of the world in behalf of "international justice and fraternity." This foundation represented another effort for human welfare along entirely new lines.

4. *The Commonwealth Fund.* In 1918, the Commonwealth Fund was established, under the New York State laws, by Mrs. Stephen B. Harkness, for "the application to charitable purposes" of such sums as might be placed with the fund. At last report the fund had been endowed to the extent of approximately $40,000,000, with additional money in prospect. So far the fund has spent most of its income for child-welfare work, child health, the prevention of delinquency, mental hygiene, and rural hospital experimentation, although a division of educational research has also been maintained. In 1925 the fund established twenty an-

[1] For a good view of the first twenty-five years of work of this Foundation, see article in *The American Hebrew*, issue of March 12, 1915, entitled "Twenty-Five Years of the Baron de Hirsch Fund."

nual fellowships, of approximately $3000 each, for British students at American universities, similar to the Rhodes scholarship for American students at Oxford, the purpose being to encourage international understanding and good will.

5. The Milbank Memorial Fund. This foundation was created in 1905 by Elizabeth Milbank Anderson, as a memorial to her mother and father, by a gift of $9,028,227, which has since been increased to approximately $10,000,000. The purpose of the fund as stated was "to improve the physical, mental, and moral condition of humanity, and generally to advance charitable and benevolent objects." The income of the fund has so far been spent largely for health-demonstration service in New York City and State, largely with a view to showing how to combat those common diseases about which procedure is most definitely established, and how to unify and apply such procedures to large rural and city population units, with a view to settling upon a public-health program that can be applied and taught. The work has included school hygiene, maternity and infancy work, child hygiene, industrial hygiene, social and mental hygiene, health education, health of the pre-school and the school child, sanitation, and social welfare work.

6. The Juilliard Musical Foundation. This foundation was incorporated in 1920, by special act of the New York legislature, "to effectuate the testamentary purposes of Augustus D. Juilliard, of Tuxedo, New York, to create and maintain a musical foundation to aid worthy students of music in securing a complete and adequate musical education and to foster and advance the musical arts." The funds of the foundation will amount to approximately $14,000,000, the income from which is to be used for education in music. After an effort to aid musical students in widely scattered places, the foundation decided to concentrate its energies by organizing a school in New York City, where promising students will be educated. The school has a conservatory for secondary instruction in music, a special school for training teachers and directors of school music, and a graduate school where selected graduates of approved music schools will be given free instruction by master teachers in the higher forms of music.

Foundations for foreign study. Five foundations will be listed here, though there are a number of others with small funds engaged in similar work.

1. The American-Scandinavian Foundation. In 1911, Niels

Poulson, a Dane by birth and a resident of New York City, left $500,000 to establish a foundation "to draw the American and Scandinavian peoples closer together in bonds of intellectual kinship, to keep the lamp of intellectual friendship burning, to dispel ignorance, and to create good will." The foundation has carried out this purpose by securing additional funds for an interchange of forty students annually between American and Scandinavian universities (Sweden 20, Norway 10, Denmark 10); by sustaining *The American-Scandinavian Review;* by aiding in the publication of books; by maintaining a bureau of student information; and other means. While small, compared with the major foundations described, this fund has rendered a very important educational service.

2. *The Kahn Foundation.* This also was established in 1911, by Mr. Albert Kahn, of Paris, for the purpose of enabling two American teachers, scholars, or investigators to travel and study abroad, "that, by the study and comparison of national manners and customs, and of the political, social, religious, and economic institutions of foreign countries, they will become better qualified to teach and to take part in the instruction and education of the people of their own nation." The fund provides two fellowships of a value of $2500 each.

3. *The Commission for the Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation.* This fund was established, in 1920, by Mr. Herbert Hoover, from the unused Belgian Relief money, accumulated during the World War. The total of the fund has not been publicly stated, but is substantial in amount. From the income, during the last year for which figures are available, the foundation maintained thirty-two Belgian graduate fellowships in American universities, and ten American fellowships in Belgian universities. The foundation has also given financial aid to the universities of Brussels and Louvain, maintained exchange professorships, and aided a few Belgian schools to become reëstablished.

4. *The American Field-Service Fellowships for French Universities.* Established in 1919, for the purpose of securing endowments and gifts to provide for fellowships for American students in French universities, to increase American appreciation of French learning, to secure grants of American fellowships for French students, and to foster international understanding. Eleven awards of fellowships for study in French universities were made for 1925–26, of a value of $1200 each. The fund's endowment,

already in excess of $100,000, is being increased yearly. The fund is administered by the Institute of International Relations, with headquarters in New York City.

5. The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. This was created in 1925 by Simon Guggenheim, former United States Senator from Colorado, and his wife, by a preliminary gift of $3,000,000 to establish a foundation in memory of their son. The purpose was stated to be "to improve the quality of education and the practice of the arts and professions in the United States, and to foster research and to provide for the cause of better international understanding." The fund is sufficient to maintain approximately forty fellows abroad each year. There are no restrictions as to the subjects to be studied or the place where the study is to be pursued.[1]

Summary of the foundations. We have now described briefly twenty-four different foundations or trusts which are primarily educational in their nature, and all of which are recent creations. There are numerous other smaller foundations, each rendering an important public service in its own way, but the twenty-four described are usually spoken of as our great educational foundations. We have classified them under purposes and by founders, and it may be well to summarize them here by date of foundation and by number. In addition, the city in which the headquarters office is located is given in parenthesis.[2] This gives the following list:

1. 1867 — Peabody Education Fund. (Distributed.)
2. 1882 — John F. Slater Fund. (Charlottesville, Va.)
3. 1890 — Baron de Hirsch Fund. (New York.)
4. 1901 — Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research. (New York.)
5. 1902 — Carnegie Institution of Washington. (Washington.)
6. 1903 — General Education Board. (New York.)
7. 1905 — Milbank Memorial Fund. (New York.)
8. 1906 — Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. (New York.)
9. 1907 — Russell Sage Foundation. (New York.)
10. 1908 — Anna T. Jeanes Foundation. (Charlottesville, Va.)
11. 1909 — World Peace Foundation. (Boston.)
12. 1910 — Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. (New York.)
13. 1911 — Phelps-Stokes Fund. (New York.)

[1] For a descriptive note on both the Guggenheim and the Commonwealth Fund fellowships for study, see *School and Society*, vol. 21, pp. 262–64. (Feb. 28, 1925.)

[2] The annual *Educational Directory*, published by the United States Bureau of Education, gives a somewhat larger list of foundations than is here given, which see.

14. 1911 — American-Scandinavian Foundation. (New York.)
15. 1911 — The Kahn Foundation. (New York.)
16. 1911 — Carnegie Corporation of New York. (New York.)
17. 1914 — The Rockefeller Foundation. (New York.)
18. 1915 — Julius Rosenwald Fund. (Chicago.)
19. 1918 — Commonwealth Fund. (New York.)
20. 1919 — American Field Service Fellowships. (New York.)
21. 1920 — Belgian Relief Commission Fellowships. (New York.)
22. 1920 — Juilliard Musical Foundation. (New York.)
23. 1920 — Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. (New York.)
24. 1925 — John Simon Guggenheim Foundation. (NewYork.)

These twenty-four foundations represent the devotion of approximately $800,000,000 of individual wealth to the promotion of the public welfare and the advancement of health, peace, and education. No such sum has ever before been devoted to such purposes, in any land, and all but $8,000,000 of this amount has been given since 1900. Additional foundations and trusts may be expected at any time, for the American attitude of encouragement and the American conception as to the use of wealth both tend to stimulate such giving.

In form these foundations represent a new type of agency for educational advancement. They have been organized on the corporate principle, and have attempted to reduce giving to a business basis. Their articles of organization are broad and general, and capable of change with time to meet new needs, and Mr. Rockefeller has even given permission to give away the principal as well as the interest, and thus in time terminate the trust. Their possibilities for usefulness are very great; the fear of Congress that they might prove dangerous to our welfare has not been justified; and the work they do either provides us with services we would not otherwise have, or relieves us of paying for what these foundations do for us, according to how we may happen to look at the problem. As chartered institutions they make an annual report to the State, and if need should arise could be supervised by the State. They also act as agencies to stimulate communities and States to action which without such pressure and unaided they would not themselves take, and thus do what it has been repeatedly pointed out that the Federal Government might well do for our people along many educational and human-welfare lines.

The "tainted money" conception. The work of these new foundations has encountered opposition from some quarters —

chiefly political — and there has been some question of receiving the funds they were ready to give because of not approving the methods by which some of the founders built up their fortunes. This has been chiefly directed toward the Rockefeller and the Carnegie endowments, though the other foundations have not been wholly free from criticism. To escape such opposition as much as is possible, the more recent foundations have not sought national incorporation, and have devoted their energies toward projects in which they were likely to encounter the minimum of political opposition. A few cities have refused library grants from Mr. Carnegie, and the board of regents of one large state university recently voted that no grants of money in aid of any university purpose should be accepted from such sources. The theory is that the money was not honestly accumulated and therefore is "tainted money," and for that reason it should be refused.

In dealing with this question it must be remembered that all these fortunes were accumulated under the protection of the laws of the States and the Nation, and more or less in accordance with the business standards of the times. If any of the business methods of an earlier period seem to us of to-day as questionable, we are in no way called upon to approve of them in accepting grants from a trust fund created and applied to the public good. What we need to recognize is that the accumulator decided to give the money for the public benefit rather than to his relatives, that he created a trust or foundation for this purpose, that the foundation was incorporated under state or national laws, that a board of directors was appointed to receive the money and carry out the conditions of the trust, and that this board was given full power to use the money as they saw fit, within the limitations of the trust. This board then secured the services of a capable director and a staff of advisers who in turn study every proposal and application for aid carefully, and then recommend grants to the board of directors of the foundation. If an incorporated foundation decides to aid in the development of Tuskegee Institute, in the promotion of teacher-training in the South, in the further endowment of a college in the Middle West, in the study of juvenile delinquency in a city, take part in an effort to stamp out hookworm disease, or to aid some professor in a state university in conducting some costly research that may result in great benefit to mankind, it seems to the writer short-sighted and foolish to refuse the grant on the ground that the money is "tainted."

If every one took such an attitude toward gifts from wealthy men, giving would largely stop, saving for a social purpose would cease, and rich men would use their money for sensual pleasures and vulgar display, with little regard for any one but themselves and their relatives and friends. The whole spirit of Christian charity would be stifled, altruism would become somewhat foolish, great endowments for the public good would be unknown, American democracy and opportunity would both suffer, and the taxation of homes and farms and business would have to be materially increased to secure means for what rich men would no longer provide. It is hard, too, to draw the line as to where the "taint" ceases to exist. The money given to a church by a business man may have many dirty spots on it, the gift to a college from a successful lawyer may have been earned by helping scoundrels to defeat justice and the law, and even the proceeds of public taxation come from the bootlegger, the embezzler, and the political plunderer as well as from honest men.

The Church, under the old régime, had no such compunctions. Rather it worked on the opposite principle, and the greater the rascal and the more illicit the source of his wealth, the greater the proportion which the Church took and devoted to charitable and religious and educational ends. The fact that the money was badly tainted made the Church more than ever determined that the sinner should never have its blessing unless he devoted it to a good purpose, instead of leaving it to his descendants.

3. OTHER NON-STATE AGENCIES

Other semi-educational non-state agencies. We have so far described only the larger and more important non-state educational agencies at work. In addition there are hundreds of other organized agencies in the United States, many of them chartered under state laws and a few under national congressional sanction, which are working on the general problem of shaping public opinion and helping to mould the national character. In the *Source Book* (pp. 712–17) a list of thirty such voluntary organizations is given. In it are included such organizations as the Red Cross, Boy Scouts, Federal Council of Churches, National Child Labor Commission, National Parent-Teachers Association, Playground and Recreation Association, etc. These are but a small fraction of the hundreds that exist and are at work. The National Education Association, the Catholic Educational Association, the

Association of College Teachers of Education, the Association of American Universities, the Association of American State Universities, the different Associations of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, and the Educational Boards of the different churches represent another fraction of a different type. Still another type would be represented by the National Geographic Society, the American Academy of Social and Political Science, the American Economic Association, the National Academy of Sciences, and the National Research Council. Still another fraction may be had by reproducing a list, recently published,[1] of the different voluntary associations which appeared before the congressional hearing of 1920 for and against the National Child Labor Amendment. There were

1. *For the Amendment:*
   - American Association of University Women.
   - American Federation of Labor.
   - American Federation of Teachers.
   - American Nurses Association.
   - Federal Council of Churches of Christ.
   - General Federation of Women's Clubs.
   - Girls' Friendly Society in America.
   - Medical Women's National Association.
   - National Child Labor Commission.
   - National Consumers' League.
   - National Council of Catholic Women.
   - National Council of Jewish Women.
   - National Council of Women.
   - National Congress of Parents and Teachers.
   - National Education Association.
   - National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
   - National League of Women Voters.
   - National Women's Christian Temperance Union.
   - National Women's Trade Union League.
   - Service Star Legion.
   - Young Women's Christian Association.

2. *Against the Amendment:*
   - The National Manufacturers' Association.
   - *The Southern Textile Bulletin.*
   - The Moderation (anti-Volstead) League.
   - *The Woman Patriot* (anti-feminist organ).
   - The Sentinels of the Republic (anti-Federal organization).
   - The Woman's Constitutional League of Maryland (organized to oppose the Sheppard-Towner Law).
   - The Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association.

[1] In *School and Society*, vol. 20, pp. 583–84.

Another large group is to be found in the voluntary educational agencies and schools of many kinds maintained by business and industrial corporations. These also represent a form of non-state educational effort of large importance to business and to industry, as well as to our national life. A mere fraction of these would include the shop schools of the Pennsylvania, Santa Fé, and other railways; the corporation schools of the oil and telephone companies; the store schools of large department stores; and the big factory schools carried on in such establishments as the National Cash Register Company at Dayton, Ohio, or the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company [1] at Akron, Ohio.

All these organizations and agencies have grown up under the American state plan of aiding and encouraging non-state effort along lines supplemental to the proper work of the State. America in this respect is more like England than any other great nation. What private agencies will do well, the State can leave to them to do, the State taking upon itself only those functions that can be carried out and enforced in a better way if so placed.

Community Trusts. Beginning in 1914 with the Cleveland Foundation, a community trust organized to receive bequests from any one to be devoted to "educational and charitable purposes in a broader and more useful manner in future years than it is now possible to anticipate," some fifty-one cities had, by 1924, created similar trusts or foundations for similar charitable and educational purposes, much as the Church once received and managed the bequests of those who had property to leave for charitable purposes. A trust company, which is designated as custodian of all gifts and bequests so made, manages the fund, under the direction of a community trust board. In conducting educational surveys, health and welfare surveys, studying city planning and needs, directing community chests, building up art galleries and museums, and in dozens of other ways these community foundations are capable of large service. They, too, like the great foundations we have described, represent organized intelligence applied to the difficult art of giving.

[1] See an interesting article on this entitled "A Factory University"; in *School and Society*, vol. 12, pp. 23–24 (July 2, 1920). Reported as having 6200 students and 117 faculty members.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show how organized giving, as represented by the Foundations of today, is the modern civic successor of the older and less well organized charity system of the Church.
2. How do you explain the vast organized giving in the United States, whereas in Continental Europe there has been little of such work?
3. A quarter of a century ago a few American cities refused good grants for the establishment of public libraries and branches, made by Mr. Carnegie, because of the opposition of labor-union groups. Analyze this opposition in its effects on the community and on the opposing groups, as to tax rate, educational opportunities, advancement of labor-union interests, and its effect in deterring other men from giving money made by exploiting business opportunities and national resources.
4. Analyze the benefits in international understanding of a century of work of the Cecil Rhodes scholarships at Oxford, the Commonwealth fellowships for the study of British students at American universities, the Scandinavian-American fellowships, and the Guggenheim and Kahn fellowships for the advanced study of American students abroad.
5. List the voluntary organizations and associations with some educational purpose, existing in your community, and try to evaluate their work.
6. Estimate the value of the work of the public-welfare type of foundations in accustoming the public to see the importance of such work, and to become willing to pay for it and later assume parts of it. What ought to be the policy of a foundation in this respect?

TOPICS FOR INVESTIGATION AND REPORT

1. The character, purpose, lines of work, resources, and projects aided by any one of the major foundations.
2. The general results of the grants to colleges, large and small, made by The General Education Board.
3. The advances in medical education and public health that may be attributed to the work of these foundations.
4. The advance in the promotion of child welfare that may be similarly attributed.
5. The general results of the international fellowships.

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